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HISTORY OF

ENGLISH POETRY

FROM THE TWELFTH TO THE CLOSE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

BY THOMAS WARTON, B.D.

FELLOW OF TRIN. COLL., OXFORD; F.S.A.; PROFESSOR OF POETRY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

WITH A PREFACE BY RICHARD PRICE, AND NOTES VARIORUM.

EDITED BY W. CAREW HAZLITT.

WITH NEW NOTES AND OTHER ADDITIONS BY SIR FREDERIC MADDEN, K.H., F.R.S.; THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A.; W. ALDIS WRIGHT, M.A.; REV. WALTER W. SKEAT, M.A.; RICHARD MORRIS, LL.D.; F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A.; AND THE EDITOR.

WITH INDEXES OF NAMES AND SUBJECTS.

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SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF ANGLO-SAXON POETRY.

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[The hiſtory of Engliſh poetry begins in lands where the name of England was not known. Not in our "iſland home" was our mother tongue in its earlieſt ſtage firſt ſpoken, but in parts of the Daniſh land, the Angliſh and Saxiſh provinces, in Frieſland, Jutland, and the neighbouring iſles, whence the firſt Teutonic ſettlers and invaders came, to people our England. They brought with them the legends of their continental homes; and the one weird poem which has come to us from them whole, though much meddled with by later hands, is our national epic. But before we give an account of it, and the reſt of our forefathers' poetry, we muſt ſay ſomewhat of the forms of Anglo-Saxon verſe, and muſt note that, for convenience of claſſification, the continuous changes in our language have been ſeparated into the following ſtages:

I. Anglo-Saxon or Old Engliſh, with regular inflexions, up to 1100 A. D.

II. Semi-Saxon or Tranſition Engliſh, in two ſtages, (1) when the inflexion ſigns were ſtruggling for ſuperiority, from 1100 to 1500 A. D.;[1] (2) when the final *e* had gained the victory, but the vocabulary was almoſt wholly Anglo-Saxon, as in Laȝamon, 1150-1250 A. D.

III. Early Engliſh, 1250-1500 A. D. when the vocabulary received large French importations, and the final *e* gradually became grammatically valueleſs.

IV. Middle Engliſh, 1500-1620 A. D.—*F.*]

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[1] [See the preface to Dr. Richard Morris's *Old Engliſh Homilies*, I. Early Engliſh Text Society, 1868; and his ſketch of the characteriſtics of the Tranſition Period of our language in Section 1 below.]

[Sketch of the Hiſtory of Anglo-Saxon Poetry.

By Henry Sweet, of Baliol College, Oxford.

THE forms and traditions of Anglo-Saxon poetry[1] are thoſe which are common to all the old Germanic nations. The eſſential elements of Anglo-Saxon verſification are accent and alliteration. Each long verſe has *four* accented ſyllables, while the number of unaccented ſyllables is indifferent, and is divided by the cæſura into two ſhort verſes, bound together by alliteration: *two* accented ſyllables in the firſt ſhort line, and *one* in the ſecond, beginning with any vowel or the ſame conſonant. Inſtead of two there is often only *one* alliterative letter in the firſt ſhort verſe. The alliterative letter of the ſecond ſhort verſe muſt belong to the firſt of the two accented ſyllables. Of this metre in its ſtricteſt and ſimpleſt form the following line of Beowulf is an example:—

*r*íce to *r*úne | *r*æ̀des eáhtedon.

[1] The ſtandard work for the ſtudy of Anglo-Saxon poetry is the collection of Grein, publiſhed under the title of *Bibliothek der Angelſächſiſchen Poeſie*, in four vols., the firſt two containing critical texts of all known poems, the third and fourth a complete poetical dictionary. In his *Dichtungen der Angelſachſen* Grein has given a literal tranſlation of nearly all the poems. In the *Bibliothek* will be found a complete liſt of all previous editions and tranſlations, nearly all of which, it may be added, are entirely ſuperſeded by Grein's work. It will therefore be neceſſary only to mention thoſe works which have appeared ſince the publication of Grein's *Bibliothek*. Theſe are the edition of the fragments of Waldhere by Profeſſor Stephens and by Grein, as an appendix to his edition of Beowulf and Finneſburg, and Heyne's edition and tranſlation of Beowulf, the former of which has appeared in two editions. A volume of *Metrical Homilies, or Lives of Saints* is preparing for the Early Engliſh Text Society, under Mr. Skeat's editorſhip.

Here are two accents in each short verse, both accented syllables in the first short verse, and the first in the second beginning with the letter *r*. In the line

eórmenláfe | æðelan cýnnes

there are only two alliterative letters, *eo* and *æ*, which, being vowels, are allowed to be different.

As remarked above, the number of unaccented syllables is indifferent; the same remark applies, within certain limits, to an excess of *accented* syllables also. The most important of these limitations is that all additional accents in the second short verse must come *before* the alliterative syllable. Generally speaking, the number of accents in an ordinary long line does not exceed *five:*

mícel mórgenswég | mære þeóden.
fæder on láste | síððan fórð gewát.

Such is the general structure of the great majority of Anglo-Saxon verses. More elaborate modifications are, however, occasionally introduced, generally in solemn, lyrical passages. The most important characteristic of these metres is the regular introduction of unaccented syllables, each accented syllable being followed by one or more unaccented, the last foot but one of the line (containing the alliterative letter) especially being often a dactyl. This kind of verse often resembles the ancient hexameter, when read accentually. The comparison of the two following lines will at once show how much of the character of Anglo-Saxon verse depends on the use of unaccented syllables:

mícel mórgenswég | mære þeóden.
rínca to rúne gegángan | hi ða on réste gebróhton.

This kind of verse is also generally characterised by an increased number of accented syllables, generally not less than six, often more:

ðónne hi mæst mid him | mærða gefrémedon.
geófian mid góda gehwílcum | ðeáh he his gíngran ne sénde.
geheáwan ðísne mórðres brýttan | geúnne me mínra gesýnta.
síra beárn on ðíssum fæstum clómmum | ongínnað nu ýmb ða fýrde þéncean.

More rarely we meet with an increased number of accented, without unaccented syllables; the effect is peculiar, and quite different from that of the hexameter-like lines quoted above; two lines of the *Wanderer* afford a good example:

hwær cwóm meárg? hwær cwóm mágo? | hwær cwóm máððumgífa?
hwær cwóm símbla gesétu? | hwær síndon séledreámas?

Different as these metres are, they all belong to the same type, which is represented in the simplest form in the verse of Beowulf first quoted. All the variations reduce themselves to:—

(1.) Insertion of additional feet before the alliterative syllable of the second short line.

(2.) Regular use of unaccented syllables.

(3.) Increase in the number of accents in the first short verse.

So that the only really arbitrary feature is the varying number of accents in the first short verse; although this license, like all others

in Anglo-Saxon poetry, is always regulated by the metrical feeling of the poet, and often depends on the more or leſs regular uſe of unaccented ſyllables. The ſtricteſt part of the line is the ſecond ſhort verſe: only one alliterative letter is allowed, and its poſition and that of the inſerted ſyllables are fixed (compare alſo the remark about the dactylic feet). This tendency to metrical concentration and ſtrictneſs at the end of the line is common to all metres; it is alike evident in the ſtructure of the claſſical hexameter and of the modern rhyming metres. The alliteration, though not the eſſence of the Anglo-Saxon verſification, is a neceſſary element of it, being indiſſolubly connected with the accentuation. It cannot therefore, like modern rhyme, be omitted or modified at pleaſure. There are alſo traces of rhyme, and one poem, commonly called the *Rhyming Poem*, is compoſed throughout of very elaborate rhymes.

An eſſential feature of Anglo-Saxon poetry is the uſe of poetic words and phraſes: words being employed in poetry which do not occur in proſe, or proſe words and phraſes being uſed in a peculiar ſenſe. There is alſo a ſtrong tendency to appoſition, which in ſome caſes almoſt amounts to paralleliſm, as in Hebrew poetry: "ðæt ic *ſæneſſas* geſeon mihte, *windige weallas*," ſo that I could ſee the ſea-headlands, the windy walls; "ðæt ðu us gebrohte *brante ceole*, hea hornſcipe, ofer hwæles eðel," that thou mighteſt bring us in a ſteep veſſel, a high-prowed ſhip, over the whale's country (the ſea). In this laſt example the two adjectives are exactly parallel, and have practically the ſame meaning. This tendency is ſtrikingly ſhown in the frequent uſe of an adjective in appoſition to a ſubſtantive, inſtead of attributively: "hæfdon ſwurd nacod, heard on handa," we held in our hands keen ſwords unſheathed.

This ſimplicity and freedom of form, which is characteriſtic of the earlieſt poetry of all the Teutonic nations, has led narrow-minded and ſuperficial writers to deſcribe Anglo-Saxon poetry as lines of bad proſe, joined together by alliteration; forgetting that the higheſt artiſtic excellence is attainable in many ways, and that the metrical laws which ſuit one language, are totally out of place in another of different ſtructure. A ſtrict and unvarying ſyſtem of verſification, like the Homeric hexameter, in which a battle and a cooking operation are deſcribed in the ſame metre, would have ſeemed intolerable to a Northern poet: he required one which would adapt itſelf to every phaſe of emotion and change of action, which in deſcribing proſaic incidents, ſuch as will occur in every narrative poem of any length, could be let down nearly to the level of ordinary proſe, with an effective tranſition to the more concentrated paſſages. The leading principle in Anglo-Saxon poetry is to ſubordinate form to matter. No brilliancy of language or metre is accepted as a ſubſtitute for poverty of thought or feeling; purely technical poetry, with a few trifling exceptions, is not known. This tendency is clearly brought out by a compariſon of the cloſely allied poetry of the Scandinavians, as carried to its higheſt point of development in Norway and Iceland. Here the original metrical ſyſtem,

eſſentially the ſame as the Anglo-Saxon, was at an early period brought to a high degree of perfection. The number of ſyllables was made invariable, the alliteration was refined and regulated, and rhymes, both initial and final, were introduced, the original alliteration being ſtill preſerved. But theſe technical advantages were counterbalanced by an almoſt total ſtagnation of any higher artiſtic development. Lyric and dramatic poetry, traces of which are found in the earlieſt poems of Edda, remain undeveloped, and at laſt poetry degenerates into a purely mechanical art, valued only in proportion to the difficulty of its execution. The Anglo-Saxons, on the other hand, whilſt preſerving the utmoſt technical ſimplicity, developed not only an elaborate epic ſtyle, but what is more remarkable, produced lyric and didactic poetry of high merit, and this at a very early period, certainly at leaſt as early as the beginning of the eighth century.

Important characteriſtics of Anglo-Saxon poetry are conciſeneſs and directneſs. Everything that retards the action or obſcures the main ſentiment of the poem is avoided, hence all ſimiles are extremely rare. In the whole poem of Beowulf there are ſcarcely half a dozen of them, and theſe of the ſimpleſt character, ſuch as comparing a ſhip to a bird. Indeed, ſuch a ſimple compariſon as this is almoſt equivalent to the more uſual "kenning" (as it is called in Icelandic), ſuch as "brimfugol," where, inſtead of comparing the ſhip to a bird, the poet ſimply calls it a ſea-bird, preferring the direct aſſertion to the indirect compariſon. Such elaborate compariſons as are found in Homer and his Roman imitator are quite foreign to the ſpirit of Northern poetry.

A marked feature of Anglo-Saxon poetry is a tendency to melancholy and pathos, which tinges the whole literature: even the ſong of victory ſhows it, and joined to the heathen fataliſm of the oldeſt poems, it produces a deep gloom, which would be painful were it not relieved by that high moral idealiſm which is never wanting in Anglo-Saxon poetry. This tendency was, no doubt, ſtrengthened by the great political calamities of the Anglo-Saxons, their precarious hold upon Britain, their civil and foreign wars, which ultimately brought about their national extinction. Deſcriptions of nature are not unfrequent in Anglo-Saxon poetry, and form one of its moſt characteriſtic features; for deſcriptions of natural ſcenery are generally unknown in early literature, and are often rare in many, which are otherwiſe highly developed. Elaborate deſcriptions of gardens may be found in Homer and the Italian poets, but hardly any of wild nature. In the lyrical German poetry of the thirteenth century, there is evidence enough of a ſtrong feeling for nature, but there is no diſtinctneſs or individuality—nothing but general alluſions to the brightneſs of the flowers and the ſong of the birds, which ſoon petrify to mere formulæ. In Anglo-Saxon poetry, on the other hand, ſuch paſſages as the deſcriptions of Grendel's abode in Beowulf (p. 11 below), have a vividneſs and individuality which make them not inferior to the moſt perfect examples of de-

ſcriptive poetry in modern Engliſh literature,—perhaps the higheſt praiſe that can be given. This characteriſtic forms a ſtrong bond of union between the two literatures, ſo different in many other reſpects, and it is not impoſſible that ſome of the higher qualities of modern Engliſh poetry are to be aſſigned to traditions of the old Anglo-Saxon literature, obſcured for a time by thoſe didactic, political, and allegorical tendencies which almoſt extinguiſhed genuine poetry in the Early Engliſh period. The bulk of the poetical literature that has come down to us is conſiderable, but the pieces are of various degrees of value, and ſome of them are totally deſtitute of poetical merit. There can be no doubt that the works we poſſeſs do not fairly repreſent the actual literature. They have not been handed down to us from generation to generation, and preſerved in many MSS., as is the caſe with the literatures of ancient Greece and Rome; where, if a work is loſt, we are to a great extent juſtified in aſſuming it to have been of inferior merit. We know that for many centuries after the Conqueſt books written in the old language were conſidered as waſte parchment, and utilized accordingly; and that great havoc was made among the monaſtic libraries at the Reformation. The conſequence is that many of the fineſt poems are mere fragments, and thoſe that are preſerved have eſcaped total deſtruction by a ſeries of lucky chances, and, with a few trifling exceptions, are preſerved only in ſingle manuſcripts.

The chronology and authorſhip of the poems are in moſt caſes very uncertain. Several of them were certainly compoſed before the German colonization of Britain, however much they may have been altered and interpolated in later times. It is equally certain that by far the greater number of the other poems were compoſed in Northumbria. Cædmon we know to have been a Northumbrian, both from the expreſs teſtimony of Bede, and from the fact of a few lines of his being preſerved in the original northern dialect. The name of Cynewulf is introduced into ſeveral poems contained in the Exeter and Vercelli MSS., three times in a kind of acroſtic in Runic letters, once in a riddle or rather charade on his own name. As all theſe poems are written in the ordinary Weſt-Saxon dialect, it was at firſt ſuppoſed that Cynewulf was a native of the ſouth of England; but when the Runic inſcription of the Ruthwell croſs in Dumfrieſshire was deciphered, and ſhown to be a fragment of a poem of Cynewulf's, which is preſerved entire in the Vercelli MS., it became at once evident that the poems of Cædmon and Cynewulf in their preſent ſhape are copies of Northumbrian originals, altered to ſuit the ſouthern dialect. How far the analogy holds good for the remaining poems of unaſcertained authorſhip is uncertain. As we know that literature was firſt cultivated in the north, there is an *à priori* probability in the caſe of all the older poems that they were either compoſed by Northumbrians, or at leaſt were firſt written down in Northumbria. Indeed, there are only two poems of any merit to which we can aſſign with any certainty a ſouthern origin. Theſe are the ode on the battle of Brunan-

burg, and the narrative of the battle of Maldon, which were, no doubt, compoſed immediately after the events they record. King Alfred's tranſlation of the metres of Boethius is almoſt entirely deſtitute of poetical merit.

It is probable that the earlieſt poetry of the Anglo-Saxons conſiſted of ſingle ſtrophes, each narrating, or rather alluding to, ſome exploit of a hero or god, or expreſſing ſome ſingle ſentiment, generally of a proverbial or gnomic character. Such is the poetry of ſavage nations. The next ſtage is to combine theſe ſtrophes into connected groups. The third is to abandon the ſtrophic arrangement altogether. With regard to the poetical form, it is tolerably certain that in the earlieſt ſtage there was no difference between poetry and proſe; in fact, poetry was entirely unformal—ſimply a concentrated proſe. Of all civilized poetical literatures, the moſt primitive is that of the ancient Hebrew, which is only diſtinguiſhed from proſe by the ſymmetry and mutual correſpondence of its ſentences. This paralleliſm we have recognized as a frequent, though not eſſential, ingredient of Anglo-Saxon verſe; it is alſo ſtrongly developed in the earlieſt Scandinavian poetry. It ſeems, therefore, not improbable that the Anglo-Saxon poetry in its earlieſt ſtage conſiſted of lines of proſe connected only by paralleliſm. When alliteration had developed itſelf and become a conſtant element of the poetic form, the paralleliſm would gradually fall into diſuſe, as in Latin literature the regular alliteration of Nævius becomes ſporadic in Virgil.

Almoſt the only example of ſtrophic poetry in Anglo-Saxon is the poem known as *Deor's Complaint*. The poem is obſcure, and has been handed down to us in a corrupt and mutilated ſtate, but its ſtrophic character is unmiſtakeable. The firſt and laſt two ſtrophes conſiſt of ſix lines each, and all ſix ſtrophes end with the ſame refrain. All the old Scandinavian epic and mythological ſongs are ſtrophic; and the connection between the ſtrophes is often ſo little evident that it is a work of difficulty to arrange them in proper order; in ſhort, the regular epos is hardly developed at all. It is not impoſſible that *Deor's Complaint* is a ſolitary remnant of the ſame ſtage of Anglo-Saxon poetry; the poem deals excluſively with the hiſtorical and mythological traditions common to all the Teutonic nations, and may eaſily have been compoſed before the migration to England. It muſt, however, be borne in mind that the uſe of a primitive form is quite compatible with a comparatively recent origin of a poem, eſpecially one of a half lyric character, like *Deor's Complaint*. The other epic pieces ſeem to be quite deſtitute of ſtrophic arrangement, moſt of them exhibit the epos in its moſt advanced and artiſtic form, although the greater bulk of the epic poetry being preſerved only in fragments, it is difficult to determine whether theſe fragments form part of a regular epos, or are merely epic ſongs like thoſe of the *Edda*. It is probable that ſome of them may belong to this latter claſs, of which we have an undoubted ſpecimen, compoſed in hiſtorical times, the *Battle of Maldon*. Every genuine

national epos preſuppoſes a ſtage of literature, in which theſe ſhort hiſtorical ſongs were the only narrative poems exiſting; for the genuine epic, which is regarded by thoſe for whom it is compoſed as hiſtory, and nothing elſe, is never invented, but has to draw on the common national ſtock of hiſtorical and mythological tradition. How far the original ſubſtructure of ſeparate ſongs is ſtill viſible in the finiſhed epos, depends entirely on the genius of the manipulator, and his command of his materials. If he is deſtitute of invention and combination, he will leave the ſeparate poems unaltered, except, perhaps, in caſes of repetition and very obvious contradiction, and merely cement them together by a few lines of his own. Many of the Eddaic poems are in this ſtage: they are patchwork, evidently executed long after the true epic ſpirit had died. Very often the connecting and complementary paſſages are written in proſe, ſo that the genius of a Lachmann is hardly needed to cut out the interpolation. But if the traditions contained in theſe ſongs are handled by a poet, that is to ſay, a man of invention, combination, and judgment, they are liable to undergo conſiderable modifications. There will be room for original work in connecting the various incidents and introducing epiſodes, in removing incongruities and repetitions, and in fuſing together two or more different renderings of the ſame tradition. In ſhort, the uſe of traditional material does not in the ſlighteſt degree preclude originality. This has often been overlooked by critics who have endeavoured to analyſe ſuch poems as the *Iliad* or *Nibelungenlied* into their original ſongs; the reſult in the caſe of the *Nibelungenlied* is that the diſſector, after employing an elaborate apparatus of brackets, parentheſes, and italics, is obliged to confeſs that the exciſed paſſages not only mar by their abſence the ſymmetry of the whole, but are often ſuperior to thoſe which are allowed to remain. We know that Shakeſpeare founded his *Julius Cæſar* on Plutarch, but we do not wiſh to ſee his play cut up according to the chapters of North's Plutarch.

The only national epic which has been preſerved entire is Beowulf. Its argument is briefly as follows:

The poem opens with a few verſes in praiſe of the Daniſh kings, eſpecially Scild, the ſon of Sceaf. His death is related, and his deſcendants briefly traced down to Hroðgar. Hroðgar, elated with his proſperity and ſucceſs in war, builds a magnificent hall, which he calls Heorot. In this hall Hroðgar and his retainers live in joy and feſtivity, until a malignant fiend, called Grendel, jealous of their happineſs, carries off by night thirty of Hroðgar's men, and devours them in his moorland retreat. Theſe ravages go on for twelve years. Beowulf, a thane of Hygelac, king of the Goths, hearing of Hroðgar's calamities, ſails from Sweden with fourteen warriors to help him. They reach the Daniſh coaſt in ſafety, and, after an animated parley with Hrodgar's coaſt-guard, who at firſt takes them for pirates, they are allowed to proceed to the royal hall, where they are well received by Hrodgar. A banquet enſues, during which Beowulf is taunted by the envious Hunferhð about his

ſwimming-match with Breca, king of the Brondings. Beowulf gives the true account of the conteſt, and ſilences Hunferhð. At nightfall the king departs, leaving Beowulf in charge of the hall. Grendel ſoon breaks in, ſeizes and devours one of Beowulf's companions, is attacked by Beowulf, and after loſing an arm, which is torn off by Beowulf, eſcapes to the fens. The joy of Hroðgar and the Danes, and their feſtivities, are deſcribed, various epiſodes are introduced, and Beowulf and his companions receive ſplendid gifts. The next night Grendel's mother revenges her ſon by carrying off Æſchere, the friend and councillor of Hroðgar, during the abſence of Beowulf. Hroðgar appeals to Beowulf for vengeance, and deſcribes the haunts of Grendel and his mother. They all proceed thither; the ſcenery of the lake, and the monſters that dwell in it are deſcribed. Beowulf plunges into the water, and attacks Grendel's mother in her dwelling at the bottom of the lake. He at length overcomes her, and cuts off her head, together with that of Grendel, and brings the heads to Hroðgar. He then takes leave of Hroðgar, ſails back to Sweden, and relates his adventures to Hygelac. Here the firſt half of the poem ends. The ſecond begins with the acceſſion of Beowulf to the throne after the fall of Hygelac and his ſon Heardred. He rules proſperouſly for fifty years, till a dragon, brooding over a hidden treaſure, begins to ravage the country, and deſtroys Beowulf's palace with fire. Beowulf ſets out in queſt of its hiding place with twelve men. Having a preſentiment of his approaching end, he pauſes and recalls to mind his paſt life and exploits. He then takes leave of his followers one by one, and advances alone to attack the dragon. Unable from the heat to enter the cavern, he ſhouts aloud, and the dragon comes forth. The dragon's ſcaly hide is proof againſt Beowulf's ſword, and he is reduced to great ſtraits, when Wiglaf, one of his followers, advances to help him. Wiglaf's ſhield is conſumed by the dragon's fiery breath, and he is compelled to ſeek ſhelter under Beowulf's ſhield of iron. Beowulf's ſword ſnaps aſunder, and he is ſeized by the dragon. Wiglaf ſtabs the dragon from underneath, and Beowulf cuts it in two with his dagger. Feeling that his end is near, he bids Wiglaf bring out the treaſures from the cavern, that he may ſee them before he dies. Wiglaf enters the dragon's den, which is deſcribed, returns to Beowulf, and receives his laſt commands. Beowulf dies, and Wiglaf bitterly reproaches his companions for their cowardice. The diſaſtrous conſequences of Beowulf's death are then foretold, and the poem ends with his funeral.

It is evident that the poem as we have it, has undergone conſiderable alterations. In the firſt place there is a diſtinctly Chriſtian element, contraſting ſtrongly with the general heathen colouring of the whole. Many of theſe paſſages are ſo incorporated into the poem, that it is impoſſible to remove them without violent alterations of the text; others again are palpable interpolations. Such are the paſſages where Grendel is deſcribed as a deſcendant of Cain. Perhaps the ſtrongeſt inſtance is one where we have a chriſtian commentary

on a heathen ſuperſtition. We are told that the Danes, in order to avert the miſeries brought on them by Grendel, began to offer ſacrifices to their idols. Then follow ſome verſes beginning: "Such was their cuſtom, the hope of heathens; they thought of hell, but knew not the Lord, the Judge of deeds, &c."

Without theſe additions and alterations, it is certain that we have in Beowulf a poem compoſed before the Teutonic conqueſt of Britain. The localities are purely continental: the ſcenery is laid among the Goths of Sweden and the Danes; in the epiſodes, the Swedes, Friſians, and other continental tribes appear, while there is no mention of England, or the adjoining countries and nations. It is evident that the poem, as a whole, cannot have been compoſed directly from the current traditions of the period: the variety of incidents, their artiſtic treatment, and the epiſodes introduced, ſhow that the poet had ſome foundation to work upon, that there muſt have been ſhort epic ſongs about the exploits of Beowulf current among the people, which he combined into a whole. In the poem as it ſtands, we can eaſily diſtinguiſh four elements: the prologue, the two chief exploits of Beowulf againſt Grendel, the dragon, and the epiſodes.

The attempt to eliminate theſe elements in their original form would be loſt labour, as we have no means of determining the degree of alteration they have undergone; an alteration which, however, to judge from the remarkable unity and homogeneouſneſs of the whole work, muſt have been conſiderable; otherwiſe we ſhould hardly fail to perceive ſome traces of the incongruity and abrupt tranſition which betray a clumſy piece of compilation. The epiſodes would be leſs liable to alteration than thoſe paſſages which form part of the main narrative, and it is highly probable that among them the oldeſt parts of the poem are to be found. Many of theſe epiſodes are extremely obſcure, partly from the corrupt and defective ſtate of the text, partly from the elliptical way in which they are told, evidently leaving a good deal to be filled up by the hearer, to whom the traditions on which they are founded were naturally familiar.

The following literal tranſlations will give ſome idea of the ſtyle of Beowulf. The firſt is the deſcription of Grendel's abode; the ſecond is part of Hroðgar's farewell addreſs to Beowulf; the third is part of the deſcription of Beowulf's funeral, with which the poem ends:

"They hold a hidden land: where wolves lurk, windy neſſes, perilous fen-tracts, where the mountain-ſtream ſhrouded in miſt pours down the cliffs, deep in earth. Not far from here ſtands the lake overſhadowed with groves of ancient trees, faſt by their roots. There a dread fire may be ſeen every night ſhining wondrouſly in the water. The wiſeſt of the ſons of men knows not the bottom. When the heath-ſtalker, the ſtrong-horned ſtag, hard-preſſed by the hounds, courſed from afar, ſeeks ſhelter in the wood, he will yield up his life on the ſhore ſooner than plunge in and hide his head. That is an accurſed place: the ſtrife of waves riſes black to the clouds, when the wind ſtirs hoſtile ſtorms, until the air darkens, the heavens ſhed tears."

"Strange it is to ſay how mighty God generouſly diſpenſes wiſdom, riches, and virtue among men: he has power over all! Sometimes he at will allows to wander the thoughts of the mighty race of man: grants him in his country worldly joys, a man-ſheltering city to hold, lands and wide empire, ſo that for his folly he thinks not of his end. He lives in revelry; neither ſickneſs nor age afflict him, gloomy care beſets not his heart, nor does ſtrife aſſail him from any ſide with hoſtile ſword, but the whole world follows his will. He knows not misfortune, until pride begins to grow and bloſſom within him, when the guardian of the ſoul ſleeps. The ſleep is too heavy, bound with ſorrows, the murderer near at hand, who ſhoots with cruel bow. Then he is wounded in the heart through the ſheltering breaſt by the bitter ſhaft. He cannot ward off the ſtrange influence of the accurſed ſpirit. The riches he held ſo long ſeem to him now too little, greed hardens his heart, he ſeeks not fame with gifts of rings (of gold), but forgets and neglects the future, becauſe of the honour which the Lord of glory formerly granted him. Then comes the end: the worn-out body falls, doomed to death. Another ſucceeds, who diſtributes the hoarded gold without ſtint, heeds not the former owner. Shun this baleful vice, dear Beowulf, beſt of men! Chooſe what is better, eternal wiſdom! Cheriſh not pride, illuſtrious champion! Now is the flower of thy might for a time: ſoon will ſickneſs or ſword part thee from thy ſtrength, or fire's embrace, or the ſea's flood, or ſword's gripe, or ſlight of ſpear, or ſad old age aſſail thee, and veil in darkneſs the glance of thine eyes. Soon, prince, will death overpower thee!"

"Then the men of the Goths wrought a mound on the hill, high and broad, eaſily ſeen from afar by all wave-farers, and built in ten days the warrior's beacon: they raiſed a wall round his aſhes, as honourably as the wiſeſt men could deviſe it. They placed in the mound rings and gems, all the treaſures, of which hoſtile men had ſpoiled the hoard. They let the earth hold the treaſure, the heritage of earls, where it ſtill remains, as uſeleſs to men as it was before. Then round the mound rode a troop of nobles, twelve in all; they wiſhed to mourn the king with fitting words: they praiſed his courage and deeds of valour, as is right for a man to praiſe his dear lord with words, and love him in his heart, when his ſoul has departed from his body. So the Goths mourned their lord's fall, his hearth-companions ſaid that he was the mildeſt and moſt humane of world-kings, the gentleſt to his people, and moſt eager for glory."

Moſt of the other national epic pieces are mere fragments. Two of them, Widſid and Finneſburg, are of ſpecial importance, on account of their intimate connection with Beowulf. The greater part of the firſt of theſe poems is taken up by a long liſt of kings and nations, which Widſid, a minſtrel of noble Myrging family, profeſſes to have viſited. The only paſſages of the poem which have any poetical worth are thoſe in which the wandering life of the minſtrel is deſcribed with conſiderable pictureſqueneſs and power; the main intereſt of the poem is hiſtorical and geographical. An alluſion of

the poet in the introductory verſes to a viſit he had made to Eormenric, king of the Goths, who died A. D. 375, has been aſſumed as a criterion for determining the age of the poem, but there ſeems reaſon to doubt whether Widſid himſelf ever exiſted at all. The name Widſid, literally the "wide wanderer," is ſuſpicious, and a compariſon with many names of Odin of like ſignificance in the Scandinavian mythology, makes it probable that Widſid is a purely mythological perſon, probably Odin himſelf. This does not diminiſh the value of the liſts of kings and nations put into his mouth, many of which are found alſo in Beowulf. There can be no doubt, from the want of any mention of England and the intimate knowledge diſplayed of the continental tribes, that this poem was compoſed before the conqueſt of Britain. The ſubject of the other poem is the attack on Fin's palace in Frieſland, which is alſo alluded to in Beowulf. The poem is a mere fragment. Two inconſiderable fragments of the epic of Waldhere have alſo been preſerved.

Laſtly, there remains one poem, which although not ſtrictly epic in form, yet has a certain connection with the poems treated of above, being founded on the common traditions of the north. This is the piece called *Deor's Complaint*, mentioned above as remarkable for its ſtrophic form. It is indeed almoſt lyric in its character. Deor, the court-poet of the Heodenings, complains that he is ſupplanted by his rival Heorrenda, but conſoles himſelf by the reflection that as Weland and other heroes ſurvived their misfortunes, ſo may he alſo regain his former proſperity.

Next in importance to theſe legendary poems are the two hiſtorical pieces Byrhtnod and Brunanburg, the former purely narrative, the latter ſhowing a decided lyrical tinge. Byrhtnod (otherwiſe known as the "Battle of Maldon"), is meagre in form, being in fact little better than alliterative proſe, yet ſhows conſiderable dramatic power, and is animated throughout by a ſtrong patriotic feeling. The language and general tone of the poem ſhow that it muſt have been compoſed immediately after the battle it celebrates (A. D. 993); it is even poſſible that the poet himſelf took an active part in it. This hiſtorical character gives the poem its ſpecial intereſt; in it we recogniſe the epic ſong in its moſt primitive ſtage, unaltered and unadorned by tradition. The beginning and end of the poem are loſt, but the context ſhows that there cannot be many lines miſſing. The argument of the poem is as follows:—The "ealdorman" Byrhtnod aſſembles a body of men to oppoſe the landing of a body of Daniſh pirates at Maldon in Eſſex. They offer to return to their ſhips in peace, if Byrhtnod will agree to pay them any ſum of money they may fix. Byrhtnod rejects all terms, and prepares to oppoſe their landing. The bridge over the Pant is ſucceſsfully defended, but as the tide ebbs, the Danes ford the ſtream higher up, and attack the Engliſh on their own ground. Byrhtnod falls, and a general flight enſues. Many of the beſt men however rally and the fight is renewed.

The Brunanburg battle ſong commemorates the great victory of

Ædelſtan over the Danes and Scotch at Brunanburg. This piece is inſerted in the Saxon Chronicle under the year 938 inſtead of the uſual proſe entry. This deliberate ſubſtitution, together with the general ſtyle of the poem, ſhows that it is not a popular ſong, but was compoſed expreſſly for the Chronicle. This piece is inferior in intereſt to Byrhtnod. The language and metre are dignified and harmonious, but there is a perceptible tendency to bombaſt and overcharging with epithets, while the fineſt paſſages have rather the character of reminiſcences from the common poetical traditions than of original invention. Nevertheleſs as a whole it is a noble poem, and ſtands alone in our literature. Its ſubſtance is as follows:—King Ædelſtan and his brother gained life-long glory at Brunanburg. From early dawn till ſunſet the Northmen and Scotch fell. Two kings, eight earls were ſlain, and a countleſs hoſt beſides. Anlaf, the Northern king, fled over the dark ſea with a ſad remnant, and Conſtantine, the King of Scotland, left his ſon on the battle-field; nor had they cauſe to boaſt of their meeting with the ſons of Edward. Then the brothers returned to the land of the Weſt-Saxons, leaving behind them the wolf and raven to tear the ſlain. Never was a greater ſlaughter in this iſland, ſince firſt thoſe proud warriors the Engliſh and Saxons croſſed the broad ſea, overcame the Welſh, and won their lands!

There are ſeveral other poems of inferior merit incorporated into the *Chronicle*. The beſt perhaps is the ſhort piece commemorating the releaſe of five cities from the Daniſh yoke by Edmund (A. D. 942): it ſhows ſomething of that ſkilful command of proper names, which forms ſo eſſential an element of Roman poetry.

Beſides the national epics there are a large number of narrative poems founded on religious ſubjects. Theſe poems are entirely national in treatment: the language, coſtume and habits are purely Engliſh; there is no attempt at local or antiquarian colouring. The moſt important of theſe poems are thoſe of Cædmon, of whoſe life and compoſitions an intereſting account is given by Bede in his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. The ſubſtance of his account is this:—Attached to the monaſtery of the Abbeſs Hild at Whitby was a certain man named Cædmon. Cædmon, never having learned any poems, often uſed to ſteal out of the houſe, when the harp was paſſed round at feſtive meetings. On one of theſe occaſions he retired to the cattle-ſtall, and there fell aſleep. A man appeared to him in a dream, and commanded him to ſing ſomething. He excuſed himſelf at firſt, but finally when aſked to ſing of the beginning of things, he began a poem, which he had never heard before. When he awoke, he remembered the words, and added many more in the ſame metre. The abbeſs then perſuaded him to forſake worldly life, and become a monk. He learnt the whole of the Bible hiſtory, and all that he remembered he ruminated, like a pure animal, and turned it into the ſweeteſt poetry, and his teachers wrote it down from his mouth. He ſang of the creation of the world, and the origin of the human race, the whole hiſtory contained in Geneſis, the departure of the

Iſraelites from Egypt and their entering into the promiſed land, and many other ſcripture narratives,—of the incarnation, paſſion, reſurrection and aſcenſion of Chriſt, of the coming of the Holy Ghoſt and the apoſtolic doctrine, alſo of the terror of the day of judgment, the torments of hell and delights of heaven, and he compoſed many other poems about the beneficence and juſtice of God, and never would make any poems on ſecular or frivolous ſubjects. Hild was abbeſs from 657 to 680. The firſt lines of Cædmon are preſerved at the end of a MS. of Bede's *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* of the early part of the eighth century. They agree very cloſely with Bede's tranſlation of them in the hiſtory, and as they are in the old Northumbrian dialect we may conclude that in them we have the exact words of the poet. The great bulk of his poetry is contained in a much later MS. written in the uſual ſouthern dialect. The beginning of this MS. correſponds in matter to the firſt lines of Cædmon in their oldeſt form, but there is ſuch diſcrepancy in the actual words and expreſſions, that the authenticy of the later MS. has been denied. However, the compariſon of the analogous diſcrepancies between the two verſions of Cynewulf's poem of the *Croſs*, alſo preſerved both in the original northern form and in a ſouthern MS., ſhows that either the original poems were liable to conſiderable variations or that the ſouthern tranſcribers took great liberties with their originals; probably both cauſes worked together. In the caſe of theſe lines of Cædmon ſuch variations are quite conceivable. Their poetical merit is not high; they form merely an introduction to a longer poem, and as ſuch might eaſily have been altered afterwards by the poet himſelf. We may have in the earlier lines the rough draft, which appears in the later MS. in a reviſed and expanded form. The contents of the later MS. agree alſo with Bede's enumeration, although it contains only a part of his poems. Cædmon's poetry naturally falls into four diviſions. The firſt conſiſts of the poems founded on the book of Geneſis, which ſeem to be preſerved entire, with the exception of a few leaves cut out in the MS., down to the intended ſacrifice of Iſaac. Then follows the departure of the Iſraelites from Egypt. All the other Old Teſtament narratives are loſt except that founded on the adventures of Daniel. The New Teſtament pieces are chiefly repreſented by Chriſt's deſcent into hell. This poem is not mentioned by Bede, probably becauſe it is not ſtrictly a ſcripture narrative. There are beſides ſeveral ſmaller pieces founded on New Teſtament narratives, ſome of doubtful authenticity.

It has exerciſed an unfortunate influence on the due appreciation of Anglo-Saxon poetry that Cædmon has always been held up as its moſt important repreſentative. Although his poetry contains many fine paſſages and always ſhows conſiderable metrical power, it is as a whole inferior to that of the other religious poets. The moſt ſerious fault of his poetry is the almoſt total want of conſtructive power and command of his material, which often reduced his poems to mere paraphraſes. Thus, to the narrative of the creation and fall is appended a circumſtantial and tedious liſt of the de-

ſcendants of Adam, and the length of their lives, followed by the remaining hiſtory contained in the Book of *Geneſis*. This feature of Cædmon's poetry is the more ſtriking as it contraſts remarkably with the perfect ſtructure of *Judith* and the religious epics of Cynewulf. The beſt portions of his poetry are thoſe which narrate the creation and fall of the rebellious angels. Theſe paſſages have all the grandeur of Milton, without his bombaſtic pedantry.

Of the poem of *Judith* only the laſt three cantos are preſerved; the firſt nine, with the exception of a few lines of the laſt, are entirely loſt. The fragment opens with the deſcription of a banquet, to which Holofernes invites his chiefs. Then follows the death of Holofernes at the hands of Judith, the attack on the Aſſyrian camp at daybreak, and ſlaughter of the Aſſyrians. Mutilated as it is, this poem is one of the fineſt in the whole range of Anglo-Saxon literature. The language is of the moſt poliſhed and brilliant character; the metre harmonious, and varied with admirable ſkill. The action is dramatic and energetic, culminating impreſſively in the cataſtrophe of Holofernes' death; but there is none of that pathos which gives Beowulf ſo much of its power: the whole poem breathes only of triumph and warlike enthuſiaſm. In conſtructive ſkill and perfect command of his foreign ſubject, the unknown author of *Judith* ſurpaſſes both Cædmon and Cynewulf, while he is certainly not inferior to either of them in command of language and metre.

The name of Cynewulf has already been mentioned as contained in ſeveral poems. Theſe are the cycle of hymns on the threefold coming of Chriſt, commonly known as Cynewulf's Criſt, the Paſſion of St. Juliana, both in the Exeter MS., and the Elene or Finding of the Croſs in the Vercelli MS. His name is alſo contained in a charade prefixed to the collection of riddles in the Exeter MS. The poem of Elene is immediately preceded in the MS. by a work of a ſimilar character, relating the adventures of St. Andrew among the cannibal Marmedonians, ending, like the Elene and Juliana, with an epilogue, wherein the poet, after briefly alluding to the fates of the other apoſtles, expreſſes penitence for his ſins. There is every reaſon for believing that the concluſion of this piece, which is unfortunately cut out, contained an acroſtic ſimilar to that in the Elene, and from their marked reſemblance of language and ſtyle, that the two poems are by the ſame author. The poem of Elene is preceded by a ſhort piece called the Dream of the Croſs, evidently compoſed by Cynewulf as an introduction to the longer poem, and expreſſly alluded to in the epilogue of the Elene. There are ſeveral other pieces contained in the Exeter book, which from evidence of ſtyle ſeem alſo to be Cynewulf's. Theſe are the Life of St. Gudlac, and the deſcriptive poem of the Phœnix, and ſeveral ſmaller lyric pieces, the moſt important of which are the Wanderer and the Seafarer.

Theſe paſſages in which the poet introduces his name, are alſo of value, as affording ſome biographical data. They tend to ſhow that in his youth Cynewulf held the poſt of minſtrel at the court

of one of the Northumbrian kings, and that in one of thoſe civil wars which deſolated Northumbria in the 8th century, he was driven into exile. In his old age a total change came over Cynewulf, which he himſelf attributes to the miraculous viſion of the croſs. Up to this time he confeſſes that he was a frivolous and ſinful man, given over to worldly purſuits; but after being commanded by the croſs to reveal his viſion to men, he devoted himſelf entirely to religious poetry. To this period of his life belong, therefore, the longer narrative poems, all of which are founded on religious ſubjects. The internal evidence, on which theſe reſults depend, may not be altogether truſtworthy; but the main reſult, viz, that Cynewulf was a minſtrel by profeſſion, and not, as formerly ſuppoſed, a churchman, ſeems incontrovertible. The moſt valuable and characteriſtic of Cynewulf's poems are the early lyric pieces; the longer poems, although always diſtinguiſhed by grace of diction and metre, pathos, and delicacy of feeling, are inferior to *Beowulf* and *Judith* in the ſpecially epic qualities.

The ſhorter poems of Cynewulf ſhow lyric poetry in its earlieſt ſtage, in which the narrative and deſcriptive element is ſtill to a great degree predominant: the lyric idea is encloſed, as it were, in an epic frame. The *Wanderer* and the *Wife's Complaint* both turn on the miſeries of exile and ſolitude. In the former of theſe poems, which is the more important, the Wanderer bewails the ſlaughter of his lord and kinſmen, the deſtruction of their burg, and the hardſhips of his wanderings. Into this half-epic matter are woven reflections on the excellence of conſtancy and ſilent endurance, and on the tranſitory nature of earthly things: the ruins which cover the face of the earth are but preſages of that general deſtruction to which all things are tending; the world grows old and decrepit day by day. The *Seafarer* is fragmentary, and therefore ſomewhat obſcure. Its general ſubject is the dangers and hardſhips of the ſea, and the faſcinations of a ſailor's roving life, with a purely lyrical undercurrent of ideas ſimilar to thoſe of the *Wanderer*. Theſe poems have a wonderful harmony of language and metre, which is of courſe quite loſt in a tranſlation. The following piece is a literal rendering of a few lines of the *Seafarer*:—

"He cares not for harp, or gifts of gold; his joy is not in woman, nor are his thoughts of the world, or of aught elſe except the rolling waves; but he yearns ever to venture on the ſea. The groves reſume their flowers, the hills grow fair, the heath brightens, the world ſhakes off ſloth. All this only reminds him to ſtart on his journey, eager to depart on the diſtant tracts of ocean. The cuckoo alſo reminds him with his ſad voice, when the guardian of ſummer ſings, and bodes bitter heart-ſorrow. (The cuckoo's ſong is here taken in the double ſenſe of a bad omen and harbinger of ſummer—*Rieger*.) The man who lives in luxury knows not what they endure who wander far in exile! Therefore now my mind wanders out of my breaſt over the ſea-floods, where the whale dwells,

returns again to me, fierce and eager, ſcreams in its ſolitary flight, impels me irreſiſtibly on the path of death over the ocean waters."

The *Ruin* is, unhappily, a very mutilated fragment. It deſcribes a ruined caſtle, whoſe builders have long ſince paſſed away. This poem, together with the *Wanderer* and *Seafarer*, are the fineſt lyric pieces we poſſeſs. *The Complaint of the Soul to the Body*, and *The Bleſſed Soul's addreſs to the Body*, treat of a favourite ſubject of the middle ages. Other ſhort poems of a lyrical and didactic characſter have for their ſubjects the various fortunes of men, the various arts of men, the falſehood of men, the pride of men. Theſe pieces are of no great literary merit, but their antiquarian value, as illuſtrations of life and manners, is conſiderable. *The Father's Advice to his Son*, is, as the title ſhows, purely didactic. The Gnomic poems conſiſt of a ſtring of aphoriſms and proverbs ſtrung together, often in a ſomewhat diſconnected manner. Many of the paſſages are extremely poetical, and the poems generally bear a ſtriking reſemblance to the Norſe Hávamál, and like them, belong no doubt to the earlieſt ſtage of poetry, however much they may have been altered in later times. The curious poem, *Salomon and Saturn*, conſiſts alſo of a variety of gnomic ſentences, mixed, however, with a variety of other matter, in the form of a dialogue. Much of the poem is of foreign origin, and often wildly extravagant, but many paſſages have a ſtrongly heathen character, and are probably fragments of ſome older piece reſembling the Eddaic Vafþrúdniſmál. *Solomon and Saturn* treats of the divine virtue, perſonified under the myſtic name of "Paternoſter," of "vaſa mortis," the bird of death, of the fall of the angels, of the good and evil ſpirits that watch over men to encourage them to virtue or tempt to evil, of fate, old age, and various moral and religious ſubjects. Many paſſages of the poem are of high poetic beauty. The *Riddles* of Cynewulf are very pleaſing. Many of them are true poems, containing beautiful deſcriptions of nature; and all of them have the charm of harmonious language and metre.

The religious lyric poetry is chiefly repreſented by the metrical pſalms. The tranſlation is a very fine one, far ſuperior to any modern verſion. The language and ſtyle ſhow that it was originally compoſed in the Northern dialect. The imperfect ſcholarſhip of the tranſlator makes it doubtful whether the work is to be aſcribed to Aldhelm, as ſuggeſted by Dietrich. Several metrical hymns and prayers, of little value, have alſo been preſerved. The moſt valuable of the religious lyrics is the "Dream of the Croſs," compoſed by Cynewulf, as an introduction to the *Elene*. The following is an abridged tranſlation of the poem:—

"Lo! I will tell of the beſt of viſions, which I dreamed at midnight. I thought I ſaw a noble tree raiſed aloft, encircled with light, bright with gems and molten gold. On it gazed all the angels of God, men, and all this fair creation; for it was no felon's gallows, but a noble victorious tree, and I was ſtained with ſins. My mind was ſad, aweſtruck at the fair ſight, as I watched its changing hues:

now it was wet with blood, now bright with gold. I lay there a long while, gazing ſorrowfully on the Saviour's tree, till I heard a voice: the beſt of woods began then to ſpeak: 'It was long ago (I remember it ſtill), when I was hewn on the borders of a foreſt, torn from my roots. Strong foes ſeized me, bore me on their ſhoulders, and fixed me on a hill. There they bade me raiſe aloft their felons. Then I ſaw the Lord of mankind haſten courageouſly, ready to aſcend me. The young hero girded himſelf, he was God Almighty, reſolute and ſtern of mood; he aſcended the lofty gallows, proudly in the ſight of many, eager to redeem mankind. I trembled, when the King embraced me, yet I durſt not bow to earth; I could eaſily have felled all my foes, yet I ſtood firm. They pierced me with dark nails, the wounds are ſtill viſible on me, open gaſhes of malice. I durſt not harm any of them, and they reviled us both together. I was all ſtained with blood; it poured from the hero's ſide, when he had yielded up his ſpirit. Many cruel fates have I endured on that hill! The Lord's body was ſhrouded in black clouds; deep ſhade oppreſſed the ſun's rays. All creation wept, mourned the king's fall: Chriſt was on the rood. Nobles came, haſtening from afar; I beheld it all. I was ſorely oppreſſed with ſorrow, yet I bowed humbly before thoſe men, yielded myſelf readily into their hands. They took Almighty God, and raiſed him from the cruel torment. They laid him down weary in his limbs, ſtood around at the head of the corpſe, gazing on the Lord of heaven, and he reſted there a while, weary after the great toil. They began then to work an earth-houſe, cutting it in white ſtone, and placed in it the victorious king. They ſang then a lay of ſorrow, diſconſolate at eventide, when they departed weary from the noble prince. He reſted there with a ſcanty retinue. The corpſe grew cold, the fair life-dwelling. They began then to fell us all to the ground: that was a terrible fate! They buried us in a deep pit, but the Lord's diſciples found me, and adorned me with gold and ſilver. Now thou haſt heard, dear friend, what ſorrows I have endured. On me the Son of God ſuffered, therefore I now tower glorioufly under the heavens, and I can heal all who revere me. Once I was the hardeſt of tortures, the moſt hateful to men, until I cleared for them the way of life.'"]

The Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry.

SECTION I.

IN the foregoing account of Anglo-Saxon poetry, Mr. Sweet has intentionally paſſed over ſeveral Saints' Lives and other like productions which are hardly to be diſtinguiſhed from alliterative proſe in ſhort lines, and are not really metrical. The Percy Society's Anglo-Saxon *Paſſion of St. George* (1850), Mr. Earle's *Saint Swiđun*, &c., are of this claſs; and the third ſeries of Ælfric's *Homilies* (mainly lives of ſaints), on which Mr. Skeat is now engaged for the Early Engliſh Text Society,[1] will probably prove to be ſo.

We now paſs on to the Second or Tranſition ſtage of Engliſh, which is generally called Semi-Saxon. Its firſt ſtage,—1100-1150, A.D.—contains no very ſtriking ſpecimens in any ſpecies of compoſition. Its ſubſtance was Anglo-Saxon, with degrading forms, and ſlightly mixed with Norman-French. The Saxon, a language ſubſiſting on uniform principles, and poliſhed by poets and theologiſts, however corrupted by the Danes, had much perſpicuity, ſtrength, and harmony: while the Norman-French imported by the Conqueror and his people—though of mixed origin (principally Latin, with a ſlight admixture of Teutonic and Celtic),—was a tongue of great beauty and power.

[Norman and Saxon ſtruggled for the maſtery, and] in this fluctuating ſtate of our national ſpeech, the French predominated [for a time]. Even before the Conqueſt the Saxon language began to fall into contempt, and the French, or Frankiſh, to be ſubſtituted in its ſtead: a circumſtance which at once facilitated and foretold the Norman acceſſion. In the year 652, [if we may truſt the ſpurious Hiſtory of Ingulphus] it was the common practice of the Anglo-Saxons to ſend their youth to the monaſteries of France for educa-

[1] [This ſociety has undertaken to print all our unedited Anglo-Saxon MSS. Thoſe of the time of Alfred are under Mr. Sweet's charge; the later ones will be edited by Dr. R. Morris, Mr. Skeat, and Mr. Lumby.]

tion:[1] and not only the language but the manners of the [Franks] were eſteemed the moſt polite accompliſhments.[2] In the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, the reſort of Normans to the Engliſh court was ſo frequent, that the affectation of imitating the Frankiſh cuſtoms became almoſt univerſal; and the nobility were ambitious of catching the Frankiſh idiom. It was no difficult taſk for the Norman lords to baniſh that language, of which the natives began to be abſurdly aſhamed. The new invaders [are ſaid, but probably in error, to have] commanded the laws to be adminiſtered in French.[3] Many charters of monaſteries were forged in Latin by the Saxon monks for the preſent ſecurity of their poſſeſſions, in conſequence of that averſion which the Normans profeſſed to the Saxon tongue.[4] Even children at ſchool were forbidden [ſays the ſpurious Ingulphus] to read in their native language, and inſtructed in a knowledge of the Norman only.[5] In the meantime we ſhould have ſome regard to the general and political ſtate of the nation. The natives were ſo univerſally reduced to the loweſt condition of neglect and indigence, that the Engliſh name became a term of reproach: and ſeveral generations elapſed before one family of Saxon pedigree was raiſed to any diſtinguiſhed honours or could ſo much as attain the rank of baronage.[6] Among other inſtances of that abſolute and voluntary ſubmiſſion with which our Saxon anceſtors received a foreign yoke, it is ſaid [in the ſpurious Ingulphus] that they ſuffered their hand-writing to fall into diſcredit and diſuſe;[7] which by degrees became ſo difficult and obſolete, that few beſide the oldeſt men could underſtand the characters.[8] In the year 1095, Wolſtan biſhop of Worceſter was depoſed by the arbitrary Normans: it was objected againſt him, that he was "a ſuperannuated Engliſh idiot, who could not ſpeak French."[9] It is true that in ſome of the monaſteries, particularly at Croyland and Taviſtock, founded by Saxon princes, there were regular preceptors in the Saxon language: but this inſtitution was ſuffered to remain after the Conqueſt as a matter only of intereſt and neceſſity. The religious could not otherwiſe have underſtood their original charters. William's ſucceſſor, Henry I., gave an inſtrument of con-

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[1] Dugd. *Mon.* i. 89.

[2] Ingulph. *Hiſt.* p. 62, *ſub ann.* 1043.

[3] But there is a precept in Saxon from William I. to the ſheriff of Somerſetſhire. Hickes, *Thes.* i. Par. i. p. 106. See alſo Præfat. *ibid.* p. xv.

[4] The Normans, who practiſed every ſpecious expedient to plunder the monks, demanded a ſight of the written evidences of their lands. The monks well knew that it would have been uſeleſs or impolitic to have produced theſe evidences, or charters, in the original Saxon; as the Normans not only did not underſtand, but would have received with contempt, inſtruments written in that language. Therefore the monks were compelled to the pious fraud of forging them in Latin; and great numbers of theſe forged Latin charters, till lately ſuppoſed original, are ſtill extant. See Spelman, in *Not. ad Concil. Anglic.* p. 125; Stillingfl. *Orig. Eccles. Britann.* p. 14; Marſham, Præfat. ad Dugd. *Monaſt.*; and Wharton, *Angl. Sacr.* vol. ii. Præfat. pp. ii. iii. iv. See alſo Ingulph. p. 512. Launoy and Mabillon have treated this ſubject with great learning and penetration.

[5] Ingulph. p. 71, *ſub ann.* 1066.

[6] See Brompt. *Chron.* p. 1026; Abb. Rieval, p. 339.

[7] Ingulph. p. 85. [8] *Ibid.* p. 98, *ſub ann.* 1091. [9] Matt. Paris. *ſub ann.*

firmation to William archbiſhop of Canterbury, which was written in the Saxon language and letters.[1] That monarch's motive was perhaps political: and he ſeems to have practiſed this expedient with a view of obliging his queen who was of Saxon lineage, or with a deſign of flattering his Engliſh ſubjects, and of ſecuring his title already ſtrengthened by a Saxon match, in conſequence of ſo ſpecious and popular an artifice. It was a common and indeed a very natural practice, for the tranſcribers of Saxon books to change the Saxon orthography for the Norman, and to ſubſtitute in the place of the original Saxon Norman words and phraſes. A remarkable inſtance of this liberty, which ſometimes perplexes and miſleads the critics in Anglo-Saxon literature, appears in a voluminous collection of Saxon homilies preſerved in the Bodleian library, and written about the time of Henry II.[2] It was with the Saxon characters, as with the ſignature of the croſs in public deeds, which were changed into the Norman mode of ſeals and ſubſcriptions.[3] The Saxon was [of courſe] ſpoken in the country, yet not without various adulterations from the French: the courtly language was [Norman-] French, yet perhaps with ſome veſtiges of the vernacular Saxon. But the nobles in the reign of Henry II. conſtantly ſent their children into France, leſt they ſhould contract habits of barbariſm in their ſpeech, which could not have been avoided in an Engliſh education.[4] Robert Holcot, a learned Dominican friar, confeſſes that in the beginning of the reign of Edward III. there was no inſtitution of children in the old Engliſh: he complains that they firſt learned the French, and from the French the Latin language. This he obſerves to have been a practice introduced by the Conqueror, and to have remained ever ſince."[5] There is a curious paſſage relating to this ſubject in Treviſa's tranſlation of Hygden's *Polychronicon*.[6] "Chyldern in ſcoles, aȝenes þe uſage and manere of al oþere nacions, buþ compelled for to leve here oune longage, and for to conſtrue here leſſons and here þingis a Freynſch; and habbeþ ſuþe þe Normans come furſt into Engelond. Alſo gentilmen children buþ ytauȝt for to ſpeke Freynſch fram tyme that a buþ yrokked in here cradel, and conneþ ſpeke and pleye wiþ a child his brouch: and uplondyſch[7] men wol lykne hamſylf to gentile men, and fondeþ[8] with gret byſynes for to ſpeke

[1] Wharton, *Auctor. Hiſtor. Dogmat.* p. 388. The learned Mabillon is miſtaken in aſſerting, that the Saxon way of writing was entirely aboliſhed in England at the time of the Norman Conqueſt. See Mabillon, *De Re Diplomat.* p. 52. The French antiquaries are fond of this notion. There are Saxon characters in Herbert Loſinga's charter for founding the church of Norwich, temp. Will. Ruf. A.D. 1110. See Lambarde's *Diction.* v. NORWICH. See alſo Hickes, *Theſaur.* i. Par. i. p. 149. And Præfat. p. xvi. An intermixture of the Saxon ꟿ is common in Engliſh MSS. [up to 1200, A.D.; the ȝ was uſed ſtill later, and the þ after 1500; indeed, the latter is ſtill ſeen in our *ye* for *the*.]

[2] MSS. Bodl. NE. F. 4. 12. [3] Yet ſome Norman charters have the croſs.

[4] Gervas. Tilbur. *de Otiis Imperial.* MSS. Bibl. Bodl. lib. iii. See Du Cheſne, iii. p. 363.

[5] *Lect. in Libr. Sapient.* Lect. ii. 1518.

[6] Lib. i. cap. 59, MSS. Coll. S. Johan. Cantabr. Robert of Glouceſter, who wrote about 1280, ſays much the ſame: edit. Hearne, p. 364.

[7] upland, country. [8] try.

Freynſch for to be more ytold of. Thys manere was moche yuſed tofore þet furſte moreyn; and ys ſeþe ſomdel ychaunged. For John Cornwall, a mayſtere of gramere chaungede þe lore in gramere ſcole, and conſtruccion of Freynſch into Englyſch: and Richard Pencryche lernede þat manere techynge of hym, and oþere men of Pencryche. So þat þe ȝer of oure Lord *a thouſand thre honꝺred foure ſcore and fyve*, [and] of þe ſecunde Kyng Richard after þe conqueſt nyne, in al þe grammere ſcoles of Engelond childern leueth Freynſch and conſtrueþ and lurneþ an Englyſch,"[1] &c. About the ſame time, or rather before, the ſtudents of our univerſities were ordered to converſe in French or Latin.[2] The latter was much affected by the Normans. All the Norman accounts were in Latin. The plan of the great royal revenue-rolls, now called the pipe-rolls, was of their conſtruction and in that language. Among the Records of the Tower, a great revenue-roll on many ſheets of vellum, or *Magnus Rotulus*, of the Duchy of Normandy for the year 1083, is ſtill preſerved indorſed in a coæval hand ANNO AB ICARNATIONE DNI M° LXXX° III° APUD CADOMUM [Caen] WILLIELMO FILIO RADULFI SENESCALLO NORMANNIE.[3] This moſt exactly and minutely reſembles the pipe-rolls of our exchequer belonging to the ſame age in form, method, and character.[4] But from the declenſion of the barons and prevalence of the commons, moſt of whom were of Engliſh anceſtry, the native language of England gradually gained ground; till at length the intereſt of the commons ſo far ſucceeded with Edward III., that an act of parliament was paſſed [in 1362], appointing all pleas and proceedings of law to be carried on in Engliſh;[5] although the ſame ſtatute decrees, in the true Norman ſpirit, that all ſuch pleas and proceedings ſhould be enrolled in Latin.[6] Yet this change did not reſtore either the Saxon alphabet or language. It aboliſhed a

[1] From the contemporary MS. Cotton. Tiberius, D. vii., collated with Harl. MS. 1900, in Dr. R. Morris's handy book for ſtudents, *Specimens of Early Engliſh*, 1250-1400, A.D. p. 338-9.—*F.*]

[2] In the ſtatutes in Oriel College in Oxford, it is ordered that the ſcholars or fellows, "ſiqua inter ſe proferant, colloquio Latino, vel ſaltem Gallico, perfruantur." See Hearne's *Trokelowe*, p. 298. Theſe ſtatutes were given 23 Maii, A.D. 1328. I find much the ſame injunction in the ſtatutes of Exeter College, Oxford, given about 1330; where they are ordered to uſe "Romano aut Gallico ſaltem ſermone." Hearne's MSS. Collect. No. 132, p. 73, Bibl. Bodl. But in Merton College ſtatutes mention is made of the Latin only (cap. x.). They were given 1271. This was alſo common in the greater monaſteries. In the regiſter of Wykeham biſhop of Wincheſter, the domicellus of the prior of St. Swythin's at Wincheſter is ordered to addreſs the biſhop on a certain occaſion in French. A.D. 1398. Regiſtr. Par. iii. fol. 177.

[3] Privately printed by Petrie, 1830, 4°. Two other rolls of the Norman era have been publiſhed by Stapleton, 1848, 2 vols. 8°.]

[4] Ayloffe's *Calendar of Ant. Chart.* Pref. p. xxiv. edit. 1774.

[5] But the French formularies and terms of law, and particularly the French feudal phraſeology, had taken too deep root to be thus haſtily aboliſhed. Hence, long after the reign of Edward III., many of our lawyers compoſed their tracts in French. And reports and ſome ſtatutes were made in that language. See Forteſcut. *De Laud. Leg. Angl.* c. xlviii.

[6] Pulton's Statut. 36 Edw. III. This was A.D. 1363. The firſt Engliſh inſtrument in Rymer is dated 1368. *Fœd.* vii. p. 526.

token of ſubjection and diſgrace, and in ſome degree contributed to prevent further French innovations in the language then uſed, which yet remained in a compound ſtate, and retained a conſiderable mixture of foreign phraſeology. In the meantime, it muſt be remembered that this corruption of the Saxon was not only owing to the admiſſion of new words, occaſioned by the new alliance, but to changes of its own forms and terminations, ariſing from reaſons which we cannot inveſtigate or explain.[1]

[The Tranſition Period of the Engliſh language, between 1100 and 1250 A. D., may be divided into two ſtages, 1100-1150, 1150-1250. The characteriſtics of the language of each of theſe ſtages are its ſucceſſive changes from Anglo-Saxon, principally in inflexions; and of theſe changes, between 1100 and 1300 A. D., we are enabled to preſent[2] the following ſketch:—

Changes from 1100 *to* 1150.

(This period includes part of the *A.-Sax. Chronicle*, and ſome proſe pieces as yet inedited. No poetical compoſitions of this period have, as yet, been found.)

The changes are moſtly *orthographical* ones.

1. The older vowel endings, *a*, *o*, *u*, were reduced to *e*. This change affected the oblique caſes of nouns and adjectives, as well as the nominative, cauſing great confuſion in the grammatical inflexions, ſo that the termination

an	became	en.
um	„	en.
ena	„	en.
on	„	en.
as	„	es.
ath	„	eth.
ra, ru	„	re.
od, ode	„	ed, ede.

The older endings were not wholly loſt, but co-exiſt along with the modified forms.

2. C is ſometimes ſoftened to *ch*, and *g* to *y* or *i*, but *ſc* remains intact.

3. An *n* is often added to a final *e*, and *n* often falls off, eſpecially in the endings of nouns of the *n* declenſion and in the definite declenſion of adjectives.

Changes from 1150 *to* 1250,

(Including pieces in Dr. R. Morris's *Old Engliſh Homilies*, *Laȝamon*, &c.)

Great grammatical changes take place, and orthographical ones become fully eſtabliſhed.

[1 This ſubject will be further illuſtrated in the next Section.]

[2 By the kindneſs of Dr. Richard Morris, who drew up the preſent inſertion.]

1. The indefinite article *an* (*a*), is developed out of the numeral *an* (one). It retains moſt of the older inflexions.

2. The definite article becomes *the*, *theo*, *thet* (*that*), inſtead of *ſe*, *ſeo*, *thæt*.

There is a tendency to drop ſuffixes, and to uſe an uninflected *the*.

The occurs as a plural inſtead of *tha* or *tho*.

3. Plurals of nouns end in —*en* or —*e* inſtead of the older *a* or *u*, thus conforming to the *n* declenſion.

4. The plural ending —*es* is often ſubſtituted for —*en*.

5. Genitive plural —*es*, is occaſionally found for —*e* or —*ene*.

6. Confuſion in the genders of nouns, ſhowing a tendency to aboliſh the older diſtinction of maſculine, feminine and neuter nouns.

7. Adjectives ſhow a tendency to drop certain caſe endings:

(1.) The gen. ſing. maſc. indef. declenſion.

(2.) The gen. and dat. fem. of indef. declenſion.

8. Dual forms are ſtill in uſe, but are leſs frequently employed.

9. New pronominal forms come into uſe:

ha, *a* = he, ſhe, they; *is* (*hiſe*) = *hire* = her;
his, *is* = *hi*, *heo* = them; *me* = *men* = *man* = Fr. *on*.

That is uſed as an indeclinable relative (1) for the indeclinable *the:* (2) for *ſe* and *ſeo*. *Which*, *whoſe*, *whom*, *what*, come in as relatives.

10. The *n* of *min*, *thin*, drops off before conſonants, but is retained in the oblique caſes.

11. The genitive caſes of the pronouns are becoming mere poſſeſſives.

Mi-ſelf, *thi-ſelf*, for *me ſelf*, *the ſelf*.

12. The infinitive frequently omits the final *n*, as *ſmelle* = *ſmellen*.

The infinitive often takes *to*, as in the earlier text of Laȝamon.

13. The gerundial or dative infinitive ends in —*en* or —*e*, inſtead of —*ene* (= *enne*, *anne*).

14. The *n* of the paſſive participle is often dropped, as *icume* = *icumen* = come.

15. The preſent participle ends in —*inde* (for *ende*).

The participle in *inde* often does duty for the dative infinitive in —*ene*, as *to ſwimende* = *to ſwimene* = to ſwim.

This corruption is found before 1066.

Shall and *will*, are uſed as auxiliaries of the future tenſe.

16. The above remarks are baſed on the Southern dialect, but the Ormulum has a general diſregard for nearly all inflexions.

(1.) The article is uninflected in the ſingular, and for the pl. we only find the nom. *tha*.

That is a demonſtrative, and not the neuter of the article.

(2.) The gender of nouns is much the ſame as in modern Engliſh.

(3.) The genitive *s* is uſed for maſc. and fem. nouns.

(4.) *Theȝȝ*, *theȝȝre*, *theȝȝm*, are uſed for *hi*, *heore*, *heom*.

Ȝho = ſhe, for *heo*.

(5.) Verbal plurals end in *en* inſtead of *eth* (except imper. pl.)

(6.) The particle *i* (or *ge*) is dropt before the paſſive participle.

(7.) Inflexion is often loſt in the 2nd perſ. pret. of ſtrong verbs.

(8.) The *Ancren Riwle*, *St. Marharete*, *&c.* have *ſch* for *ſc*, which change ſeems to have taken place after 1200.

There is a mixture of dialect in theſe latter works, and there is more ſimplicity of grammatical ſtructure than in *Laȝamon*, &c.

(9.) *Arn* occurs, as in the Ormulum, for *beoth* or *ſind*.

Changes from 1250 *to* 1300.

(1.) The def. article has not wholly loſt in the Southern dialect the gen. ſing. fem. and acc. maſc. inflexions : *tho* is the plural in all caſes.

(2.) The gender of nouns is much ſimplified, owing to loſs of adjective inflexions.

(3.) Plurals of nouns in *en* and *es* are uſed indiſcriminately.

(4.) The genitive *es* becomes more general, and often takes the place

(1.) Of the older —*en* or —*e*. (n. decl.)
(2.) Of *e* (fem. nouns).
(3.) Of the plural —*ene* or —*e*.

(5.) Dative *e* (ſing. and pl.) is often dropt.

(6.) Dual forms rare ; and loſt before 1300.

(7.) Adjective inflexions are reduced to *e*.

The gen. pl. —*re* is retained in a few caſes, as *al-re*, as well as the gen. ſing. —*es* in a few pronominal forms, as *eaches*, *otheres*.

(8.) The gerundial infinitive in *e* or *en* is more common than in —*ene*.

(9.) Some ſtrong verbs become weak.

(10.) Preſent participles in —*inge* make their appearance in the ſecond text of Laȝamon, ſay 1270 A. D.

All theſe points are ſubject to occaſional exceptions cauſed by dialectal differences. Thus, the Kentiſh of the thirteenth century, as far as we know it, has older forms than the weſtern, as exhibited in *Laȝamon*, as *ſe* = the (m.) *si*, f. &c., while the *Ayenbite* of the fourteenth century is more inflectional in many reſpects than the *Ancren Riwle* and *St. Marharete*.

Having thus ſtated the characteriſtics of the two ſtages of the Tranſition Period, in the firſt of which we have, as above noted, no poetry, we proceed to give a liſt of the principal poetical works known to us in manuſcript in the ſecond ſtage of the Tranſition Period, and the Early Engliſh Period—with ſome extenſion,—only warning our readers that our dates are in many caſes hypothetical ones, as it is very difficult to ſettle the date of an old romance or poem known to us only through a late and often altered copy. Of the MS. of the latter we know the date, but it would be abſurd to give that date to the early original.

As it would be impoſſible, under exiſting circumſtances, to notice in detail all the Early Engliſh Poems that have been printed, or made known in modern times, we truſt that the reader will be content with our liſt of the principal ones, and the volumes containing moſt

of the minor ones, ſo that he may examine for himſelf thoſe that he does not find deſcribed in the courſe of the *Hiſtory:*

Before 1200 A.D.
Poetical pieces from the Lambeth MS. 487.

From 1200 to 1250, A.D.
Dr. R. Morris's Old Engliſh Homilies (Early Engliſh Text Society), pp. 1—182.
? The Grave, in Thorpe's Analecta.
Ormulum (ed. White).
Laȝamon, the 1ſt text (ed. Madden).
St. Marharete, the 1ſt text (ed. Cockayne).
St. Katherine (ed. Morton, Abbotsford Club).
St. Juliana (ed. Cockayne).
The Poetical Pieces in Dr. R. Morris's Eng. Homilies (pp. 182—287).
Later verſions of the Moral Ode.

From 1250 to 1300 A.D.
Geneſis and Exodus (ed. Dr. R. Morris).
Beſtiary (ed. by T. Wright in Reliq. Antiq., and by Dr. R. Morris in Old Engliſh Beſtiary, &c., Early Engliſh Text Society, 1871).
Laȝamon, 2nd text (ed. Madden).
Cuckoo Song and Priſoners' Prayer (ed. A. J. Ellis, Philolog. Soc., 1868).
The Owl and Nightingale (eds. Stevenſon and T. Wright; Stratmann, beſt edition).
The Religious Pieces from the Jeſus MS., in Old Engliſh Beſtiary, 1871.
Havelok the Dane (eds. Madden and Skeat).
O. E. Northern Pſalter (ed. Stevenſon, for Surtees Society).
Athanaſian Creed (Hickes's Theſaurus).

1264-1327. Political Songs (ed. T. Wright, Camden Society).

1280-1300. Hendyng's Proverbs (ed. T. Wright and R. Morris).
Lyric Poetry, Harl. 2253 (ed. T. Wright, Percy Society).
Harrowing of Hell, Maximon &c., Harl. 2253 (ed. Halliwell, &c.)
Horn (ed. Michel, Roxburghe Club; ed. Lumby, Early Engliſh Text Society; ed. Mätzner and Goldbeck in their Sprachproben, beſt edition).

Cloſe upon 1300 A.D., but probably after, to judge by *ou* for *u*.
Romance of Alexander (in Weber's Metrical Romances, vol. i.).
Robert of Glouceſter (Cotton MS.—*not* the verſion printed by Hearne).
Lives of Saints (ed. Furnivall[1]); SS. Brandan and Beket (Percy Society); Popular Science (ed. T. Wright); and the reſt in the Harleian MS. 2277.

1303. Robert Manning of Brunne's Handlyng Synne, MS. about 1370 (ed. Furnivall, Roxburghe Club).
——— (?) Meditations on the Lord's Supper.
Curſor Mundi, or Curſur o Worlde[2] (in hand for the Early Engliſh Text Society, 2 parallel texts).

1310-20? Metrical Homilies (ed. Small).

1310-20? Pieces in Digby MS. 86. Maximian, Dame Siriz, Vox and Wolf, &c. (*Rel. Ant.*, Mätzner, Hazlitt, &c.) Harrowing of Hell, &c.

1320? Poem on the times of Edward II. (ed. Hardwicke, Percy Society).

1320-30? All the Romances and pieces in the Auchinleck MS. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, of which a liſt is given in Sir Walter Scott's edition of Sir Triſtram, and Mr. D. Laing's Penniworthe of Wit, &c. (Abbotſford Club, 1857). The principal are:—Bevis of Hampton (Maitland Club); Guy of Warwick (Abbotsford Club); Sir Triſtram (ed. Scott);

[1 The contraction i^e was by miſtake printed *ic* inſtead of *ich*, in this edition.—*F.*]

[2 There are a great many *u's* for *ou's* in *Curſor Mundi* (Cotton MS.), and Dr. R. Morris is inclined to think that the *oldeſt* text, from which many dialectal copies have been made, was written before 1300; but this original has not yet been found.]

Otuel (Abbotsford Club); Roland and Vernagu (Abbotsford Club); Orfeo and Heurodis (ed. Laing); Arthour & Merlin (Abbotsford Club); Seven Sages (Weber); Syr Degore (Abbotsford Club); Guy and Alquine; Lai le Freine, King of Tars, and Horn Child (Ritson); Liber Regum Anglie; Assumption of the Virgin; Joachim, our Lady's Mother; Amis and Amiloun (Weber); Owayn Miles; Harrowing of Hell; Body and Soul; Pope Gregory; Adam; St. Margaret; St. Katherine.

1325? Shoreham's Poems (ed. T. Wright, Percy Society).

1338. Robert Manning of Brunne's Chronicle (Part I. ed. Furnivall; Part II. ed. Hearne).

1340? The Psalms wrongly called Shoreham's (Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 17,376).

1340? Alisaunder, a fragment, with William of Palerne (Skeat's ed.).

1340-8. Hampole's Pricke of Conscience (ed. R. Morris, Philological Society) and Minor Poems.

1350. William of Palerne, or William and the Werwolf (ed. Madden, Roxburghe Club; Skeat, Early English Text Society).

1352. Minot's Poems (ed. Ritson).

1360? Early English Alliterative Poems (ed. R. Morris, Early English Text Society), and

Gawayne & the Green Knight, Cotton MS. Nero, A. x. (ed. Madden, Roxburghe Club; R. Morris, Early English Text Society; See too Percy Folio, ii. 56). The coarse paintings in the cotton MS. are later than the text.

Respecting the age of the Cotton MS., however, Sir F. Madden observes (*Sir Gawayne*, 1839, 301): "It will not be difficult, from a careful inspection of the manuscript itself, in regard to the writing and illuminations, to assign it to the reign of Richard the Second; and the internal evidence, arising from the peculiarities of costume, armour, and architecture, would lead us to assign the romance to the same period, or a little earlier."

1360? Morte Arthure (eds. Halliwell, Perry, and Brock, the two latter for the Early English Text Society, from the Thornton MS. about 1440 A.D.).

? The Gest Hystoriale of the Destruction of Troy (ed. Donaldson and Panton, Early English Text Society).

1362. Piers Plowman, Text A (ed. Skeat, Early English Text Society).

1366? Chaucer's Romaunt of the Rose.[1]

1369. Chaucer's Boke of the Duchesse.

Rewle of St. Benet (Northern).

1373? Chaucer's Life of St. Cecile.

Chaucer's Assemble of Foules, and Palamon and Arcite.

1375. Barbour's Brus (ed. Hart, Anderson, &c.; Pinkerton, Jamieson, James; best ed. Skeat, 1870).

About 1375. All the pieces in the (Southern) Vernon MS.,[2] of which Mr. Halliwell printed an incomplete and incorrect list.[3] The chief are:

*Old and New Testament, abridged.

Saints' Lives, &c. (Other Brit. Mus. MSS. are Harl. 2277, 4196

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[1] Mr. Henry Bradshaw disputes the Glasgow MS., the only one known of any English translation of the Rose, being Chaucer's version.]

[2] A very imperfect duplicate of this MS., the Simeon or Additional MS. 22,283, is in the British Museum.]

[3] The Vernon MS. has these Lives, &c, which are not in the earlier Harl. MS. 2277. (The numbers are those of Mr. Halliwell's list). How the Martyrs be God's Knights, "Now bloweth this newe fruyt that late bigon to springe," (1st line of Lives.) 2 New Year's Day, 3 Twelfth Day (Epiphany), 4 St. Hillare, 5 St. Wolston, St. Edward, and William of Normandy, 6 St. Fabian, 7 St. Agnes, 8 St. Vincent, 9 St. Juliane, 10 St. Blase, 11 St. Agace, 12 St. Scolace, 13 St. Valentin, 14 St. Juliane, 15 St. Mathi[as], 16 St. Gregori, 17 St. Longius, 18 St. Edward the King, 19 St. Cuthberd, (20 St. Benet), 21 St. Julian, 22 St. Bride, 23 St. Oswald, 24, St. Chadde, 40 St. Pernele, 42 St. Adboruh, 44 St. Aylbriht, 45

(Northern), Egerton, 1993; Additional, 10301, 10626). Mr. Earle has printed the St. Swithin and St. Mary of Egypt.
*Barlaam and Joſafaph.
*La Eſtorie del Evangelie tranſlated (to the Nativity).
*Goſpels illuſtrated by Stories.
Wm. of Naſſington's Mirror of Life, from Jn. of Waldby's Speculum Vitæ.
†Hampole's Prick of Conſcience.
The Prikke of Love.
Bodie and Soule (ed. T. Wright, in Mapes's Poems, pp. 340-6).
Chriſtes Paſſion; Chriſt and the Devil, &c.
Caſtell off Loue (ed. Weymouth, Philological Society, 1864).
*†Kyng Robert of Cicyle, &c.
Kyng of Tars and Soudan of Dammas (ed. Ritſon, Metr. Rom.).
*Proverbs and Cato.
Stacions of Rome (ed. Furnivall, Early Engliſh Text Society, 1867).
Virgin and Chriſt's Croſs (ed. Morris, Early Engliſh Text Society, 1871).
*†Piſtyl of Sweet Suſan. Stimulus Amoris.
Hampole's Perfect Living. Contemplative Life.
Mirour of St. Edmund. Abbey of the Holy Goſt, or Conſcience.
Spiritum Guidonis. *Life of Adam and Eve.
Piers Plowman, Text A. (ed. Skeat, Early Engliſh Text Society).
*Joſeph of Arimathæa, or the Holy Graal (ed. Skeat, Early Engliſh Text Society, 1871).
Lives of Pilate and Judas (ed. Furnivall, Philological Society).
Minor Poems (ſome printed).

1370-80. Sir Amadas, Avowyng of Arthur, &c. (eds. Stephens and Robſon).
1377 Piers Plowman, Text B. (ed. Crowley, T. Wright; Skeat, beſt edition, Early Engliſh Text Society).
1377? *Sir Ferumbras (Aſhmole MS. 33).
Chaucer's Troylus and Creſſeyde.[1]
1380?* Piers Plowman, text C. (ed. Whitaker).
1384? Chaucer's Houſe of Fame.
Chaucer's Anelida and Arcite, Complaynt of Mars and Venus, and minor pieces.
Chaucer's Legend of Good Women.
1387? Chaucer's Canterbury Tales.[2]
Sowdane of Babyloyne and Sir Ferumbras (Roxburghe Club).
Barbour's Troy Book, MSS. fragments.
Audelay's Poems (Percy Society).

* Copied, and in hand for the Early Engliſh Text Society.
† Of this, another MS. has been printed.

St. Aeldrede, 46 St. Botulf, 47 St. Patrik, 50 St. Athelwold, 55 St. Mildride, 58 St. Allix (different metre), 59 St. Gregory, 60 The 7 Sleepers, 61 St. Dominick, 62 King St. Oſwold, 65 St. Perpolyt, 69 St. Egwyne, 73 St. Juſtine, 74 St. Leger, 75 St. Francis. Alſo in different metre:—87 Sancta Paula, 89 Virgin in Antioch, 90 ditto, Miracle of a Virgin, 91 Sithia and Climonen, 92 St. Theodora, 93 St. Bernard, 94 St. Auſtin, 95 St. Savyn. The Beket is different too.

The earlier Harl. MS. 2277 has theſe Lives, &c. not in the Vernon:—4 Leynte, 6 Paſcha, 7 Aſcencio, 8 Pentecoſt, 13 Letanie, 14 Rouiſons, 18 Quiriac, 19 Brendan, 24 Teofle, 46 Denis, 47 Luc, 48. 11,000 Virgins, 49 Symon and Jude, 50 Quintin, 51 All Saints, 52 All Souls, 53 St. Leonard, 54 St. Martin, 55 Edmund Confeſſor, 56 Edmund King, 63 St. Anaſtace, 65 Invencio Stephani.

The following are loſt from the beginning of Harl. MS. 2277:—Hillarij, Wolſtani, Fabiani, Sebaſtiani, Agnetis, Vincencij, Juliani conf[eſſoris], Juliani hoſp[itis], Brigide, Blaſij, Agathe, Scolaſtice, Valentini, Juliane virginis, Mathie apoſtoli, Oſwaldi, Cedde conf[eſſoris], Gregorij, Longij, Patricij, Edwardi Juuenis, Cutberti, and (part) Benedicti.]

[1 The proſe *Boece* was probably written before *Troylus*.]
[2 The proſe *Aſtrolabe* contains the date 1391.]

The altered verſion of Wm. of Naſſington's Mirrour of Life, (from Jn. of Waldby's Speculum Vitæ).

1390? Barbour's Lives of Saints (MS. in Camb. Univ. Library, about 40,000 lines).

Troy Book, Bodleian MS.

1392-3. Gower's Confeſſio Amantis (ed. Pauli, a poor text).

1394? Pierce the Ploughman's Crede (ed. Wolfe, Rogers, Whitaker, T. Wright; Skeat, Early Engliſh Text Society, beſt ed.).

1395? Plowman's Tale (ed. 1687, Wright's Polit. Poems, ii.)

1395? Richard Maydenſtoon's Pſalms (Rawlinſon MS. A. 389).

The Lay Folks' Maſs Book (ed. Simmons, Early Engliſh Text Society, in the preſs).

1399. Depoſition of Richard II. (ed. T. Wright for the Camden Society, and in Political Poems, vol. ii.).

After 1400 A.D. *e* final rapidly loſt ſuch grammatical value as it had at the cloſe of the 14th century. Many copies of earlier romances, &c., are preſerved for us only in 15th century MSS.

? Morte Arthure, from MS. Harl. 2252, ab. 1440-50, A.D. (ed. Panton, Roxburghe Club; ed. Furnivall).

1410. Lydgate's Tranſlation of Boethius.

1414. Brampton's Penitential Pſalms (Percy Society).

1414-25. Poems of James I. of Scotland.

1420? Mirk's Duties of a Pariſh Prieſt (ed. Peacock, Early Engliſh Text Society).

1420? Occleve's De Regimine Principum (ed. T. Wright, Roxburghe Club): Minor Poems (ed. Maſon, 1796, and thoſe in MS.)

1420. Siege of Rouen (Archæologia, xxi, xxii.).

1425? Palladius on Huſbandry, tranſlated (ed. Lodge, Early Engliſh Text Society; in the preſs).

1426. Lydgate's Pilgrim (from De Guileville).

1430? Partonope of Blois (ed. Buckley, Roxburghe Club).

1430? Minor Poems of Lydgate (ed. Halliwell, Percy Soc. Others are in MS. at Trinity College, Cambridge, &c. &c.)

1430? Merlin, Douce MS. 236, 1296 lines (differs from Affleck copy).

Athelſton (and other pieces in Reliquiæ Antiquæ, ii.).

1430? Poem on Freemaſonry (ed. Halliwell).

1430? Chevelere Aſſigne (ed. Utterſon, Roxburghe Club; H. H. Gibbs, Early Engliſh Text Society).

1430-40. Lincoln's Inn MS. 150; Ly beaus Diſconus; Merlin, &c.

1430? Ancient Myſteries from the Digby MS. (Abbotsford Club).

1430. Political, Religious, and Love Poems (ed. Furnivall, Early Engliſh Text Society).

1430? Engliſh verſe tranſlation of *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*. Mr. Hy. Huth's MS.

1430? Sir Generides (ed. Furnivall, Roxburghe Club; Lydgate's verſion is in a MS. at Trinity College, Cambridge).

Robert of Cycille (ed. Halliwell, in Nugæ Poeticæ).

The Siege of Jeruſalem (2 verſions).

Jon the Gardener, and Poems on Herbs (MS. Trinity College, Cambridge, in hand for Early Engliſh Text Society).

1430? Hymns to the Virgin and Chriſt, the Parliament of Devils, &c. (ed. Furnivall, Early Engliſh Text Society).

1430-40? The poems in the Cambr. Univerſity MS. F f 2, 38. Many of the minor poems have been printed. The principal pieces are:—

Commandments, 7 Works, 5 Wits, 7 Sins and Virtues.

The Good Man and his Son, Merchant and Wife, Merchant and Son (all printed).

Erle of Tolous (ed. Ritſon, Metr. Rom., iii. 93-114).

Syr Eglamoure (ed. Halliwell, Thornton Rom. 121-176. See too Percy Folio, ii. 338.)

Syr Tryamoure (ed. Halliwell, Percy Society. See, too, Percy Folio, ii. 78.)
Octavian (ed. Halliwell, Percy Society, 1844).
Seven Ages (imperfect, differs from Affleck copy).
Guy of Warwick (12156 lines, perfect). Another copy at Caius College, Cambridge. Copies of Lydgate's tranſlation are in the Bodleian, and in Harleian MS. 5243.
Le Bone Florence of Rome (ed. Ritſon, Metr. Rom. iii. 1-92).
Robert of Sicily (ed. Halliwell, 1844).
Sir Degare (imperfect. See too Percy Folio, i. 344).
†Beviſe of Hampton.

1430? Lydgate's Siege of Thebes, and other Poems.

1430, 1460, &c. The Babees Book, Ruſſell's Book of Courteſy, &c. (ed. Furnivall, Early Engliſh Text Society).

1430. Two Alexander Fragments (ed. Stevenſon, Roxburghe Club).

1440? Lyfe of Ipomydon (Harl. MS. 2252, later ed. Weber.)

1440? Arthur (ed. Furnivall, Early Engliſh Text Society).

1440? Torrent of Portugal (ed. Halliwell).

1440? Sir Gowther (ed. Utterſon).

1440? Poems of Charles Duke of Orleans (Roxburghe Club).

1440? Thoſe pieces in the Thornton MS. which do not belong to a much earlier date. See a liſt of the contents of the MS. in Mr. Halliwell's "Thornton Romances" for the Camden Society. The principal poems are:
Morte Arthure (ed. Halliwell, ed. Perry, and beſt ed. Brock).
†Octavyane, †Syr Iſumbrace, †Erle of Tholouſe, †Syr Degravante, †Syr Eglamoure.
Tomas off Erſſeldoune (ed. Laing, in Select Remains).
Syr Perecyvelle of Gales (ed. Halliwell, Thornton Rom. 1-70.)
Awnetyrs of Arthur at the Tarne Wathelan (ed. Laing, in Select Remains, and Madden in Syr Gawayne, 15-128).
Wm. of Naſſington on the Trinity (ed. Perry, Early Engliſh Text Society).
Sayne Johan, &c. (ed. Perry, Early Engliſh Text Society).

1443. Bokenam's Lives of Saints (Roxburghe Club).

1440-50? Henry Lonelich's Saynt Graal (ed. Furnivall, Roxburghe Club) and Merlin; both imperfect.
Songs and Carols (ed. Wright, Percy Society and Warton Club).

1450? Sir Degrevvaunt (ed. Halliwell, Thornton Romances, 177-276), and many poems in Cambridge Univerſity, MS. F f 1, 6.

1450? Cheſter Plays (ed. T. Wright, Shakeſpeare Society).

1455? The Buke of the Howlat, by Sir R. de Holande (ed. Pinkerton, 1792; Bannatyne Club, 1823).

1460. Wyntown's Chronicle (ed. Macpherſon, 1795).

1462? The Wright's Chaſte Wife (ed. Furnivall, Early Engliſh Text Society).
Wey's Pilgrimage to Jeruſalem (Roxburghe Club, and Mr. H. Huth's MS.).

1460? Towneley (or Widkirk) Myſteries (ed. Surtees Society).

1460? Play of the Sacrament (ed. Stokes, Philological Society).

1460? York Myſteries (Lord Aſhburnham's MS.)

1460? Miſcellanies from the Porkington MS.

1460? Liber Cure Cocorum (ed. R. Morris, Philological Society).

1460? Tundale's Viſions, &c. (ed. Turnbull).

1460? Blind Harry's Wallace (ed. Jamieſon, &c.)

1460? Knight and his Wife, and Life of St. Katherine (ed. Halliwell).

1460? The pieces in the Cotton MS. Caligula A ii. from older originals.
†Eglamor of Artus.
†Octavian Imperator.
Launfal Miles (ed. Ritſon, Metr. Rom.).
Ly beaus Diſconus, or The Fayre Unknown (ed. Ritſon, Metric. Rom. ii.; ed. Hippeau; ſee alſo another copy in the Percy Folio, ii. 415).

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† Of theſe, other MSS. have been printed.

The Nightingale, from John of Hoveden's Latin. He wrote the *Practica Chilindri* in the Chaucer Society's Eſſay, Part 2.
Emare (ed. Ritſon, Metr. Rom.).
Ypotis (Vernon MS.; in hand for Early Engliſh Text Society).
Stacions of Rome, St. Gregory's Trental, (ed. Furnivall, 1866, Early Engliſh Text Society).
Urbanitas (ed. Furnivall, Babees Book, Early Engliſh Text Society, 1868).
†Owayne Miles (another MS. pr. at Edinburgh). †Tundale.
Sege of Jeruſalem (ſee Veſp. E. xvi. leaf 78).
†Iſumbras.
St. Jerome. St. Euſtache. Minor Poems.

1460? The Rule of the Moon, &c. (in hand for Early Engliſh Text Society, ed. Furnivall).
1468? Coventry Myſteries (ed. Halliwell, Shakeſpeare Society).
1470. Harding's Chronicle (printed). See MS. Selden B. 26: Harl. 661.
1460-88. Henryſon's Poems (ed. Laing).
1500? Lancelot of the Laik (ed. Skeat, Early Engliſh Text Society).
1500? Partenay or Luſignan (ed. Skeat, Early Engliſh Text Society).
? Robert the Devyll (ed. Herbert, 1798).
1500? Doctrynall of Good Servauntes, &c. (circa 1550, repr. Percy Society).
1450-1500. Caxton's Book of Curteſy, 3 verſions (ed. Furnivall, Early Engliſh Text Society.)
1480-1515. Dunbar's Poems (ed. D. Laing).
1506-30. Hawes's Poetical Works (W. de Worde, &c., Percy Society, &c.).
Death and Life (Percy Folio Ballads and Romances, iii. 56).
1508. Golagrus and Gawayne, &c. (ed. Madden; ed. Laing).
1513? Scotiſh Field (Percy Folio Ball. and Rom. i. 199).
1520? John the Reeve (Percy Folio Ball. and Rom. ii. 550).
Sir Lambewell, „ „ i. 142.
Eger and Grime „ „ i. 341.
Merlin, „ „ i. 417.
1520? Gawin Douglas's Works.

[The reader is alſo referred to the ſection of Engliſh Poetry in the Claſs Catalogue of MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum, now being made under Mr. E. A. Bond's direction; to Mr. Coxe's Catalogue of the Oxford College MSS.; Mr. Kitchin's, of the Chriſtchurch MSS.; the Index and Catalogue of the Cambridge Univerſity Library, of Corpus Chriſti Coll. Cambridge: of the Aſhmole, and other collections in the Bodleian Library; in Trinity College, Dublin; in Sir Thomas Philipps's and Lord Aſhburnham's collections; and to the Reports of the Hiſtorical Manuſcripts Commiſſion under the Maſter of the Rolls, &c. &c. Mr. W. Aldis Wright is cataloguing the MSS. in Trinity Coll. Cambridge.]

Among the Digby MSS. in the Bodleian library, we find a religious or moral Ode, conſiſting of one hundred and ninety-one ſtanzas, [the original of which[1], if it ſhould be diſcovered, may be as old as] the Conqueſt[2]; but [it is certain that the earlieſt MS. we have of this poem, Lambeth 487, is not earlier than the latter half of the 12th century, if it is not after 1200 A. D.[3]] It exhibits a

† Of theſe, other MSS. have been printed.

[1] *Ling. Vett. Thes.* Part i. p. 222. There is another copy not mentioned by Hickes, in Jeſus College library at Oxford, MSS. 85, *infra citat.* This is entitled *Tractatus quidam in Anglico.* The Digby manuſcript has no title.

[2] [Morris's *Old Engliſh Homilies*, Early Engliſh Text Society, 1868, p. vi. note.]

[3] Sir F. Madden attributes the Digby MS. to the reign of Henry III. He enumerates five other MSS. of the Ode: Jeſus Coll. 29; Trin. Coll. Camb. B. 14, 52; Lambeth, 487, f. 39 b.; and two others in the Egerton MS. 613, in the Br. Mus.; and printed in Dr. Morris's *Old Engliſh Homilies*, p. 159. The copy

regular lyric ſtrophe of four lines, the ſecond and fourth of which rhyme together: although theſe four lines may be perhaps reſolved into two Alexandrines; a meaſure concerning which more will be ſaid hereafter, and of which it will be ſufficient to remark at preſent that it appears to have been uſed very early. For I cannot recollect any ſtrophes of this ſort in the elder Runic or Saxon poetry; nor of any of the old Frankiſh poems, particularly of Otfrid, a monk in Weiſſenburgh, who turned the evangelical hiſtory into Frankiſh verſe about the ninth century, and has left ſeveral hymns in that language;[1] of [the Strickers,] who celebrated the achievements of Charlemagne;[2] and of the anonymous author of the metrical life of Anno, archbiſhop of Cologne. The following ſtanza is a ſpecimen [of the Lambeth MS., but with the lines arranged as in the Digby MS.]:[3]

Sendeth ſum god biforen eow[4]
The hwile thet ȝe muȝen to hovene,
For betere is an elmeſſe biforen
Thenne both efter ſouene.[5]

That is, "Send ſome good thing before you to heaven while you

in the Egerton MS. 613, was printed by Mr. Furnivall for the Philological Society (*Tranſactions*, 1858, pt. II. p. 22), and partly in Morris's *Old Engliſh Homilies*, p. 288.]

[1] See Petr. Lambec. *Commentar. de Bibl. Cæſar. Vindebon.* pp. 418, 457. [A modern German tranſlation, by Kelle, of Otfrid's poems has juſt been publiſhed.]

[2] See Petr. Lambec. *ubi ſupr.* lib. ii. cap. 5. There is a circumſtance belonging to the ancient Frankiſh verſification which, as it greatly illuſtrates the ſubject of alliteration, deſerves notice here. Otfrid's dedication of his evangelical hiſtory of Lewis I., king of Eaſt France, conſiſts of four-lined ſtanzas in rhyming couplets: but the firſt and laſt line of every ſtanza begin and end with the ſame letter: and the letters of the title of the dedication reſpectively, and the word of the laſt line of every tetraſtic. Flacius Illyricus publiſhed this work of Otfrid at Baſil, 1571. But I think it has been ſince more correctly printed by Johannes Schilterus. It was written about the year 880. Otfrid was the diſciple of Rhabanus Maurus. [Schilter's book was publiſhed under this title: *Schilteri Theſaurus antiquitatum Teutonicarum, exhibens monumenta veterum Francorum, Alamannorum vernacula et Latina, cum additamentis et notis Joan. Georg. Schertzii.* Ulmæ, 1727-8. 3 vols. in fol. The *Theſaurus* of Schilter is a real mine of Francic literature. The text is founded on a careful collation of all the MSS. to which he could obtain acceſs; and theſe, with one exception, perhaps—the *Life of St. Anno*—are highly valuable for their antiquity and correctneſs. In the ſubſequent editions of this happieſt effort of the Francic Muſe, by Hegewiſch, Goldman, and Beſſeldt, Schilter's overſight has been abundantly remedied. The *Strickers* (a name which ſome have interpreted *the writer*), is written in the Swabian dialect; and was compoſed towards the cloſe of the thirteenth century. It is a feeble amplification of an earlier romance, which Warton probably intended to cite, when he uſed the Strickers' name. Both poems will be found in Schilter; but the latter, though uſually ſtyled a Francic production, exhibits a language rapidly merging into the Swabian, if it be not in fact an early ſpecimen of that dialect in a rude uncultivated ſtate.—*Price.*]

[3] St. xiv.

[4] "Sende ȝod biforen him man,
Þe hwile he mai to heuene;
For betere ir on elmeſſe biforen
Ðanne ben afteꝛ ſeuene."

This is from the Trinity MS. at Cambridge, written about the [middle of the 13th century, in Mr. Wright's opinion.] Cod. membran. 8vo. Tractat. I. See Abr. Wheloc, *Eccles. Hiſt. Bed.* p. 25, 114.

[5] MSS. Digb. A 4, membran.

can: for one alms-giving before death is of more value than ſeven afterwards." The verſes might have been thus written, as two Alexandrines:

> Sendeth ſum god biforen eow the hwile thet ȝe moȝen to hovene,
> For betere is an elmeſſe biforen, thenne both after ſouene.[1]

Yet alternate rhyming, applied without regularity, and as rhymes accidentally preſented themſelves, was not uncommon in our early poetry, as will appear from other examples.

In the archiepiſcopal library at Lambeth, among other [Tranſition Engliſh] homilies in proſe, there is a homily or exhortation on the Lord's prayer in verſe,[2] which we may place with ſome degree of certainty [about the year 1200]:

> Vre feder thet in heovene is
> Thet is al ſothful i wis.
> Weo moten to theos weordes iſeon
> Thet to live and to ſaule gode beon.
> Thet weo beon ſwa his ſunes iborene
> Thet he beo feder and we him icorene
> Thet we don alle his ibeden
> And his wille for to reden, &c.—(lines 1-8.)
> Lauerd God we biddeth thus
> Mid edmode heorte ȝif hit us.
> Thet ure ſoule beo to the icore
> Noht for the fleſce forlore.
> Thole us to biwepen ure ſunne
> Thet we ne ſteruen noht therinne
> And ȝif us, lauerd, thet ilke ȝifte
> Thet we hes ibeten thurh holie ſcrifte.—AMEN.[3]
> —(Lines 298-305.)

In the valuable library of Corpus Chriſti College in Cambridge, is a ſort of poetical biblical hiſtory, extracted from the books of Geneſis and Exodus.[4] It was probably compoſed about [1250]. But I am chiefly induced to cite this piece, as it proves the exceſſive attachment of our earlieſt poets to rhyme: they were fond of multiplying the ſame final ſound to the moſt tedious monotony, and without producing any effect of elegance, ſtrength, or harmony. It begins thus:

> Man og to luuen that rimes ren.
> The wiſſed wel the logede men.
> Hu man may him wel loken
> Thog he ne be lered on no boken.
> Luuen God and ſerven him ay
> For he it hem wel gelden may.
> And to alle Criſtenei men
> Beren pais and luue by-twen

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[1] As I recollect, the whole poem is thus exhibited in the Trinity MS. [and in all the others except the Digby.—Sir F. Madden's information.]

[2] [The whole of this Lambeth MS. 487, written before 1200, has been edited for the Early Engliſh Text Society, by Dr. R. Morris, in his *Old Engliſh Homilies*, 1867-8. The verſe Lord's Prayer is on pages 55-71 of Part I.—F.]

[3] [The Story of Geneſis and Exodus. An early Engliſh ſong, about A.D. 1250. Now firſt edited from a unique MS. in the library of Corpus Chriſti College, Cambridge. With Introduction, Notes, and Gloſſary. By Richard Morris. Early Engliſh Text Society, 1865.]

[4] Quart. minor. 185. Cod. membran. [487,] f. 21, b.

Than ſal him almighti[n] luuven.
Here by-nethen and thund abuuen,
And given him bliſſe and ſoules reſte[n],
That him ſal earvermor leſten.

Ut of Latin this ſong is dragen
On Engleis ſpeche on ſothe ſagen,
Criſtene men ogen ben ſo fagen,
So fueles arn quan he it ſen dagen.
Than man hem telled ſothe tale
Wid londes ſpeche and wordes ſmale
Of bliſſes dune, of ſorwes dale,
Quhu Lucifer that devel dwale
And held hem ſperd in helles male,
Til God frid him in manliched,
Dede mankinde bote and red.
And unſpered al the fendes ſped
And halp thor he ſag mikel ned.
Biddi hie ſingen non other led.
Thog mad hic folgen idel-hed.

Fader god of alle thinge,
Almigtin louerd, hegeſt kinge,
Thu give me ſeli timinge
To thaunen this werdes beginninge.
The, leuerd God, to wurthinge
Quether ſo hic rede or ſinge.[1]

We find this accumulation of identical rhymes in the Runic odes, particularly in the ode of Egill cited above, entitled *Egill's Ranſom*. [At the end of the Cotton MS. of the *Owl and Nightingale*, are ſeven religious metrical pieces which are printed in one of the modern editions[2] of that poem, and alſo in Dr. Richard Morris's *Old Engliſh Beſtiary*, &c., (E. E. T. Soc. 1871,) together with other verſions from the Jeſus Coll. MS., which give hints towards ſettling the date, &c. of the poems. Among theſe is] a poem on the ſubjects of death, judgment, and hell torments, where the rhymes are ſingular, and deſerve our attention:

Non mai longe lives thene,
Ac ofte him lieth the wrench:
Feir weder turneth ofte into reine,
An wunderliche hit maketh his blench,
Tharvore, mon, thu the bithench,
Al ſchal falewi thi grene.
Weilawei! nis kin ne quene
That ne ſchal drincke of deathes drench.
Mon, er thu falle of thi bench,
Thine ſunne thu aquench.[3]

To the ſame period of our poetry I refer a verſion of Saint Jerom's French pſalter, which occurs in the library of Corpus Chriſti College at Cambridge [and in Cotton MS. Veſp. D. vii.[4]]. The [ninety-ninth] pſalm is thus tranſlated:

[1] [Naſmith's Cat. No. 444. It is deſcribed by Dr. Morris as in the Eaſt Midland dialect.]

[2] [Edited by T. Wright for the Percy Society, 1843.]

[3] Bibl. Cotton. MSS. Calig. A ix.—vi. f. 243. [Sir F. Madden pointed out that there is another copy in Jeſus Coll. Oxf. 29, f. 252, b.]

[4] [Printed from this MS. by Mr. Stevenſon for the Surtees Society, 1843-7, 2 vols. 8vo.—F.]

Mirthhes to lauerd al erthe that es
Serues to lauerd in fainenes.
Ingas of him in the ſight,
In gladeſchip bi dai and night.
Wite ye that lauerd he God is thus
And he vs made and oure ſelf noght vs,
His folk and ſchepe of his fode:
Ingas his ȳhates that ere gode:
In ſchrift his porches that be,
In ympnes to him ſchriue ȳhe.
Heryes of him name ſwa fre,
For that lauerd ſoft es he;
In euermore his merci eſſe,
And in ſtrende and ſtrende his ſothneſſe.[1]

In the Bodleian library there is [another MS. of this] tranſlation of the Pſalms, (No. 921, *olim* Arch. B. 38,) a folio on vellum, written in the fifteenth century.[2] A fourth copy written in the reign of Edward II. has been purchaſed for the Britiſh Muſeum. This verſion may be aſcribed to the period of his predeceſſor. The Bodleian MS. alſo contains the Nicene creed[3] and ſome church hymns verſified; but it is mutilated and imperfect. The nineteenth pſalm runs thus:

Heuenes tellen Godes blis
And wolken ſhewes loũd werk his,
Dai to dai worde riſe right,
And wiſdome ſhewes niht to niht,
And þai nare ſpeches ne ſaihes euen.
Of whilk wat noht es herde war ſteuen.
In al the werld out yhode war rorde
And in ende of erþ of þame þe worde.
In ſunne he ſette his telde to ſtande
And bridegome he als of his boure comãd.
He gladen als eten to renne þe wai
Fro heghiſt heuen his outcoming ai,
And his gainrenning til heht ſete
Ne is gwilk mai hide him fro his hete
Lagh of lou*er*d vnwemned iſſe
Turnand ſaules in to bliſſe
Witnes of lou*er*d es euer trewe,
Wiſdom leuand to litel newe
Lou*er*des rightwiſnes riht hertes fainand
Bode of lou*er*d light eghen lighand
Drede of lou*er*d hit heli iſſe
In werlde of werld ai ful of bliſſe,
Domes of lou*er*d ful ſõ þe are ai
Righted in þame ſelue are þai
More to be yorned ouer golde
Or ſton derwurþi þat is holde,
Wel ſwetter to mannes wombe,
Ouer honi ande te kombe.

This is the beginning of the eighteenth pſalm:

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[1] [Cott. MS. Veſp. D, vii. fol. 70.] [2] [Sir F. Madden's information.]

[3] Hickes has printed a metrical verſion of the creed of St. Athanaſius: to whom, to avoid prolix and obſolete ſpecimens already printed, I refer the reader, *Theſaur.* Par. i. p. 233. I believe it to be of the age of Henry II. [In 1835, Mr. Thorpe publiſhed his edition of the Pſalter in Anglo-Saxon from a MS. in the Bibl. Imper. at Paris.]

I ſal loue the louerd of bliſſe
Strengh mine louerd feſtnes min eſſe
And in fleing min als ſo
And mi leſer out of wo.

I will add another religious fragment on the crucifixion, in the ſhorter meaſure [of the middle of the thirteenth century]:

Vyen i o the rode ſe,
Faſt nailed to the tre,
Jeſu mi lefman,
Ibunden, bloc ant blodi,
An hys moder ſtant him bi,
Wepande, and Johan:
Hys bac wid ſcuurge iſwungen,
Hys ſide depe iſtungen,
For ſinne and lowe [love] of man;
Weil aut [well ought] i ſinne lete
An neb wit teres wete,
Thif i of loue can.[1]

In the library of Jeſus College at Oxford [MS. Arch. I. 29], I have ſeen [an early Engliſh] poem of another caſt, yet without much invention or poetry. [This Jeſus MS. is of the latter half of the thirteenth century. Another MS. of the firſt half of the ſame century is in the Britiſh Muſeum, Cotton, Caligula, A. ix.[2]] The poem[3] is a conteſt between an owl and a nightingale about ſuperiority in

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[1] MSS. Bibl. Bodl. 57, f. 102, b. [In MS. Bodl. 42, are two ſtanzas of a metrical verſion of a paſſage in the Meditations of St. Auſtin, very ſimilar to Warton's fragment, and the ſame lines occur on a piece of vellum inſerted in a MS. in the Cath. Lib. Durh. written in the middle of the thirteenth century. Both texts are printed in Mr. Furnivall's *Political, Religious, and Love Poems*, for the Early Engliſh Text Society, p. 214.]

[2] The latter has been edited by Mr. T. Wright for the Percy Society, and very carefully by Dr. Stratmann (Krefeld, 1868), with a full collation of the Jeſus MS. The Jeſus MS. was printed by Mr. Stevenſon for the Roxburghe Club, and his Gloſſary contains ſome aſtoniſhing miſtakes.]

[3] [Nicholas de] Guldevorde is the author of the poem which immediately precedes in the manuſcript, as appears by the following entry at the end of it, in the handwriting of [Thomas Wilkins, LL.B., rector of St. Mary, Glamorganſhire. Sir F. Madden's Corr.]: "On part of a broken [fly?] leaf of this MS. I find theſe verſes written, whearby the author may be gueſt at:

"'Mayſter Johan eu greteth of Guldworde tho,
And ſendeth eu to ſeggen that ſynge he nul he wo,.
On thiſſe wiſe he will endy his ſonge,
God louerde of hevene, beo us alle amonge."

The piece [which is printed in Dr. R. Morris's *Old Engliſh Beſtiary*, &c., Early Engliſh Text Society, 1871] is entitled and begins thus:

Ici commence la Puſſyun Ihu Chriſt en engleys.
"Ihereth eu one lutele tale that ich eu wille telle
As we vyndeth hit iwrite in the godſpelle:
Nis hit nouht of Karlemeyne ne of the Duzpere,
Ac of Criſtes thruwynge," &c.

It ſeems to be of equal antiquity with that mentioned in the text. The whole manuſcript, conſiſting of many detached pieces both in verſe and proſe, was perhaps written in the [thirteenth century. It is attributed to Nicholas de Guilford, who was poſſibly related to John de Guilford].

voice and ſinging. It is not later than [Edward] I.[1] The rhymes are multiplied, and remarkably interchanged :

Ich was in one ſumere dale :
In one ſwithe di3ele hale,
Iherde ich holde grete tale,
An ule [2] and one nihtegale.
That plaid was ſtif & ſtarc and ſtrong,
Sum hwile ſofte and lud among.
And either a3en other ſwal
And let that uvele mod ut al.
And either ſeide of othres cuſte,
That alre worſte that hi wuſte ;
And hure and hure of othres ſonge
Hi heolde plaiding ſwithe ſtronge.[3]
[—*Stratmann*, p. 1.]

The earlieſt love-ſong which I can diſcover in our language, is [in Harl. MS. 2253]. I would place it before or about the year 1200. It is full of alliteration, and has a burthen or chorus :[4]

Blow northerne wynd,
Sent thou me my ſuetyng ;
Blow northerne wynd,
Blou, blou, blou.
Ichot a burde in boure bryht
That fully ſemly is on ſyht,
Menſkful maiden of myht,
Feir ant fre to fonde.
In al this wurhliche won,
A burde of blod & of bon,
Never 3ete y nuſte [5] non
Luſſomore in londe. *Blou, &c.*

From the ſame collection I have extracted a part of another amatorial ditty, of equal antiquity, which exhibits a ſtanza of no inelegant or unpleaſing ſtructure, and approaching to the octave rhyme. It is, like the laſt, formed on alliteration :

In a fryht as y con fare fremede
Y founde a wel feyr fenge to fere,
Heo glyſtnede aſe gold when hit glemede,
Nes ner gome ſo gladly on gere,
Y wolde wyte in world who hire kenede,
This burde bryht, 3ef hire wil were ;
Heo me bed go my gates, leſt hire gremede,
Ne kepte heo non hevyng here.[6]

In the following lines a lover compliments his miſtreſs named Alyſoun :

[1] [Sir F. Madden ſeems inclined to identify Nicholas de Guilford with the vicar of Porteſhom, near Abbotſbury.]

[2] owl.

[3] MSS. Coll. Jes. Oxon. 86, membr.

[4] [Printed in Ritſon's *Ancient Songs*, 1792, p. 26 ; 2nd ed. i. 58 ; and in T. Wright's *Specimens of Lyric Poetry* (Percy Soc. 1842), which contains all the ſongs quoted from the MS. (about 1307 A.D.) by Warton. It was not thought deſirable, therefore, to retain Warton's very lengthy extract, and only the commencement has been given.]

[5] knew not.

[6] MSS. *ibid.* f. 66. [*Hevyng* is hoving, ſtopping. Sir F. Madden, judging from internal evidence, ſuppoſes that this piece was written ſhortly after 1307, to which date he aſſigns the execution of the MS.]

Bytuene Merſhe ant Aueril
When ſpray biginneth to ſpringe,
The lutel foul hath hire wyl
On hyre lud to ſynge,
Ich libbe in louelonginge
For ſemlokeſt of alle thynge.
He may me blyſſe bringe;
Icham in hire baundoun;
An hendy hap ichabbe yhent
Ichot from heuene it is me ſent.
From alle wymmen mi love is lent
And lyht on Aliſoun.

On heu hire her is fayre ynoȝ,
Hire browe broune, hire eye blake,
With loſſum chere he on me loh:
With middel ſmal and wel ymake,
Bote he me wolle to hire take, &c.[1]

The following ſong, containing a deſcription of the ſpring, diſplays glimmerings of imagination, and exhibits ſome faint ideas of poetical expreſſion. It is extracted from the ſame inexhauſtible repoſitory. I have tranſcribed the whole:[2]

Lenten ys come with love to toune,
With bloſmen ant with briddes roune,
That al this bliſſe bryngeth;
Dayes eȝes in this dales,
Notes ſuete of nyȝtegales,
Uch foul ſong ſingeth.

The threſtelcoc[3] him threteth oo,
Away is huere wynter wo,
When woderoue ſpringeth;
This foules ſingeth ferly fele,
Ant wlyteth on huere wynter wele,
That al the wode ryngeth.

The roſe rayleth hir rode,
The leves on the lyȝte wode
Waxen al with wille:
The mone mandeth hire bleo
The lilie is loſſum to ſeo;
The fenyl and the fille.

Wowes this wilde drakes,
Miles murgeth huere makes.
As ſtreme that ſtriketh ſtille
Mody meneth, ſo doh mo.
Ichot ycham on of tho,
For love that likes ille.

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[1] Harl. MSS. fol. 2253 63, b.

[2] [The following ſtanza formed the opening of this ſong as printed by Warton. It appears to have been inadvertently copied from a poem in the parallel column of the manuſcript, Harl. 2253. (See Wright's *Lyric Poetry*, p. 45.)

"In May hit muryeth when hit dawes,[1]
In dounes with this dueres plawes,[2]
Ant lef is lyȝt on lynde;
Bloſmes bredeth on the bowes,
Al this wylde wyȝtes wowes,
So wel ych under-fynde."—*Price.*]

[3] throſtle, thruſh.

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[1] "it is mery at dawn." [2] plays.

The mone mandeth hire lyȝt,
[So doth the ſemly ſonne bryȝt,]
When briddes ſyngeth breme,
Deawes donketh the dounes
Deores with huere derne rounes,
Domes forte deme.

Wormes woweth under cloude,
Wymmen waxith wounder proude,
So wel hyt wol hem ſeme:
ȝef me ſhal wonte wille of on
This wunne weole ẏ wol forgon
Ant wyht in wode be fleme.[1]

This ſpecimen will not be improperly ſucceeded by the following elegant lines, which a contemporary poet appears to have made in a morning walk from Peterborough, on the bleſſed Virgin; but whoſe genius ſeems better adapted to deſcriptive than religious ſubjects:

Now ſkruketh roſe ant lylie flour,
That whilen ber that ſuete ſavour
In ſomer, that ſuete tyde;
Ne is no quene ſo ſtark ne ſtour,
Ne no leuedy ſo bryht in bour
That ded ne ſhal by-glyde:
Whoſo wol fleyſh-luſt for-gon
And hevene-bliſſe abyde,

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[1] MSS. *ibid.* ut ſupr. f. 71, b. In the ſame ſtyle, as it is manifeſtly of the ſame antiquity, the following little deſcriptive ſong, on the Approach of Summer, deſerves notice.—*MSS. Harl.* 978, f. 5:

"Sumer is i-comen in,
Lhude ſing cuccu:
Groweth ſed, and bloweth med,
And ſpringeth the wde nu.
Sing cuccu.

Awe bleteth after lomb,
Lhouth after calve cu;
Bulluc ſterteth, bucke verteth:
Murie ſing, cuccu,
Cuccu, cuccu:
Wel ſinges thu cuccu;
Ne ſwik thou nauer nu.
Sing cuccu nu,
Sing cuccu.

That is, "Summer is coming: Loudly ſing, Cuckow! Groweth ſeed, and bloweth mead, and ſpringeth the wood now. Ewe bleateth after lamb, loweth cow after calf; bullock ſtarteth, buck *verteth*:[1] merrily ſing, Cuckow! Well ſingeſt thou, Cuckow, Nor ceaſe to ſing now." This is the moſt ancient Engliſh ſong that appears in our manuſcripts, with the muſical notes annexed. The muſic is of that ſpecies of compoſition which is called *Canon in the Uniſon*, and is ſuppoſed to be of the fifteenth century. [See Chappell's *Popular Muſic of the Olden Time*, 23-5, and references there given to other ſongs of the ſame character; alſo Mr. Alexander J. Ellis's careful edition of this ſong and the Priſoner's Prayer in the *Philological Society's Tranſactions*, 1868. Mr. Richard Taylor has drawn attention to the ſimilarity of this ſong to ſome of the lays of the *Minneſingers*, collected by Mr. Edgar Taylor, 1825.]

[1] goes to harbour among the fern.

On Jheſu be is thoht anon,
That therled was ys ſide.[1]

To which we may add a ſong, probably written by the ſame author, on the five joys of the bleſſed Virgin, [a common topic, treated by Shoreham and other poets:]

Aſe y me rod this ender day,
By grene wode, to ſeche play;
Mid herte y thohte al on a May.
Sueteſt of alle thinge;
Lythe, and ich ou telle may
Al of that ſuete thinge.[2]

In the ſame paſtoral vein, a lover, perhaps of the reign of King John, thus addreſſes his miſtreſs, whom he ſuppoſes to be the moſt beautiful girl, "bituene Lyncolne and Lyndeſeye, Northampton and Lounde":[3]

When the ny3tegale ſinges, the wodes waxen grene;
Lef and gras and bloſme ſpringes in Averyl, y wene.
Ant love is to myn herte gon with one ſpere ſo kene
Ny3t and day my blod hit drynkes, myn herte deth me tene.[4]

Ich have loved al this 3er that y may love na more,
Ich have ſiked moni ſyk, lemmon, for thin ore,
Me nis love never the ner, ant that me reweth ſore;
Suete lemmon, thench on me, ich have loved the 3ore,

Suete lemmon, y preye the of love one ſpeche,
While y lyve in worlde ſo wyde other nulle y ſeche.[5]
[With thy love, my ſuete leof, mi blis thou mi3tes eche,
A ſuete cos of thy mouth mi3te be my leche.]

Nor are theſe verſes, in ſomewhat the ſame meaſure, unpleaſing:

My deth y love, my lyf ich hate, for a levedy ſhene,
Heo is brith ſo daies li3t, that is on me wel ſene.
Al y falewe, ſo doth the lef in ſomer when hit is grene;
3ef mi thoht helpeth me no3t, to wham ſhal I me mene?

Another, in the following little poem, enigmatically compares his miſtreſs, whoſe name ſeems to be Joan, to various gems and flowers. The writer is happy in his alliteration, and his verſes are tolerably harmonious:

Ichot a burde in a bour, aſe beryl ſo bry3t,
Aſe ſaphyr in ſelver ſemly on ſy3t,
Aſe jaſpe[6] the gentil that lemeth[7] with ly3t,
Aſe gernet[8] in golde and ruby wel ry3t,
Aſe onycle[9] he ys on yholden on hy3t;
Aſe diamaund the dere in day when he is dy3t:
He is coral y-cud with Cayſer ant kny3t,
Aſe emeraude a morewen this may haveth my3t.
The my3t of the margarite haveth this mai mere,
For charbocle iche hire chaſe bi chyn ant bi chere.
Hire rode ys as roſe that red ys on rys,[10]

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[1] Harl. MSS. 2253, f. 80; [*Lyric Poetry*, p. 87.]
[2] MS. *ibid.* f. 81, b; *Lyric Poetry*, p. 94. [3] London.
[4] MSS. *ibid.* f. 80, b. [The confuſion, adverted to above, prevailed in the diſpoſition of this ſong. The preſent copy follows the MS.—*Price.*] Ritſon's *Anc. Songs*, p. 30. [5] MSS. *ibid.* f. 80, b.
[6] jaſper. [7] ſtreams, ſhines. [8] garnet. [9] onyx. [10] branch.

With lilye white leves loſſum he ys,
The primroſe he paſſeth, the parvenke of prys,
With aliſaundre thareto, ache ant anys:
Coynte[1] as columbine ſuch hire cande[2] ys,
Glad under gore in gro ant in grys
He is bloſme opon bleo bri3teſt under bis
With celydone ant ſauge aſe thou thi ſelf ſys, &c.
From Weye he is wiſiſt into Wyrhale,
Hire nome is in a note of the ny3tegale;
In an note is hire nome, nempneth hit non,
Who ſo ryzt redeth, ronne to Johon.[3]

The curious Harleian volume, to which we are ſo largely indebted, has preſerved a moral tale, a compariſon between age and youth, where the ſtanza is remarkably conſtructed. The various ſorts of verſification which we have already ſeen, evidently prove that much poetry had been written, and that the art had been greatly cultivated before this period.

Herkne to my ron, } *Of elde al hou yt ges.*
As ich ou tell con, }
Of a mody mon, } *Soth withoute les.*
Hihte Maximion, }
Clerc he was ful god, } *Nou herkne hou it wes*[4].
So moni mon undirſtod. }

For the ſame reaſon, a ſort of elegy on our Saviour's crucifixion ſhould not be omitted. It begins thus (*Lyric Poetry*, p. 85):

I ſyke when y ſinge,
For ſorewe that y ſe,
When y with wypinge
Bihold upon the tre,
Ant ſe Jheſu the ſuete
Is hert blod for-lete,
For the love of me;
Ys woundes waxen wete,
Thei wepen ſtill and mete,
Marie, reweth the.[5]

Nor an alliterative ode on heaven, death, judgment, &c. (*Lyric Poetry*, p. 22.):

Middel-erd for mon wes mad,
Un-mihti aren is meſte mede,
This hedy hath on honde yhad,
That hevene hem is heſt to hede.
Icherde a bliſſe budel us bade,
The dreri domeſdai to drede,
Of ſunful ſauhting ſone be ſad,
That derne doth this derne dede,
Thah he ben derne done.
This wrakefall werkes under wede,
In ſoule ſoteleth ſone.[6]

Many of theſe meaſures were adopted from the French chanſons.[7] I will add one or two more ſpecimens.

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[1] quaint. [2] [kind, nature. Sir F. Madden's corr.] [3] MSS. *ibid.* f. 63.
[4] MSS. *ibid.* f. 82, [printed in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, i. 119-125. There is another copy in the Digby MS. 86, leaf 134 back, ab. 1320 A.D.]
[5] *Ibid.* f. 80.
[6] MS. Harl. 2253, f. 62, b. [7] See MSS. Harl. *ut ſupr.* f. 49, 76.

On our Saviour's paſſion and death:

Jeſu for thi muchele mi3t
Thou 3ef us of thi grace,
That we mowe dai ant nyht
Thenken o thi face.
In myn herte hit doth me god,
When y thenke on Jeſu blod,
That ran doun bi ys ſyde;
From is herte doune to his fot,
For ous he ſpradde is herte blod
His wondes were ſo wyde.[1]

On the ſame ſubject:

Lutel wot hit any mon
How love hym haveth y-bounde,
That for us o the rode ron,
Ant bohte us with is wounde;
The love of him us haveth ymaked ſounde,
And y-caſt the grimly goſt to grounde:
Ever ant oo, ny3t ant day, he haveth us in is tho3te,
He nul nout leoſe that he ſo deore bo3te.[2]

The following are on love and gallantry. The poet, named Richard, profeſſes himſelf to have been a great writer of love-ſongs:

Weping haveth myn wonges[3] wet,
For wikked werk ant wone of wyt,
Unblithe y be til y ha bet,
Bruches broken, aſe bok byt:
Of levedis love that y ha let,
That lemeth al with luefly lyt,
Ofte in ſonge y have hem ſet,
That is unſemly ther hit ſyt.
Hit ſyt and ſemeth noht,
Ther hit ys ſeid in ſong
That y have of them wroht,
Ywis hit is al wrong.[4]

It was cuſtomary with the early ſcribes, when ſtanzas conſiſted of ſhort lines, to throw them together like proſe. As thus:

"A wayle whyt as whalles bon | a grein in golde that godly ſhon | a tortle that min herte is on | in tounes trewe | Hire gladſhip nes never gon | whil y may glewe."[5]

Sometimes they wrote three or four verſes together as one line:

With longyng y am lad | on molde y waxe mad | a maide marreth me,
Y grede, y grone un-glad | for ſelden y am ſad | that ſemly for te ſe.
Levedi, thou rewe me | to routhe thou haveſt me rad | be bote out of that y bad
| my lyf is long on the.[6]

Again,

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[1] MS. Harl. 2253, f. 79. Probably this ſong has been ſomewhat moderniſed by tranſcribers.

[2] *Ibid.* f. 128. Theſe lines afterwards occur, burleſqued and parodied, by a writer of the ſame age.

[3] [cheeks, A. S. panz, Ital. guancia.]

[4] MSS. *Ibid.* f. 66; [*Lyric Poetry*, p. 30-33.]

[5] *Ibid.* f. 67. [Mr. R. Taylor refers us to Hoffmann's *Fundgruben* 1830; *Danſke Kiæmpe Viſer*, 1787; and Raynouard, *Poeſies des Troubadours*, ii. Poeme ſur Boece, p. 6.]

[6] *Ibid.* f. 63, b.

Moſti ryden by Rybbes-dale | wilde wymmen for te wale | ant welde wuch ich wolde :
Founde were the feyreſt on | that ever wes mad of blod ant bon | in boure beſt with bolde.[1]

This mode of writing is not uncommon in ancient manuſcripts of French poetry. And ſome critics may be inclined to ſuſpect, that the verſes which we call Alexandrine, accidentally aſſumed their form merely from the practice of abſurd tranſcribers, who frugally choſe to fill their pages to the extremity, and violated the metrical ſtructure for the ſake of ſaving their vellum. It is certain, that the common ſtanza of four ſhort lines may be reduced into two Alexandrines, and on the contrary. I have before obſerved that the [old Engliſh] poem cited by Hickes, conſiſting of one hundred and ninety-one ſtanzas, is written in ſtanzas in the Bodleian, and in Alexandrines in the Trinity manuſcript at Cambridge. How it came originally from the poet I will not pretend to determine.

Our early poetry often appears in ſatirical pieces on the eſtabliſhed and eminent profeſſions; and the writers, as we have already ſeen, ſucceeded not amiſs, when they cloathed their ſatire in allegory. But nothing can be conceived more ſcurrilous and illiberal[2] than their ſatires when they deſcend to mere invective. In the Britiſh Muſeum, among other examples which I could mention, we have a ſatirical ballad on the [Conſiſtory Courts, and the vexation which they cauſed to the peaſantry. The whole ballad is printed in Mr. T. Wright's *Political Songs*, for the Camden Society, 1839, pp. 155-9, and we quote a few lines againſt the Summoners, whom we know from Chaucer's ſketch, eight years later :—]

Hyrd-men hem hatieth, ant vch mones hyne,
For everuch a parroſshe heo polketh in pyne,
Ant claſtreth with heore colle :
Nou wol vch fol clerc that is fayly
Wende to the byſshop ant bugge bayly,
Nys no wyt in is nolle.[3]

The elder French poetry abounds in allegorical ſatire; and I doubt not that the author of the ſatire on the [legal] profeſſion, cited above, copied ſome French ſatire on the ſubject. Satire was one ſpecies of the poetry of the Provençal troubadours. Gaucelm Faidit, a troubadour of the eleventh century, who will again be mentioned, wrote a ſort of ſatirical drama called the Hereſy of the Fathers, *Heregia del Preyres*, a ridicule on the council which condemned the Albigenſes. The papal legates often fell under the laſh of theſe poets : whoſe favour they were obliged to court, but in vain by the promiſe of ample gratuities.[4] [There is a very lively and ſevere ſatire (erroneouſly attributed to Hugues de Bercy,) belonging to the 12th or 13th century, which is called by the writer *Bible Guiot de Provins*,] as containing nothing but truth.[5]

[1] Harl. MSS. 2253, f. 66.
[2] [I doubt whether they ſaid one word more than the oppreſſions they ſuffered juſtified.—*F.*]
[3] Harl. MS. 2253, f. 71.
[4] Fontenelle, *Hiſt. Theatr. Fr.* p. 18, edit. 1742. [5] See Fauchet, *Rec.* p. 151.

In Harl. MS. 2253, I find an ancient French poem, yet reſpecting England, which is a humorous panegyric on a new religious order called *Le Ordre de bel Eyſe*. This is the exordium :—

Qui vodra a moi entendre
Oyr purra e aprendre
L'eſtoyre de un Ordre Novel
Qe mout eſt delitous e bel.[1]

The poet ingeniouſly feigns that his new monaſtic order conſiſts of the moſt eminent nobility and gentry of both ſexes, who inhabit the monaſteries aſſigned to it promiſcuouſly; and that no perſon is excluded from this eſtabliſhment who can ſupport the rank of a gentleman. They are bound by their ſtatutes to live in perpetual idleneſs and luxury : and the ſatiriſt refers them for a pattern or rule of practice in theſe important articles, to the monaſteries of Sempringham in Lincolnſhire [where Robert Manning of Brunne dwelt for a time[2]], Beverley in Yorkſhire, the Knights Hoſpitallers, and many other religious orders then flouriſhing in England.[3]

When we conſider the feudal manners and the magnificence of our Norman anceſtors, their love of military glory, the enthuſiaſm with which they engaged in the Cruſades, and the wonders to which they muſt have been familiarized from thoſe eaſtern enterpriſes, we naturally ſuppoſe, what will hereafter be more particularly proved, that their retinues abounded with minſtrels and harpers, and that their chief entertainment was to liſten to the recital of romantic and martial adventures. But I have been much diſappointed in my ſearches after the metrical tales which muſt have prevailed in their times. Moſt of thoſe old heroic ſongs have periſhed, together with the ſtately caſtles in whoſe halls they were ſung. Yet they were not ſo totally loſt as we may be apt to imagine. Many of them ſtill partly exiſt in the old Engliſh metrical romances, which will be mentioned in their proper places; yet diveſted of their original form, poliſhed in their ſtyle, adorned with new incidents, ſucceſſively moderniſed by repeated tranſcription and recitation, and retaining little more than the outlines of the original compoſition. This has not been the caſe with the legendary and other religious poems written ſoon after the Conqueſt, manuſcripts of which abound in our libraries. From the nature of their ſubject they were leſs popular and common, and being leſs frequently recited, became leſs liable to perpetual innovation or alteration.

In the reign of [Edward II.], a poem occurs, the date of which may be determined with ſome degree of certainty. It is a ſatirical ſong or ballad, written by one of the adherents of Simon de Mont-

[1] [It will be found in the ſecond volume of Barbazan's *Fabliaux*, p. 307. "La Bible au Seignor de Berze" is a more courtly compoſition, and forms a part of the ſame collection, p. 194. The earlier French antiquaries have frequently confounded theſe two productions.—*Price*. *L'Ordre de Bel Eyſe* is printed alſo by Wright, *Political Songs of England*, 1839, p. 137. Mr. Wright aſſigns it to the reign of Edward II.]

[2] [*Handlyng Synne*, Prologue, edit. Furnivall.]

[3] MSS. ibid. f. 121.

fort earl of Leiceſter, a powerful baron, ſoon after the battle of Lewes, which was fought in the year 1264, and proved very fatal to the intereſts of the king. In this deciſive action, Richard king of the Romans, his brother Henry the Third, and Prince Edward, with many others of the royal party, were taken priſoners :[1]—

Sitteth alle ſtille, ant herkneth to me:
The kyn of Alemaigne, bi mi leaute,
Thritti thouſent pound aſkede he[2]
For te make the pees in the countre,
And ſo he dude more.
Richard, thah thou be ever trichard,
trichen ſhall thou never more.

Richard of Alemaigne, whil that he was kyng,
He ſpende al is treſour opon ſwyvyng:
Haveth he nout of Walingford o ferlyng;
Let him habbe, aſe he brew, bale to dryng,
Maugre Wyndeſore.
Richard, thah thou, &c.

Theſe popular rhymes had probably no ſmall influence in encouraging Leiceſter's partiſans, and diffuſing his faction. There is ſome humour in imagining that Richard ſuppoſed the windmill to which he retreated, to be a fortification; and that he believed the ſails of it to be military engines. In the manuſcript, from which this ſpecimen is tranſcribed, immediately follows a ſong in French, ſeemingly written by the ſame poet, on the battle of Eveſham fought the following year; in which Leiceſter was killed, and his rebellious barons defeated.[3] Our poet looks upon his hero as a martyr, and particularly laments the loſs of Henry his ſon, and Hugh le Deſpenſer juſticiary of England. He concludes with an Engliſh ſtanza, much in the ſtyle and ſpirit of thoſe juſt quoted.

[Daines Barrington, in his *Obſervations on the Statutes*, 1766,] has obſerved, that this ballad on Richard of Alemaigne probably occaſioned a ſtatute againſt libels in the year 1275, under the title, "Againſt ſlanderous reports, or tales to cauſe diſcord betwixt king and people."[4] That this ſpirit was growing to an extravagance

[1] [Printed entire in *Political Songs*, ed. Wright, 1839, p. 69. The firſt and ſecond ſtanzas have therefore been thought a ſufficient ſpecimen of the production.]

[2] The barons made this offer of thirty thouſand pounds to Richard.

[3] f. 59. It begins,

"Chaunter meſtoit | mon ever le voit | en un duré langage,
Tut en pluraunt | fuſt fet le chaunt | de noitre duz Baronage," &c.

[4] [Privately printed by Palgrave, 1818, with three other pieces from the ſame ſource. Sir F. Madden's information. It has alſo been included in Ritſon's *Ancient Songs*, ed. 1829. A verſion of it was made by Sir Walter Scott, at the requeſt of Ritſon, and has been reprinted in the [ſecond edition] of his *Engliſh Songs*, vol. ii. Mr. Geo. Ellis made another metrical tranſlation, which periſhed with many of Ritſon's MS. treaſures.—*Park.*

This Norman ballad has ſince been printed in the new edition of Ritſon's *Ancient Songs*. Political ſongs ſeem to have been common about this period: both Engliſh, Norman, and Latin, the three languages then uſed in England, ſeem to have been enliſted into the cauſe of Simon de Montfort. I have ſomewhere ſeen a Latin poem in his praiſe; and, in the following paſſage from a MS. containing his miracles (for Simon, like Harold, and Waltheof, and moſt of the popular heroes of thoſe days, was looked upon as a ſaint), and written apparently no very long time

which deſerved to be checked, we ſhall have occaſion to bring further proofs.

I muſt not paſs over the reign of Henry III. who died in the year 1272, without obſerving that this monarch entertained in his court a poet with a certain ſalary, whoſe name was Henri d'Avranches.[1] And although this poet was a Frenchman, and moſt probably wrote in French, yet this firſt inſtance of an officer who was afterwards, yet with ſufficient impropriety, denominated a *poet laureate* in the Engliſh court, deſervedly claims particular notice in the courſe of theſe annals. He is called *Maſter Henry the Verſifier*:[2] which appellation perhaps implies a different character from the royal *Minſtrel* or *Joculator*. The king's treaſurers are ordered to pay this *Maſter Henry* one hundred ſhillings, which I ſuppoſe to have been a year's ſtipend, in the year 1251.[3] And again the ſame precept occurs under the year 1249.[4] Our Maſter Henry, it ſeems, had in ſome of his verſes reflected on the ruſticity of the Corniſh men. This inſult was reſented in a Latin ſatire now remaining, written by Michael Blaunpayne, a native of Cornwall, and recited by the author in the preſence of Hugh, abbot of Weſtminſter, Hugh de Mortimer, official of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhop elect of Wincheſter, and the biſhop of Rocheſter.[5] While we are ſpeaking

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after his death, we have apparently the fragment of a hymn addreſſed to him when canonized by the popular voice. MS. Cotton. Veſp. A. VI. fol. 189. "Anno Domini m° cc^mo lx° v^to octavo Symonis Montis Fortis ſociorumque ejus pridie nonas Auguſti.

"Salve Symon Montis Fortis,
tocius flos milicie,
Duras penas paſſus mortis,
protector (?) gentis Anglie.
Sunt de ſanctis inaudita,
Cunctis paſſis in hac vita
quemquam paſſum talia : (*ſic.*)
Manus, pedes amputari ;
Caput, corpus vulnerari ;
abſcidi virilia.
Sis pro nobis interceſſor
Apud Deum, qui defenſor
in terris exterritas. (*ſic.*)

Ora pro nobis, beate Symon, ut digni efficiamur promiſſionibus Chriſti." There are found many political ſongs in Latin, which ſhows that the monks took much intereſt in politics.—*W.*]

[1] See Carew's *Surv. Cornw.* p. 58, edit. 1602.

[2] Henry of Huntingdon ſays, that Walo *Verſificator* wrote a panegyric on Henry the Firſt: and that the ſame Walo *Verſificator* wrote a poem on the park which that king made at Woodſtock. Leland's *Collectan.* vol. ii. 303, i. 197, edit. 1770. Perhaps he was in the department of Henry mentioned in the text. One Gualo, a Latin poet, who flouriſhed about this time, is mentioned by Bale, iii. 5, and Pits, p. 233. He is recommended in the *Policraticon.* A copy of his Latin hexametrical ſatire on the monks is printed by Mathias Flacius, among miſcellaneous Latin poems *De corrupto Eccleſiæ ſtatu*, 1557, p. 489.

[3] "Magiſtro Henrico Verſificatori." See Madox, *Hiſt. Excheq.* p. 268.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 674. In MSS. Digb. Bibl. Bodl. I find, in John of Hoveden's *Salutationes quinquaginta Mariæ*, "Mag. Henricus, verſificator magnus, de B. Virgine," &c.

[5] MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Arch. Bodl. 29, viz: "Verſus magiſtri Michaelis Cornu-

of the *Verſifier* of Henry III., it will not be foreign to add, that in the thirty-ſixth year of the ſame king, forty ſhillings and one pipe of wine were given to Richard the king's harper, and one pipe of wine to Beatrice his wife.[1] But why this gratuity of a pipe of wine ſhould alſo be made to the wife, as well as to the huſband who from his profeſſion was a genial character, appears problematical according to our preſent ideas.[2]

The moſt ancient Engliſh metrical romance which I can diſcover, is entitled the *Geſte of King Horn*.[3] It was evidently written after the Cruſades had begun, is mentioned by Chaucer,[4] and probably ſtill remains in [ſomething near] its original ſtate. I will firſt give the ſubſtance of the ſtory, and afterwards add ſome ſpecimens of the compoſition. But I muſt premiſe, that this ſtory occurs in very old French metre in the manuſcripts of the Britiſh muſeum ;[5] [but

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bienſis contra Mag. Henricum Abricenſem coram dom. Hugone abbate Weſtmon. et aliis." fol. 81, b. *Princ.* "Archipoeta vide quod non ſit cura tibi de." See alſo fol. 83, b. Again, fol. 85 :

> "Pendo poeta prius te diximus Archipoetam,
> Quam pro poſtico nunc dicimus eſſe poetam,
> Imo poeticulum," &c.

Archipoeta means here the *king's chief poet.*

In another place our Corniſh ſatiriſt thus attacks maſter Henry's perſon :

> "Eſt tibi gamba capri, crus paſſeris, et latus apri ;
> Os leporis, catuli naſus, dens et gena muli ;
> Frons vetulæ, tauri caput, et color undique mauri."

In a blank page of the Bodleian MS., from which theſe extracts are made, is written, "Iſte liber conſtat Fratri Johanni de Wallis monacho Rameſeye." The name is elegantly enriched with a device. This MS. contains, amongſt other things, *Planctus de Excidio Trojæ*, by Hugo Prior de Montacino, in rhyming hexameters and pentameters, viz. fol. 89. Camden cites other Latin verſes of Michael Blaunpain, whom he calls "Merry Michael the Corniſh poet." *Rem.* p. 10. See alſo p. 489, edit. 1674. He wrote many other Latin pieces, both in proſe and verſe.

Compare Tanner in *Joannes Cornubienſis*, for his other pieces. *Bibl.* p. 432, notes, f, g. [The poems of Michael Cornubienſis (in Latin) are preſerved, as Mr. Wright informs us, in MS. Cotton. Veſp. D. 5, 49. The ſame gentleman ſtates that in the Britiſh Muſeum there is more than one copy of the verſes quoted by Warton. In one (MS. Reg. 14 C. xiii. 269), they are ſaid to have been recited at Cambridge before the univerſity and maſters.]

[1] *Rot. Pip. an.* 36 *Henr. iii.* "Et in uno dolio vini empto et dato magiſtro Ricardo Cithariſtæ regis, xl. ſol. per Br. Reg. Et in uno dolio empto et dato Beatrici uxori ejuſdem Ricardi."

[2] [Beatrice may poſſibly have been a *juglereſs*, whoſe pantomimic exhibitions were accompanied by her huſband's harp, or who filled up the intervals between his performances. This union of profeſſional talents in huſband and wife was not uncommon. In a copy of the ordonnances for regulating the minſtrels, &c. reſiding at Paris, a document drawn up by themſelves in the year 1321, and ſigned by thirty-ſeven perſons on behalf of all the *meneſtreux jougleurs et jouglereſſes* of that city, we find among others the names of Iehanot Langlois et Adeline, fame de Langlois Jaucons, fils le moine et Marguerite, la fame au moine. See Raynouard, *De la Poeſie Françoiſe dans les xii. et xiii. Siècles*, p. 288.—*Price.*]

[3] See Mätzner and Goldbeck's text in their *Sprachproben.*—F.]

[4] Rim. Thop. 3402, Urr.

[5] MSS. Harl. 527, b. f. 59, Cod. membr. [*King Horn* has been edited for the Early Engliſh Text Society ; it was included (from Harl. 2253) in Ritſon's col-

it is probably not] a tranſlation: a circumſtance which will [affect] an argument purſued hereafter, proving that moſt of our metrical romances are tranſlated from the French.

[The] king of the Saracens lands in the kingdom of Suddene, where he kills the king named Allof [or Mury]. The queen, Godylt, eſcapes; but [the king] ſeizes on her ſon Horne, a beautiful youth aged fifteen years, and puts him into a galley, with two of his play-fellows, Athulph and Fykenyld: the veſſel being driven on the coaſt of the kingdom of Weſtneſſe, the young prince is found by Aylmer king of that country, brought to court, and delivered to Athelbrus his ſteward, to be educated in hawking, harping, tilting, and other courtly accompliſhments. Here the princeſs Rymenild falls in love with him, declares her paſſion, and is betrothed. Horn, in conſequence of this engagement, leaves the princeſs for ſeven years; to demonſtrate, according to the ritual of chivalry, that by ſeeking and accompliſhing dangerous enterpriſes he deſerved her affection. He proves a moſt valorous and invincible knight: and at the end of ſeven years having killed King Mury, recovered his father's kingdom, and achieved many ſignal exploits, recovers the Princeſs Rymenild from the hands of his treacherous knight and companion Fykenyld, carries her in triumph to his own country, and there reigns with her in great ſplendour and proſperity. The poem itſelf begins and proceeds thus:[1]—

Alle beon he blithe
That to my ſong lythe:
A ſang ich ſchal ȝou ſinge
Of Murry the kinge.
King he was biweſte
So long ſo hit laſte.
Godhild het his quen,
Faire ne miȝte nou ben.
He hadde a ſone that het horn.
Ne no rein upon birine,
Ne ſun[n]e upon biſchine.
Faiſer nis no[n] thane he was,
He was briȝt ſo the glas,
He was whit ſo the flur:
Roſe red was his colur.
In none kinge-riche
Nas no[n] his iliche.
Twelf feren he had
That alle with him ladde.
Alle riche manes ſon[n]es,
Alle hi were faire gomes,
With him for to pleie,

---

lection. It is ſubſtantially the ſame ſtory as *Ponthus of Galicia*, printed in 1511, 4to. In 1845, M. Franciſque Michel completed for the Bannatyne club his long-promiſed volume on this ſubject. It is entitled, "Horn et Rimenhild. Recueil de tout ce qui reſte des poemes, relatifs a leurs Aventures, compoſés en François, en Anglais, et en Ecoſſais, dans le xiii. xiv. xv. et xvi. Siècle."]

[1 The following extracts have now been collated with the Early Engliſh Text Society's edit. of *Horn*, 1866, from the Cambridge Univerſity MS.]

Meſt he lu[u]ede tweie ;
That on him het hathulf child,
That oth[er] Fikenild.
Athulf was the beſte,
Fikenylde the werſte.
Hit was upon a ſomeres day,
Alſo ich ȝou telle may,
Murri the gode king
Rod on his pleing
Bi the ſe ſide,
Aſe he was woned ride,
He fonde by the ſtronde,
Ariued on his londe,
Schipes fiftene
With ſarazins kene :
He axede what iſoȝte
Other to londe broȝte.

But I haſten to that part of the ſtory where Prince Horne appears at the court of the king of Weſtneſſe :

The kyng com in to halle,
Among his kniȝtes alle ;
Forth he clupede Athelbrus,
That was ſtiward of his hus,
Stiwarde, tak nu here
My fiindlyng for to lere,
Of thine meſtere
Of wude [and] of riuere,[1]
Ant tech him to harpe
With his nayles ſcharpe,[2]
Thou tech him of alle the liſte
That thee eure of wiſte,
Biuore me to kerue,

---

[1] So Robert de Brunne, of King Marian. Hearne's *Rob. Glouc.* p. 622.

" Marian faire in chere
He couthe of wod and ryvere
In alle maner of venrie," &c.

[Sir F. Madden points out that the phraſe is from the French, and inſtances the following :

" Tant ſeit apris qu'il liſe un bref
Car ces ne li eſt pas trop gref,
D'eſchas, *de rivere*, et de *chace*,
Voil que del tot apreuze e ſace."
—*Roman du Rou* (MS. Harl. 1717, fol. 79).]

[2] In another part of the poem he is introduced playing on his harp :

" Horn ſette him abenche,
Is harpe he gan clenche,
He made Rymenild a lay,
Ant hue ſeide weylaway," &c.

In the chamber of a biſhop of Wincheſter at Merdon caſtle, now ruined, we find mention made of benches only. *Comp. MS. J. Gerveys, Epiſcop. Winton*, 1266. " Iidem red. comp. de ii. menſis in aula ad magnum deſcum. Et de iii. menſis, et una parte, et ii. menſis ex altera parte cum treſſellis in aula. Et de i. menſa cum treſſellis in camera dom. epiſcopi. Et v. *formis* in eadem camera." *Deſcus*, in old Engliſh *dees*, is properly a canopy over the high table. See a curious account of the goods in the palace of the biſhop of Nivernois in France, in the year 1287, in Montf. *Cat. MSS.* ii. p. 984, col. 2.

And of the cupe ſerue,[1]
In his feiren thou wiſe
Into other ſeruiſe;
Horn thu underuonge,
Tech him of harpe and ſonge
Ailbrus gan lere
Horn [and] his yfere:
Horn in herte la3te
Al that he him ta3te,
In the curt and ute,
And elles al abute,
Luuede men horn child,
And meſt him louede Rymenhild
The kynges o3ene doſter,
He was meſt in tho3te,
Heo louede ſo horn child,
That ne3 heo gan wexe wild:
For heo ne mi3te at borde
With him ſpeke no worde,
Ne no3t in the halle
Among the kni3tes alle,
Ne nowhar in non othere ſtede:
Of folk heo hadde drede:
Bi daie ne bi ni3te
With him ſpeke ne mi3te,
Hire ſore3e ne hire pine,
Ne mi3te neure fine.
In heorte heo hadde wo,
And thus hire bitho3te tho:
Heo ſende hire ſonde
Athelbrus to honde,
That he come hire to,
And alſo ſcholde horn do,
Al in to bure,
For heo gan to lure,
And the ſonde ſeide,
That ſik lai that maide,
And bad him come ſwythe
For heo nas nothing blithe.
The ſtuard was in herte wo,
For he nuſte what to do,
Wat Rymenhyld byſu3te
Gret wunder him thu3te;
Abute horn the 3onge
To bure for to bringe,
He tho3te upon his mode
Hit nas for none gode;
He tok him another,
Athulf, hornes brother.
Athulf, he ſede, ri3t anon
Thu ſchalt with me to bure gon,
To ſpeke with Rymenhild ſtille,
To wyte hure wille,

[1] According to the rules of chivalry, every knight before his creation paſſed through two offices. He was firſt a page: and at fourteen years of age he was formally admitted an eſquire. The eſquires were divided into ſeveral departments; that of the body, of the chamber, of the ſtable, and the carving eſquire. The latter ſtood in the hall at dinner, where he carved the different diſhes with proper ſkill and addreſs, and directed the diſtribution of them among the gueſts. The inferior offices had alſo their reſpective eſquires. *Mem. Anc. Cheval.* i. 16, *ſeq.*

In hornes ilike,
Thu ſchalt hure biſwike:
Sore ihc me ofdrede
He wolde horn mis-rede
Athelbrus gan Athulf lede
And into bure with him ȝede:
Anon upon Athulf child
Rymenhild gan wexe wild:
He[o] wende that Horn hit were,
That heo hauede there.

At length the princeſs finds ſhe has been deceived; the ſteward is ſeverely reprimanded, and Prince Horn is brought to her chamber; when, ſays the poet:

Of his feire fiȝte
Al the bur gan liȝte.[1]

It is the force of the ſtory in theſe pieces that chiefly engages our attention. The minſtrels had no idea of conducting and deſcribing a delicate ſituation. The general manners were groſs, and the arts of writing unknown. Yet this ſimplicity ſometimes pleaſes more than the moſt artificial touches. In the mean time, the pictures of ancient manners preſented by theſe early writers ſtrongly intereſt

[1] There is a copy, much altered and modernized, in the Advocates' library at Edinburgh, W. 4, i. Numb. xxxiv. [and another in MS. Harl. 2253, temp. Edw. II. printed in Ritſon's *Romances*, vol. 3.] The title *Horn-childe and Maiden Rimnild.* The beginning:

"Mi leve frende dere,
Herken and ye ſhall here."

[The biſhop of Dromore conſidered this production "of genuine Engliſh growth;" and though his lordſhip may have been miſtaken in aſcribing it, in its preſent form, to ſo early an æra as "within a century after the Conqueſt;" yet the editor has no heſitation in expreſſing his belief, that it owes its origin to a period long anterior to that event. The reaſons for ſuch an opinion cannot be entered upon here. They are too detailed to fall within the compaſs of a note, and though ſome of them will be introduced elſewhere, yet many perhaps are the reſult of convictions more eaſily felt than expreſſed, and whoſe ſhades of evidence are too ſlight to be generally received, except in the rear of more obvious authority. However, to thoſe who with Mr. Ritſon perſiſt in believing the French fragment of this romance to be an earlier compoſition than *The Geſte of Kyng Horn*, the following paſſage is ſubmitted, for the purpoſe of contraſting its highly wrought imagery with the ſimple narrative, and natural alluſion, obſerved throughout the Engliſh poem:

"Lors print la harpe a ſei ſi commence a temprer
Deu ki dunc leſgardaſt, cum il la ſot manier!
Cum les cordes tuchot, cum les feſeit trembler,
A quantes faire les chanz, a cuantes organer,
Del armonie del ciel lie pureit remembrer
Sur tuz ceus ke i ſunt fait ciſt à merveiller
Kuant celes notes ot fait prent ſen amunter
E par tut autre tuns fait les cordes ſoner."—*Price.*

Both Mr. Wright and Sir F. Madden believe the French romance of *Horn* to be a tranſlation from the Engliſh *Geſt*, and the former points out, as one ground for his opinion, that the French MSS. (of which there are three, all imperfect) exhibit traces of additions and embelliſhments, and that many new names are interpolated. Sir F. Madden adds that the French romance of *Atla* declares that *Horn* (there called *Aelof*) was tranſlated from Engliſh into French.]

the imagination; eſpecially as having the ſame uncommon merit with the pictures of manners in Homer, that of being founded in truth and reality, and actually painted from the life. To talk of the groſsneſs and abſurdity of ſuch manners is little to the purpoſe; the poet is only concerned in the juſtneſs and faithfulneſs of the repreſentation.

Hickes has printed a ſatire on the monaſtic profeſſion; the MS. of which was written [a little before the year 1300, according to Sir F. Madden, but early in the following century, Mr. Wright inclines to believe. It is printed (the ſpelling moderniſed) by Ellis,[1] and from the Harl. MS. 913, leaf 3, &c., by Mr. Furnivall.[2]] The poet begins with deſcribing the land of indolence or luxury:

Fur in ſee, bi weſt Spaynge,
Is a lond ihote Cokaygne;
Ther nis lond under hevenriche,[3]
Of wel of godnis hit iliche.
Tho3 paradis be miri[4] and bri3t
Cockaygn is of fairir fi3t.
What is ther in paradis
Bot graſſe, and flure, and grene ris?
Tho3 ther be joy,[5] and grete dute,[6]
Ther nis mete bote frute.
Ther nis halle, bure,[7] no benche,
Bot watir, manis thurs[t] to quenche, &c.

In the following lines there is a vein of ſatirical imagination and ſome talent at deſcription. The luxury of the monks is repreſented under the idea of a monaſtery conſtructed of various kinds of delicious and coſtly viands:

Ther is a wel fair abbei,
Of white monkes and of grei,
Ther beth bowris and halles:
All of paſteiis beth the walles,
Of fleis, of fiſſe, and rich[e] met,
The likfulliſt that man mai et.
Fluren cakes beth the ſcingles[8] alle,
Of cherche, cloiſter, boure, and halle.
The pinnes[9] beth fat podinges
Rich met to princez and [to] kinges . . . .
Ther is a cloiſter fair and li3t,
Brod and lang, of ſembli fi3t.
The pilers of that cloiſtre alle
Beth iturned of criſtale,
With harlas and capitale

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[1] *Specimens*, vol. i.

[2] [In *Poems and Lives of Saints*. Phil. Soc. Trans. 1858, part II. p. 156. The MS. was lent to Hickes by Tanner, but in 1698 it was the property of Biſhop More. How it came into the Harleian Collection, Sir F. Madden profeſſes himſelf unable even to gueſs.]

[3] Heaven. Sax.

[4] Merry, cheerful. "Although Paradiſe is chearful and bright, *Cokayne* is a much more beautiful place."

[5] ioi, Orig. [6] Pleaſure. [7] [A chamber.]

[8] *Shingles.* "The tiles, or covering of the houſe, are of rich cakes."

[9] The pinnacles.

Of grene jaſpe and rede corale
In the praer is a tre
Swithe likful for to ſe,
The rote is gingeuir and galingale,
The ſiouns beth al ſedwale.
Trie maces beth the flure,
The rind, canel of ſwet odur:
The frute gilofre of gode ſmakke,
Of cucubes ther nis no lakke. . . . .
There beth iiii. willis[1] in the abbei
Of triacle and halwei,
Of baum and ek piement,[2]
Ever ernend[3] to riȝt rent;[4]
Of thai ſtremis al the molde,
Stonis preciuſe[5] and golde,
Ther is ſaphir, and uniune,
Carbuncle and aſtiune,
Smaragde, lugre, and praſſiune,
Beril, onix, topoſiune,
Ametiſt and criſolite,
Calcedun and epetite.[6]
Ther beth birddes mani and fale
Throſtil, thruiſſe, and niȝtingale,
Chalandre, and wood[e]wale,
And other briddes without tale,
That ſtinteth never bi her miȝt
Miri to ſing[e] dai and niȝt. . . . .
Yi[t]e I do ȝow mo to witte,
The gees iroſtid on the ſpitte,
Fleeȝ to that abbai, God hit wot,
And gredith,[7] "gees al hote, al hote," &c.

Our author then makes a pertinent tranſition to a convent of nuns, which he ſuppoſes to be very commodiouſly ſituated at no great diſtance, and in the ſame fortunate region of indolence, eaſe, and affluence;

An other abbai is therbi
For ſoth a gret fair nunnerie;[8]
Up a river of ſwet milke
Whar is plente grete of ſilk.
When the ſomeris dai is hote,
The ȝung[e] nunnes takith a bote
And doth ham forth in that river
Both with oris and with ſtere:
Whan hi beth fur from the abbei,
Hi makith ham nakid for to plei,

---

[1] Fountains.
[2] This word will be explained at large hereafter.
[3] Running, Sax.
[4] Courſe, Sax.
[5] The Arabian philoſophy imported into Europe was full of the doctrine of precious ſtones.
[6] Our old poets are never ſo happy as when they can get into a catalogue of things or names. See *Obſervat. on the Fairy Queen*, i. p. 140.
[7] Cryeth. [Anglo-Sax.] [See Conybeare's *Illuſtr. of A.-S. Poetry*, 1826, 3-8, and Thorpe's *Cædmon*, 1832, Pref.—*Madden.*]
[8] [*La grange eſt pres des bateurs*; ("Said of a Nunnerie thats neere vnto a Fryerie:) the Barne ſtands neere the Threſher's."—Cotgrave, under *Bateur.*—*F.*]

And lepith dune in to the brimme
And doth ham ſleilich for to ſwimme:
The zung[e] monkes that hi ſeeth,
Hi doth ham up, and forth hi fleeth,
And comith to the nunnes anon,
And euch monke him takith on,
And ſnellich[1] berith forth har prei
To the mochil grei abbei,[2]
And techith the nunnes an oreiſun
With jambleue[3] up and dun.[4]

---

[1] Quickly, quickly. [Anglo-Saxon.]
[2] "To the great abbey of Grey Monks."
[3] Laſcivious motions, gambols. Fr. *gambiller*.
[4] Hickes, *Thes.* i. Par. i. p. 231 *ſeq.* [A French fabliau, bearing a near reſemblance to this poem, and poſſibly the production upon which the Engliſh minſtrel founded his ſong, has been publiſhed in Barbazan, *Fabliaux et Contes*, 1808, iv. 175.—*Price.* But Mr. Wright has pointed out that Price errs in deſcribing the fabliau as ſimilar to the Engliſh poem, and ſpecifies, on the other hand, an old Dutch poem which, from the ſpecimen he affords, certainly exhibits a ſtriking reſemblance.]

The ſecular indulgences, particularly the luxury, of a female convent, are intended to be repreſented in the following paſſage of an ancient poem, called *A Diſputation bytwene a Cryſtene mon and a Jew*, [from a MS.] written [near the end of the 14th century.] MS. Vernon, fol. 301:

"Till a Nonneri thei came,
But I knowe not the name;
Ther was mony a derworthe[1] dame
In dyapre dere:[2]
Squi3eres[3] in vche ſyde,
In the wones[4] ſo wyde:
Hur ſchul we lenge[5] and abyde,
Auntres[6] to heare.
Thene ſwithe[7] ſpekethe he,
Til a ladi ſo fre,
And biddeth that he welcum be,
'Sire Water my feere.'[8]
Ther was bords[9] i-clothed clene
With ſchire[10] clothes and ſchene,
Seþþe[11] a waſſchen,[12] i wene,
And wente to the ſete;
Riche metes was forth brouht,
To all men that gode thouht:
The criſten mon wolde nouht
Drynke nor ete.
Ther was a wyn ful clere
In mony a feir maſere,[13]
And other drynkes that weore dere,
In coupes[14] ful gret:

---

[1] Dear-worthy. [2] Diaper fine. [3] Squires, attendants.
[4] Rooms, apartments. [5] Shall we tarry. [6] Adventures.
[7] Swiftly, immediately.
[8] My companion, my love. He is called afterwards, "[Sir] Walter of Berwick."
[9] Tables. [10] Sheer, clean.
[11] Or *ſithe*, i. e. [afterwards: but perhaps we ſhould read *ſeththe thei*, "afterwards they."—*Price.*]
[12] Waſhed. [13] Mazer, great cup. [14] Cups.

This poem was deſigned to be ſung at public feſtivals :[1] a practice, of which many inſtances occur in this work ; and concerning which it may be ſufficient to remark at preſent, that a Joculator or bard was an officer belonging to the court of William the Conqueror.[2]

Another [Early Engliſh] poem cited by the ſame induſtrious antiquary [and ſince printed by Mr. Cockayne], is entitled *The Life of Saint Margaret*. The ſtructure of its verſification conſiderably differs from that in the laſt-mentioned piece, and is like the French Alexandrines. But I am of opinion that a pauſe, or diviſion, was intended in the middle of every verſe : and in this reſpect its verſification reſembles alſo that of [Warner's] *Albion's England*, or Drayton's *Polyolbion*, which was a ſpecies very common about the reign of Queen Elizabeth.[3] The rhymes are alſo continued to every fourth line. It appears to have been written about the time of [Henry III.]. It begins thus :[4]

Seinte Margarete was : holi maide 't god
Ibore heo was in Antioche : icome of cunde blod
Terdoſe hire fader het : while bi olde dawe
Patriarch he was wel he3 : 't maiſter of the lawe
He ne bileouede on iheſu criſt no3t : for he hethene was
Margarete his 3unge dou3ter : ipaid therwith no3t has
For hire hurte bar anon : criſtene to beo
The falſe godes heo het deuelen : that heo mi3te aldai ıſeo—.

In the ſequel, Olibrius, lord of Antioch, who is called a Saracen, falls in love with Margaret : but ſhe being a Chriſtian and a candidate for canonization, rejects his ſolicitations, and is thrown into priſon.[5]

Meidan Maregrete one nitt in priſun lai
Ho com biforn Olibrius on that other dai.

Sihthe was ſchewed him bi
Murththe and munſtralſy,[1]
And preyed hem do gladly,
With ryal rechet.[2]
Bi the bordes up thei ſtode," &c.

[1] As appears from this line :

" Lordinges gode and hende," &c.

[2] His lands are cited in Doomſday Book (*Glouceſterſhire.*) " Berdic, Joculator Regis, habet iii. villas et ibi v. car. nil redd. See Anſtis, *Ord. Gart.* ii. 304.

[3] It is worthy of remark, that we find in the collection of ancient Northern monuments publiſhed by M. Biorner, a poem of ſome length, ſaid by that author to have been compoſed in the twelfth or thirteenth century. This poem is profeſſedly in rhyme, and the meaſure like that of the heroic Alexandrine of the French poetry. See Mallet's *Introd. Dannem*, &c., ch. xiii.

[4] I direct, Fr. "I adviſe you, your," &c. [The writer of this Life in the Bodleian MS., who is quite as likely to have underſtood the author's meaning, reads, " I preye you :" words bearing no doubt the ſame ſignification then as they do at preſent."—*Price*. This extract has now been taken from edit. Cockayne, 1ſt text, 1866.]

[5] [Edit. Cockayne (2nd text), p. 37].

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[1] Afterwards there was ſport and minſtrelſy.

[2] *i. e.* recept, reception. But ſee Chaucer's *Rom. R.* v. 6509 :

" Him woulde I comfort and *rechete*."

[Cheer, from Fr. *rehaitier*.—Sir F. Madden's inform.] And *Tr. Creſs.* iii. 350.

Meidan Maregrete, lef up on my lay,
And Iheſu that thou leveſt on, thou do him al awey.
Lef on me, ant be my wife, ful wel the mai ſpede.
Auntioge and Aſie ſcaltou han to mede:
Ciclatoun[1] ant purpel pal ſcaltou haue to wede:
Wid all the metes of my lond ful wel I ſcal the fede.[2]

This piece was printed by Hickes from a MS. in Trinity College library at Cambridge, [and has been lately re-edited]. It ſeems to belong to the manuſcript metrical *Lives of the Saints*,[3] which form a very conſiderable volume, and were probably tranſlated or paraphraſed from Latin or French proſe into Engliſh rhyme before the year 1[3]00.[4] We are ſure that they were written after the year

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[1] Checklaton. See *Obs. Fair. Q.* i. 194.

[2] The legend of *Saint Julian* in the Bodleian, is [in proſe, with verſes at the end, which Sir F. Madden notes, are not in MS. Reg. 17 A. xxvii. Both texts are now in type for the Early Engliſh Text Society, ed. Cockayne.] MSS. Bibl. Bodl. NE. 3 xi. membran. 8vo. iii. fol. 86. This MS. I believe to be of the age of Henry III. or King John: the compoſition much earlier. It was tranſlated from the Latin. Theſe are the laſt five lines:

"Hpen ðrihtin o ðomeſ ðei pinðeð hiſ hpeate,
And peſpeð þæt ðuſti cheſ to hellene heate,
He mote beon a coſn i goðeſ gulðene eðene,
Ðe tuſne ðiſ oſ Latin to Enzliſche leðenne
And he þæt her leaſt onprat ſpa aſ he cuþe. AMEN."

That is, "When the judge at doomſday winnows his wheat, and drives the duſty chaff into the heat of hell; may he be a corn in God's golden Eden, who turned this book [from] Latin," &c. [Sir F. Madden points out that theſe lines are taken from an inedited proſe life of St. Hugh (MS. Digby, 165, fol. 114.) See Hume's monograph on St. Hugh, 1849, for ſome curious particulars reſpecting that ſingular tradition.]

[3] The ſame that are mentioned by Hearne, from a MS. of Ralph Sheldon. See Hearne's *Petr. Langt.* pp. 542, 607, 608, 609, 611, 628, 670. Saint Winifred's Life is printed from the ſame collection by Biſhop Fleetwood, in his *Life and Miracles of S. Winifred*, p. 125, ed. 1713.

[4] It is in fact a metrical hiſtory of the feſtivals of the whole year. The life of the reſpective ſaint is deſcribed under every ſaint's day, and the inſtitutions of ſome Sundays, and feaſts not taking their riſe from ſaints, are explained on the plan of the *Legenda Aurea* written by Jacobus de Voragine, Archbiſhop of Genoa, about the year 1290, from which Caxton, through the medium of a French verſion entitled *Legend Dorée*, tranſlated his *Golden Legend*. The *Feſtival* or *Feſtiall* by Myrk (ſee preface to Myrk's *Duties of P. Prieſts*, Early Eng. Text Society), is a book of the ſame ſort, yet with homilies intermixed. See MSS. Harl. 2247 and 2371, and 2391, and 2402 and 2800 *ſeq.* Manuſcript lives of ſaints, detached and not belonging to this collection, are frequent in libraries. The *Vitæ Patrum* were originally drawn from S. Jerome and Johannes Caſſianus. In Greſham College library are metrical lives of ten ſaints, chiefly from the *Golden Legend*, by Oſberne Bokenham, an Auguſtine canon in the abbey of Stoke-clare in Suffolk, tranſcribed by Thomas Burgh, at Cambridge, 1477. *The Life of St. Katharine* appears to have been compoſed in 1445. MSS. Coll. Greſh. 315, [but now MS. Arundel Br. Mus. 327: Printed for the Roxb. Club, 1835, 4to. Some other *Lives of Saints* have been printed by the Philological Society, ed. Furnivall (*Tranſactions*, 1858, Pt. ii.); the *Life of St. Quiriacus*, with the *Legends on the Croſs*, from a Saint's Lives' MS., is in the preſs for the Early Engliſh Text Society, under the editorſhip of Dr. Morris. The *Life of St. Katharine* is alſo in MS. Publ. Lib. Camb. Ff. ii. 38, and has been printed by Halliwell (*Contrib. to Early Engl. Lit.*, 1849).] The French tranſlation of the *Legenda Aurea* was made by Jehan de Vignay, a monk, ſoon after 1300.

1169, as they contain the *Life of Saint Thomas Becket.*[1] In the Bodleian library are three manuſcript copies of theſe *Lives of the Saints*,[2] in which the *Life of Saint Margaret* conſtantly occurs;

[1] Aſhmole cites this Life, *Inſtit. Ord. Gart.*, p. 21. And he cites S. Brandon's *Life*, p. 507. Aſhmole's MS. was in the hands of Silas Taylor. It is now in [the Bodleian]. MSS. Aſhm. 50. [7001.]

[2] MSS. Bodl. 779, Laud, L 70. And they make a conſiderable part of a prodigious folio volume, beautifully written on vellum [about 1400], and elegantly illuminated [of which the firſt foliated text has the title]: "*Here begynnen the tytles of the book that is cald in Latyn tongue Salus Anime, and in Englyſh tonge Sowlehele.*" It was given to the Bodleian library by Edward Vernon, Eſq., ſoon after the civil war. I ſhall cite it under the title of MS. Vernon. Although pieces not abſolutely religious are ſometimes introduced, the ſcheme of the compiler or tranſcriber ſeems to have been, to form a complete body of legendary and ſcriptural hiſtory in verſe, or rather to collect into one view all the religious poetry he could find. Accordingly the *Lives of the Saints* a diſtinct and large work of itſelf properly conſtituted a part of his plan. There is another copy of the *Lives of the Saints* in the Britiſh Muſeum, MSS. Harl. 2277; and in [the Bodleian] MSS. Aſhm. *ut ſupr.* This MS. is alſo in Bennet College library [and elſewhere: MS. Laud. 108; MS. Aſhmole, No. 43 [6924]; Cotton MS. Julius, D ix. and Add. MS. 10, 301, &c.] The Lives ſeem to be placed according to their reſpective feſtivals in the courſe of the year. The Bodleian copy (marked 779) is a thick folio, containing 310 leaves. The variations in theſe manuſcripts ſeem chiefly owing to the tranſcribers. The *Life of Saint Margaret* in MS. Bodl. 779, begins much like that of Trinity Library at Cambridge.

"Old and yonge I preye you your folyis for to lete," &c.

I muſt add here, that in the Harleian library, a few Lives, from the ſame collection of *Lives of the Saints*, occur, MSS. 2250, 23 f. 72, b. *ſeq.* chart. fol. See alſo *Ib.* 19, f. 48.

The *Lives of the Saints* in verſe, in Bennet library, contain the martyrdom and tranſlation of Becket, Num. clxv. This MS. is ſuppoſed to be of the fourteenth century. Archbiſhop Parker, in a remark prefixed, has aſſigned the compoſition to the reign of Henry II. But in that caſe, Becket's tranſlation, which did not happen till the reign of King John, muſt have been added. See a ſpecimen in Naſmith's *Catalogue of the Bennet MSS.* 1777, p. 217. There is a MS. of theſe Lives in Trinity College library at Oxford, but it has not the Life of Becket, MSS. Num. lvii. In pergamine, fol. The writing is about the fourteenth century. I will tranſcribe a few lines from the *Life of St. Cuthbert*, f. 2, b:

"Seint Cuthberd was ybore here in Engelonde,
God dude for him meraccle, as ȝe ſcholleth vnderſtonde.
And wel ȝong child he was, in his eigtethe ȝere,
Wit children he pleyde atte balle, that his felawes were:
That com go a lite childe, it thoȝt thre ȝer old,
A ſwete creature and a fayr, yt was myld and bold:
To the ȝong Cuthberd he ȝede 'ſene brother,' he ſede,
'Ne ȝench than noȝt ſuch ydell game for it ne oȝte noȝt be thy dede:'
Seint Cuthberd ne tok no ȝeme to the childis rede
And pleyde forth with his felawes, al ſo they him bede.
Tho this ȝonge child y ſeȝ that he is red forſok,
A doun he fel to grounde, and gret del to him tok,
It by gan to wepe ſore, and his honden wrynge,
This children hadde alle del of him, and bylevede hare pleyinge.
As that they couthe hy gladede him, ſore he gan to ſiche,
At even this ȝonge child made del y liche,
'A welaway,' qd ſeint Cuthbert, 'why wepes thou ſo ſore
'Sif we the haveth oȝt myſdo, we ne ſcholleth na more.'
Thanne ſpake this ȝonge child, ſore hy wothe beye,
'Cuthberd, it falleth noȝt to the with ȝonge children to pleye,

but it is not always exactly the ſame with this printed by Hickes; and, on the whole, the Bodleian Lives ſeem inferior in point of antiquity. I will here give ſome extracts:

From the *Life of Saint Swithin:*[1]

Seint Swithin the confeſſour: was her of Engelande,
Biſide wyncheſtre he was ibore: as ic vndirſtonde:
By the kinges day Egberd: this gode man was ibore,
That tho was king of Engelond: and ſomwhat ek bifore;
The ei3teothe king he was that com: after Kenewold the kynge,
That ſeint Berin dude to Criſtendom: in Engelond furſt bringe:
Ac ſeynt Auſtin hadde bifore: to criſtendom ibro3t
Athelbri3t the gode king: ac al the londe no3t.
Ac ſitthe hit was that ſeint berin: her bi weſte wende,
And turnde the king Kenewold: as our louerd him grace ſende:
So that ſeint Egberd was kyng: tho ſeint ſwithin was ibore
The ei3teteothe he was: after kenewold that ſo longe was bifore, &c.
Seint Swithin his biſchopriche: to alle gode drou3 (line 51)
The toun alſo of Wyncheſtre he amended enou3,
For he let the ſtronge brugge: withoute the eſt 3ate arere
And fond therto lym and ſton: to worcmen that ther were.

From the *Life of Saint Wolſtan:*

Seynt Wolſton byſſcop of Wirceter was then in Ingelonde,
Swithe holyman was all his lyf, as ich onderſtonde:
The while he was a yonge childe, good lyf hi ladde ynow,
Whenne other children orne play, toward cherche hi drow.

'For no ſuche idell games it ne cometh the to worche,
'Whanne god hath y-proveyd the an heved of holy cherche.'
With this word, me nyſte whidder, this 3ong child wente,
An angel it was of heven that our lord thuder ſent."

I will exhibit the next twelve lines as they appear in that mode of writing: together with the punctuation.

"Þo by-gan ſeint Cuthberd. for to wepe ſore
[And by-leuede al þis ydel game, nolde he pleye no more.[1]]
He made his fader and frendis. ſette him to lore
So þat he ſerveđe boþe nyȝt and daẏ. to pleſe god þe more
And in his ȝoughede nyȝt and daẏ. of ſervede godis ore
Þo he in grettere elde was, as þe bok us hap ẏſed
It bẏfel þat ſeint Aẏdan. þe biſſchop was ded
Cuthberd was a felde with ſchep. angeles of heven he ſe3
Þe biſſchopis ſoule ſeint Aẏdan. to heven bere on he3
Allas ſede ſeint Cuthberd. fole ech am to longe
I nell þis ſchep no longer kepe. afonge hem who ſo afonge[2]
He wente to þe abbeẏe of Germans. a grey monk he þer bẏcom
Gret joye made alle þe covent. þo he that abbẏt nom," &c.

The reader will obſerve the conſtant return of the hemiſtichal point, which I have been careful to preſerve, and to repreſent with exactneſs; as I ſuſpect that it ſhows how theſe poems were ſung to the harp by the minſtrels. Every line was perhaps, uniformly recited to the ſame monotonous modulation, with a pauſe in the midſt; juſt as we chant the pſalms in our choral ſervice. In the pſalms of our liturgy, this pauſe is expreſſed by a colon: and often, in thoſe of the Roman miſſal, by an aſteriſk. The ſame mark occurs in every line of this manuſcript, which is a folio volume of conſiderable ſize, with upwards of fifty verſes in every page.

[1 *Early Engliſh Poems and Lives of Saints*, edit. Furnivall, pp. 43-7; *St. Swithun*, ed. Earle, 1861, pp. 78-81.]

[1 Inſerted from Add. MS. 10,301. Sir F. Madden's inform.]
[2 "Take them who will."—*Price.*]

Seint Edward was tho vr kyng, that now in hevene is,
And the biſſcoppe of Wirceſter Brytthege is hette I wis, &c.
Biſſcop hym made the holi man ſeynt Edward vre kynge
And undirfonge his dignite, and tok hym cros and ringe.
His buſhopreke he wuſt wel, and eke his priorie,
And forcede him to ſerve wel God and Seinte Marie.
Four ȝer he hedde biſſcop ibeo and not folliche fyve
Tho ſeynt Edward the holi kyng went out of this lyve.
To gret reuge to al Engelonde, ſo welaway the ſtounde,
For ſtrong men that come ſithen and broughte Engelonde to grounde.
Harald was ſithen kynge with treſun, allas!
The crowne he bare of England which while hit was.
As William Baſtard that was tho duyk of Normaundye[1]
Thouhte to winne Englonde thoruȝ ſtrength and felonye:
He lette hym greith foulke inouȝ and gret power with him nom,
With gret ſtrengthe in the ſee he him dude and to Engelonde com:
He lette ordayne his oſt wel and his baner up arerede,
And deſtruyed all that he fond and that londe ſore aferde.
Harald hereof tell kynge of Engelonde
He let garke faſt his oſte agen hym for to ſtonde:
His baronage of Engelonde redi was ful ſone
The kyng to helpe and eke himſelf as riȝt was to done.
The warre was then in Engelonde dolefull and ſtronge inouȝ
And heore either of othures men al to grounde ſlouȝ:
The Normans and this Engliſch men day of batayle nom
There as the abbeye is of the batayle a day togedre com,
To grounde thei ſmiit and ſlowe alſo; as God yaf the cas,
William Baſtard was above, and Harald bi-neothe was.[2]

From the *Life of Saint Chriſtopher:*

[3]Seint Criſtofre was ſaraȝin: in the lond of Canaan,
In no ſtede bi him daye: ne fond me ſo ſtrong a man:
Four & tuentie fet he was long: & thicke & brod inouȝ,
Such mon bote he were ſtrong me thinȝth hit were wouȝ:
Al a contrai where he were: for him wolde fleo,
Therfore him thouȝte that no man: aȝen him ſcholde beo.
With no man he ſeide he nolde beo: bote with on that were
Hexiſt louerd of alle men: & vnder non, other uere.

Afterwards he is taken into the ſervice of a king:

Criſtofre him ſeruede longe; (l. 17)
The kyng louede melodie: of harpe & of ſonge;
So that his iugelour adai: to-fore him pleide faſte,
& anemnede in his rym: the deuel atte laſte:
Tho the kyng ihurde that: he bleſcede him anon, &c.[4]

From the *Life of Saint Patrick:*

Seyn Pateryk com thoru Godes grace to preche in Irelonde
To teche men ther ryt believe Jheſu Cryſte to underſtonde:
So ful of wormes that londe he founde that no man ni myghte gon,
In ſom ſtede for worms that he nas wenemyd anon;
Seynt Pateryk bade our lorde Cryſt that the londe delyvered were,
Of thilke foul wormis that none ne com there.

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[1] [See Small's *Metrical Homilies*, p. xvi.]
[2] MS. Vernon. fol. 76, b.
[3] MSS. Harl. *ut ſupr.* fol. 101, b.

"Seint Criſtofre was Sarazin in ðe lond of Canaan
In no ſtede bi his daye ne fond me ſo ſtrong a man
Four and tuenti fet he was long and þiche and brod y-nouȝ, &c."

[4] [*Early Engliſh Poems and Lives of Saints*, edit. Furnivall, 1862, pp. 59-60.]

From the *Life of Saint Thomas Becket:*[1]

Gilbert was Thomas fader name : that the true was and gode
And lovede God and holi churche : ſiththe he wit underſtod.
The croice to the holie lond : in his ȝunghede he nom,
And mid on Richard that was his man : to Jeruſalem com,
There hi dude here pelrynage : in holi ſtedes faſte
So that among the Sarazyns : ynome hi were atte laſte, &c.

[One authority[2] attributes theſe *Lives* to the cloſe, and another[3] to the middle, of the thirteenth century.[4] The former remarks: "The ſtyle and language of theſe Lives of Saints would lead us at once, from their ſimilarity to the Chronicle aſcribed to Robert of Glouceſter, to attribute them to the cloſe of the thirteenth century, and perhaps to the ſame writer. Had Warton[5] looked into theſe *Lives* a little more attentively, he would have found the *Legend of St. Dominic*, who died in 1221, and that of *St. Edmund of Pountney*, who was canonized in 1248. But in the latter legend we have deciſive proof that theſe lives were written in the reign of Edward I."]

Theſe metrical narratives of Chriſtian faith and perſeverance ſeem to have been chiefly compoſed for the pious amuſement, and perhaps edification, of the monks in their cloiſters. The ſumptuous volume of religious poems which I have mentioned above[6] was undoubtedly chained in the cloiſter or church of ſome capital monaſtery. It is not improbable that the novices were exerciſed in reciting portions from theſe pieces. In the Britiſh Muſeum[7] there is a ſet of legendary tales in rhyme, which appear to have been ſolemnly pronounced by the prieſt to the people on Sundays and holidays. This ſort of poetry[8]

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[1] [*Life and Martyrdom of Thomas Becket*, edit. Black (Percy Soc.), p. 1.]

[2] [Madden's note in *H. E. P.* ed. 1840, i. 17. Guernes, an eccleſiaſtic of Pont St. Maxence in Picardy, wrote a metrical life of Thomas à Becket, and from his anxiety to procure the moſt authentic information on the ſubject, came over to Canterbury in 1172, and finally projected his work in 1177. It is written in ſtanzas of five Alexandrines, all ending with the ſame rhymes, a mode of compoſition ſuppoſed to have been adopted for the purpoſe of being eaſily chanted. A copy is preſerved in MS. Harl. 270, and another in MS. Cotton, *Domit.* A. xi. See *Archæol.* vol. xiii. and Ellis's *Hiſt. Sketch*, &c. p. 57."—*Park.*]

[3] [*Life and Martyrdom of St. Thomas A Becket*, ed. Black, Introd.]

[4] [Warton ſuppoſed them written in the reign of Richard I.]

[5] In the Cotton library I find the lives of Saint Joſaphas and the Seven Sleepers: [compoſed in the French of the thirteenth century, and in a hand of the time. Sir F. M.'s corr.] Brit. Mus. MSS. Cott. *Calig.* A ix. Cod. membran. 4to. ii. fol. 192:

Ici commence la vie de ſeint Ioſaphaȝ.
Ki voutt a nul bien æntendre
Per eſſample poet mult aprendre,

iii. fol. 213, b. *Ici commence la vie de* Set Dormanȝ.

La vertu ðeu ke tut iur ðure
E tut iurȝ eſt cerene e pure.

Many legends and religious pieces in Norman rhyme were written about [the time of Edward I.] See MSS. Harl. 2253, f. 1, membr. fol. *ſupra citat.* p. 15.

[6] Viz. MS. Vernon.

[7] MSS. Harl. 2391. 70. The dialect is perfectly Northern.

[8] That legends of Saints were ſung to the harp at feaſts, appears from *The Life of Saint Marine*, MSS. Harl. 2253, fol. memb. f. 64, b.

was alſo ſung to the harp by the minſtrels on Sundays, inſtead of the romantic ſubjects uſual at public entertainments.[1]

"Herketh hideward and beoth ſtille,
Y praie ou ȝif hit be or wille,
And ȝe ſhule here of one virgin
That was ycleped ſaint Maryne."

And from various other inſtances. [But Sir F. Madden very properly doubts whether this expreſſion means, in many caſes, any thing further than an invitation to the liſteners to attend to the recital.]

Some of theſe religious poems contain the uſual addreſs of the minſtrel to the company. As in a poem of our Saviour's deſcent into hell, and his diſcourſe there with Sathanas the porter, Adam, Eve, Abraham, &c. MSS. *ibid.* f. 57.

"Alle herkeneth to me now,
A ſtrif wolle y tellen ou:
Of Jheſu and of Sathan,
Tho Jheſu wes to hell y-gan."

Other proofs will occur occaſionally. [The lives of St. Joſaphat and of the Seven Sleepers are attributed by the Abbé de la Rue to Chardry, an Anglo-Norman poet, who alſo wrote *le petit plebs*, a diſpute between an old and a young man on human life. Stephen Langton, archbiſhop of Canterbury in 1207, wrote a canticle on the paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt in 123 ſtanzas, with a theological drama, in the Duke of Norfolk's library, and Denis Pyrannus, who lived in the reign of Henry III., wrote in verſe the life and martyrdom of King St. Edmund in 3286 lines, with the miracles of the ſame ſaint in 600 lines: a manuſcript in the Cott. Library, Dom. A. xi. See *Archæologia*, vol. xiii.—*Park.*]

[1] As I collect from the following poem, MS. Vernon, fol. 229:—

"*The* Viſions *of Seynt Poul won he was rapt into Paradys.*

"Luſteneth lordynges leof and dere,
ȝe that wolen of the Sonday here;
The Sonday a day hit is
That angels and archangels joyn iwis,
More in that ilke day
Then any odur," &c.

[It was enjoined by the ritual of the Gallican church, that the Lives of the Saints ſhould be read during maſs, on the days conſecrated to their memory. On the introduction of the Roman liturgy, which forbad the admixture of any extraneous matter with the ſervice of the maſs, this practice appears to have been ſuſpended, and the Lives of the Saints were read only at evening prayer. But even in this the inveteracy of cuſtom ſeems ſpeedily to have re-eſtabliſhed its rights; and there is reaſon to believe that the lives of ſuch as are mentioned in the New Teſtament were regularly delivered from the chancel. Of this a curious example, the "Planch de Sant Eſteve," has been publiſhed by M. Raynouard in his "Choix des Poeſies originales des Troubadours [Paris, 1817];" where the paſſages from the Acts of the Apoſtles referring to St. Stephen are introduced between the metrical tranſlations of them. From France it is probable this rite found its way into England; and the following extract from the piece alluded to above will ſhow the uniformity of ſtyle adopted in the exordiums to ſuch productions on both ſides of the Channel:

"Sezets, ſenhors, e aiats pas;
Se que direm ben eſcoutas;
Car la liſſon es de vertat,
Non hy a mot de falſetat."

"Be ſeated, lordings, and hold your peace (*et ayez paix*); liſten attentively to what we ſhall ſay; for it is a leſſon of truth without a word of falſehood." It has been recently maintained, that the term "lording," of ſuch frequent occurrence in the preludes to our old romances and legends, is a manifeſt proof of their being

In that part of Vernon's manuſcript entitled "Soulehele,"[1] we have a tranſlation of the Old and New Teſtament into verſe, which I believe to have been made before the year 1300 [though the MS. is ſome ſeventy-five years later]. The reader will obſerve the fondneſs of our anceſtors for the Alexandrine: at leaſt, I find the lines arranged in that meaſure:—

Oure ladi and hire ſuſtur ſtoden vndur the Roode,
And ſeint jon and marie magdaleyn with wel ſori moode:
Vr ladi biheold hire ſwete ſone; heo gon to wepe ſore,
That thre teres heo let of red blod, tho heo nedde watur no more.
Vr lord ſeide: "Wommon, to her thi ſone ibrouht in gret pyne
For monnes gultes nouthē her, and nothing for myne."
Marie weop wel ſore, and bitter teres leet;
The teres fullen uppon the ſton doun at hire feet.
"Allas, my ſone, for ſerwe wel ofte" ſeide heo,
"Nabbe ich bote the one, that honguſt on the treo;
So ful icham of ſerwe, as any wommon may beo,
That i ſchal my deore child in al this pyne iſeo:
How ſchal I, ſone deore, hou haſt i thou3t liuen with outen the,
Nuſti neuere of ſerwe nou3t, ſone, what ſeyſt thou me?"
Thenne ſpak Iheſus wordus goode tho to his modur dere,
Ther he heng vppon the roode: "here I the take a fere,
That treweliche ſchal ſerue the, thin owne coſin Jon,
The while that thou alyue beo among alle thi ſon:"
"Ich the hote, jon," he ſeide, "thou wite hire bothe day and niht,
That the Gywes, hire ſon, ne don hire non vnriht."
Seint Jon in the ſtude vr ladi in to the temple nom;
God to ſeruen he hire dude, ſone ſo he thider com;
Hole and ſeeke heo duden good that heo founden thore,
Heo hire ſerueden to hond and foot, the laſſe and eke the more.
The Pore folk feire heo fedde there, heo ſe3e that hit was neode,
And the ſeke heo brou3te to bedde, and mete and drinke gon heom beode.
With al heore mihte 3ong and olde hire loueden, bothe ſyke and fer,
As hit was ri3t, for alle and ſūme to hire ſeruiſe hedden meſter.
Jon hire was a trewe feere, and nolde nou3t fro hire go,
He loked hire as his ladi deore; and what heo wolde, hit was ido.[2]

"compoſed for the gratification of knights and nobles." There are many valid objections to ſuch a concluſion; but one perhaps more cogent than the reſt. The term is a diminutive, and could never have been applied to the nobility as an order, however general its uſe as an expreſſion of courteſy. By way of illuſtration, let it alſo be remembered, that the "Diſours" of the preſent day, who ply upon the Mole at Naples, addreſs every ragged auditor by the title of "Eccellenza."—*Price.*]

[1] [The firſt foliated part of the MS. A proſe tranſlation of Ailred's *Regula Incluſarum*, or *Rule of Nuns*, is on the preceding unfoliated leaves. Both treatiſes are in the hands of editors for the Early Engliſh Text Society.—F.]

[2] MS. Vernon, fol. 8.

SECTION II.

HITHERTO we have been engaged in examining the ſtate of our poetry from the Conqueſt to the year 1[3]00, or rather afterwards. It will appear to have made no very rapid improvement from that period. Yet, as we proceed, we ſhall find the language loſing much of its ancient obſcurity, and approaching more nearly to the dialect of modern times.

The firſt poet whoſe name occurs in the reign of Edward I., and indeed in theſe annals, is Robert of Glouceſter, a monk of the abbey of Glouceſter. He has left a poem of conſiderable length, which is a hiſtory of England in verſe, from Brutus to the reign of Edward I. It was evidently written after the year 1278, as the poet mentions King Arthur's ſumptuous tomb, erected in that year before the high altar of Glaſtonbury church[1]: and he declares himſelf a living witneſs of the remarkably diſmal weather which diſtinguiſhed the day on which the battle of Eveſham above mentioned was fought, in the year 1265.[2] From theſe and other circumſtances this piece appears to have been compoſed [after] the year [1297].[3] It is exhibited in the manuſcripts, is cited by many antiquaries, and printed by Hearne, in the Alexandrine meaſure; but with equal probability might have been written in four-lined ſtanzas. This rhyming chronicle is totally deſtitute of art or imagination. The author has clothed in rhyme the fables of Geoffry of Monmouth, which have often a more poetical air in Geoffry's proſe. The language is not much more eaſy or intelligible than that of many of the [Early Engliſh] poems quoted in the preceding ſection: it is full of Saxoniſms, which indeed abound, more or leſs, in every writer before Gower and Chaucer. But this obſcurity is perhaps owing to the weſtern dialect, in which our monk of Glouceſter was educated. Provincial barbariſms are naturally the growth of extreme counties, and of ſuch as are ſituated at a diſtance from the metropolis; and it is probable that the Saxon heptarchy, which conſiſted of a cluſter of ſeven independent ſtates, contributed to produce as many different provincial dialects. In the mean time it is to be conſidered, that writers of all ages and languages have their affectations and ſingularities, which occaſion in each a peculiar phraſeology.

[1] Pag. 224, edit. Hearne. [2] Pag. 560.

[3] [Sir F. Madden's corr., founded on the mention in the piece of the canonization of St. Louis in 1297. Sir F. M. refers to the Cotton MS. Calig. A. xi. (from which Dr. R. Morris has printed an extract in his *Specimens*) as nearly coeval with the author, and as the proper baſis of a new edition. He tells us that Waterland's annotated copy of ed. Hearne (erroneouſly taken from Harl. MS. 201 in chief meaſure), is in the Bodleian. Mr. Furnivall notes that there is a MS., one of a claſs, with great differences, in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. Mr. W. Aldis Wright is preparing a new edition of Robert of Glouceſter for the Rolls Series.]

[The MSS. of Robert of Glouceſter divide themſelves naturally into two claſſes. Taking the Cotton MS. as the type of what we may call the earlier recenſion, and the MS. in Trinity College Library, Cambridge, as the type of the later, the two claſſes may be readily diſtinguiſhed by a reference to the beginning of the reign of King Stephen. Up to this point the MSS. of the two recenſions agree roughly in their contents, thoſe of the later having inſertions in various places and of various lengths, amounting altogether to between eight and nine hundred lines. From this point they differ entirely; the reigns from Stephen to Edward I. occupying in the earlier recenſion about three thouſand lines, while in the later they are compreſſed into about ſix hundred of an entirely different character. In the Cotton MS. King Stephen's reign begins thus:

> Steuene þe bleis þat god kniȝt. & ſtalwarde was alſo
> þo þe king was ded is vncle. an oþer he þoȝte do.

In the Trinity MS. it begins:

> þo com ſtephene þe bleyſ mid ſtrēgþe & quaintiſe
> & ſeide he wolde be kingſ in alle künes wyſe.

This diſtinction furniſhes a ready teſt of the claſs to which any MS. belongs. Tried by it, we find that the known MSS. of the earlier recenſion are Cotton Calig. A. xi., Harl. 201, Add. MSS. 18631 and 19677 in the Britiſh Muſeum, and MS. S. 3. 41 in the Hunterian Muſeum, Glaſgow. The MSS. of the later recenſion are Sloane 2027 in the Britiſh Muſeum; Ee. 4. 31 in the Univerſity Library, Cambridge; R. 4. 26 in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge; Bodleian, Digby 205; Lord Moſtyn's MS.; and MS. 2014 in the Pepyſian Library. The MS. in the Herald's College, of which the readings are quoted in the notes to Hearne's edition, contains a mixture of proſe and verſe, and cannot be aſſigned to either recenſion. Beſides theſe there formerly exiſted two others, of which one belonged to the famous Thomas Allen of Glouceſter Hall; the other, quoted by Camden in his *Remaines*, was in the poſſeſſion of John Stow the antiquary; but of theſe no trace has yet been found. The paſſages from the former, given in Hearne's *Appendix*, ſhew that it probably belonged to the later recenſion.][1]

Robert of Glouceſter thus deſcribes the ſports and ſolemnities which followed King Arthur's coronation:

> The kyng was to ys paleys, tho the ſervyſe was ydo,[2]
> Ylad wyth his menye, and the quene to hire al ſo.
> Vor hii hulde the olde vſages, that men wyth men were
> By them ſulue, and wymmen by hem ſulue al ſo there.[3]
> Tho hii were echone yſet, as yt to her ſtat bycom,
> Kay, king of Aungeo, a thouſend kynȝtes nome

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[1] [Mr. W. Aldis Wright's addition.]

[2] "when the ſervice in the church was finiſhed."

[3] "They kept the antient cuſtom at feſtivals, of placing the men and women ſeparate. Kay, king of Anjou, brought a thouſand noble knights clothed in ermine of one ſuit, or *ſecta*."

Of noble men, yclothed in ermyne echone
Of on ſywete, and ſeruede at thys noble feſt a non.
Bedwer the botyler, kyng of Normandye,
Nom al ſo in ys half a uayr companye
Of on ſywyte[1] vorto ſeruy of the botelerye.
By uore the quene yt was alſo of al ſuche corteyſye,
Vorto telle al the noblye thet ther was ydo,
They my tonge were of ſtel, me ſſolde no3t dure therto.
Wymmen ne kepte of no kyn3t as in druery,[2]
Bote he were in armys wel yprowed, & atte leſte thrye.[3]
That made, lo, the wymmen the chaſtore lyf lede,
And the kyn3tes the ſtalwordore,[4] & the betere in her dede.
Sone after thys noble mete,[5] as ry3t was of ſuch tyde,
The kynzts atyled hem aboute in eche ſyde,
In feldes and in medys to preue her bachelerye.[6]
Somme wyth lance, ſome wyth ſuerd, wyth oute vylenye,
Wyth pleyynge at tables, other atte chekere,
Wyth caſtynge,[7] other wyth ſſettinge,[8] other in ſom o3yrt manere.
And wuch ſo of eny game adde the mayſtrye,
The kyng hem of ys 3yfteth dude large corteyſye.
Vpe the alurs of the caſtles the laydes thanne ſtode,
And byhulde thys noble game, & wyche kyn3ts were god.
All the thre hexte dawes[9] ylaſte thys nobleye
In halles and in veldes, of mete and eke of pleye.
Thys men come the verthe[10] day byuore the kynge there,
And he 3ef hem large 3yftys, euere as hii wurthe were.
Byſſopryches and cherches, clerkes he 3ef ſomme,
And caſtles and tounes, kyn3tes that were ycome.[11]

Many of theſe lines are literally tranſlated from Geoffry of Monmouth, [and more from Wace.] In King Arthur's battle with the giant at Barbesfleet, there are no marks of Gothic painting. But there is an effort at poetry in the deſcription of the giant's fall:

Tho gryſlych 3al the ſſrewe tho, that griſlych was ys bere:
He vel doun3 as a gret ok, that bynethe ycorue were,
That yt tho3te that al hul myd the vallynge ſſok.[12]

That is, "Then horribly yelled the ſhrew, that fearful was his braying: he fell down like an oak cut through at the bottom, and [it ſeemed that][13] all the hill ſhook with his fall." But this ſtroke is copied from Geoffry of Monmouth, who tells the ſame miraculous ſtory, and in all the pomp with which it was perhaps dreſſed up by his favourite fablers. "Exclamavit vero inviſus ille; et velut quercus ventorum viribus eradicata, cum maximo ſonitu corruit." It is difficult to determine which is moſt blameable, the poetical hiſtorian or the proſaic poet.

It was a tradition invented by the old fablers, that giants brought

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[1] "brought alſo, on his part, a fair company cloathed uniformly."
[2] [gallantry.] [3] thrice. [4] [ſuite.]
[5] "Soon after this noble feaſt, which was proper at ſuch an occaſion, the knights accoutred themſelves."
[6] [The ſtate preparatory to knighthood.] [7] [Caſting the ſtone.—M.]
[8] [Aiming with ſpears or javelins.]
[9] "All the three higheſt or chief days. In halls and fields, of feaſting, and turneying, &c." [10] fourth. [11] Pag. 191, 192 [edit. 1810.] [12] Pag. 208 [*ibid.*]
[13] [Mr. Garnett's correction.]

the ſtones of Stonehenge from the moſt ſequeſtered deſerts of Africa, and placed them in Ireland; that every ſtone was waſhed with juices of herbs, and contained a medical power; and that Merlin the magician, at the requeſt of King Arthur, tranſported them from Ireland, and erected them in circles, on the plain of Ameſbury, as a ſepulchral monument for the Britons treacherouſly ſlain by Hengiſt. This fable is thus delivered, without decoration, by Robert of Glouceſter:

"Sire kyng," quoth Merlin tho, "ſuche thinges y wis
Ne beth for to ſchewe no3t, but wen gret nede ys,
For 3ef ich ſeide in biſmare, other bute yt ned were,
Sone from me he wold wende the Goſt, that doth me lere:"[1]
The kyng, tho non other nas, bod hym ſom quoyntyſe
Bi thenke aboute thilke cors, that ſo noble were and wyſe,[2]
"Sire kyng," quoth Merlyn tho, "3ef thou wolt here caſte
In the honour of hem, a werk that euer ſchal y laſte,[3]
To the hul of Kylar[4] ſend in to Yrlond
Aftur the noble ſtones that ther habbet[5] lenge y ſtonde;
That was the treche of geandes,[6] for a quoynte werk ther ys
Of ſtones al wyth art y mad, in the world ſuch non ys.
Ne ther nys nothing that me ſcholde myd ſtrengthe a doun caſte.
Stode heo here, as heo doth there, euer a wolde laſte."[7]
The kyng ſomdel to ly3he,[8] tho he herde this tale,
"How my3te," he ſeyde, "ſuche ſtones ſo grete & ſo fale[9]
Be y brort of ſo fer lond? & 3et meſt of were,
Me wolde wene, that in this lond no ſton to worche nere."
"Syre kyng," quoth Merlyn, "ne make no3t an ydel ſuch ly3hyng.
For yt nys an ydel no3t that ich telle this tything.[10]
For in the farreſte ſtude of Affric geandes while fette[11]
Thike ſtones for medycine & in Yrlond hem ſette,
While heo woneden in Yrlond, to make here bathes there,
Ther vnder for to bathi, wen thei ſyk were.
For heo wuld the ſtones waſch, and ther inne bathe y wis.
For ys no ſton ther among, that of gret vertu nys."[12]
The kyng and ys conſeil radde[13] tho ſtones forto fette,
And with gret power of batail, 3ef any mon hem lette.
Uter the kynges brother, that Ambroſe hette al ſo
In another maner name, y choſe was ther to,

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[1] If I ſhould ſay any thing out of wantonneſs or vanity, the ſpirit, or demon, which teaches me, would immediately leave me. "Nam ſi ea in deriſionem, ſive vanitatem, proferrem, taceret Spiritus qui me docet, et, cum opus ſuperveniret, recederet." Galfrid. Mon. viii. 10.

[2] "bade him uſe his cunning, for the ſake of the bodies of thoſe noble and wiſe Britons."

[3] "if you would build, to their honour, a laſting monument."

[4] "To the hill of Kildare." [5] have.

[6] "the dance of giants." The name of this wonderful aſſembly of immenſe ſtones.

[7] "Grandes ſunt lapides, nec eſt aliquis cujus virtuti cedant. Quod ſi eo modo, quo ibi poſiti ſunt, circa plateam locabuntur, ſtabunt in æternum." Galfrid. Mon. viii. x. 11.

[8] ſomewhat laughed. [9] ſo great and ſo many. [10] tyding.

[11] "Giants once brought them from the fartheſt part of Africa," &c.

[12] "Lavabant namque lapides et infra balnea diffundebant, unde ægroti curabantur. Miſcebant etiam cum herbarum confectionibus, unde vulnerati ſanabantur. Non eſt ibi lapis qui medicamento careat." Galfrid. Mon. *ibid.*

[13] [adviſed or counſelled].

And fiſtene thouſant men this dede for to do
And Merlyn for his quoyntiſe thider wente al ſo.[1]

If anything engages our attention in this paſſage, it is the wildneſs of the fiction; in which, however, the poet had no ſhare.

I will here add Uther's intrigue with Ygerne:

At the feſt of Eſtre tho kyng ſende ys ſonde,
That heo comen alle to London the hey men of this londe,
And the leuedys al ſo god, to his noble feſt wyde,
For he ſchulde crowne here, for the hye tyde.
Alle the noble men of this lond to the noble feſt come,
And heore wyues & heore doȝtren with hem mony nome,
This feſt was noble ynow, and nobliche y do;
For mony was the faire ledy, that y come was therto.
Ygerne, Gorloys wyf, was faireſt of echon,
That was contaſſe of Cornewail, for ſo fair nas ther non.
The kyng by huld hire faſte y now, & ys herte on hire caſte,
And thoȝte, thay heo were wyf, to do folye atte laſte.
He made hire ſemblant fair y now, to non other ſo gret.
The erl nas not ther with y payed, tho he yt vnder ȝet.
Aftur mete he nom ys wyfe myd ſtordy med y now,
And, with oute leue of the kyng, to ys contrei drow.
The kyng ſende to hym tho, to by leue al nyȝt,
For he moſte of gret conſel habbe ſom inſyȝt.
That was for noȝt. Nolde he noȝt the kyng ſende ȝet ys ſonde.
That he by leuede at ys parlemente, for nede of the londe.
Tho kyng was, tho he nolde noȝt, anguyſſous & wroth.
For deſpyte he wolde a wreke be, he ſwor ys oth,
Bute he come to amendement. Ys power atte laſte
He ȝarkede, and wende forth to Cornewail faſte.
Gorloys ys caſteles a ſtore al a boute.
In a ſtrong caſtel he dude ys wyf, for of hire was al ys doute.

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[1] Pag. 145, 146, 147. That Stonehenge is a Britiſh monument, erected in memory of Hengiſt's maſſacre, reſts, I believe, on the ſole evidence of Geoffry of Monmouth, who had it from the Britiſh bards. But why ſhould not the teſtimony of the Britiſh bards be allowed on this occaſion? For they did not invent facts, ſo much as fables. In the preſent caſe, Hengiſt's maſſacre is an allowed event. Remove all the apparent fiction, and the bards only ſay, that an immenſe pile of ſtones was raiſed on the plain of Ambreſbury in memory of that event. They lived too near the time to forge this origin of Stonehenge. The whole ſtory was recent, and, from the immenſity of the work itſelf, muſt have been ſtill more notorious. Therefore their forgery would have been too glaring. It may be objected, that they were fond of referring every thing ſtupendous to their favourite hero Arthur. This I grant: but not when known authenticated facts ſtood in their way, and while the real cauſe was remembered. Even to this day, the maſſacre of Hengiſt, as I have partly hinted, is an undiſputed piece of hiſtory. Why ſhould not the other part of the ſtory be equally true? Beſides the ſilence of Nennius, I am aware that this hypotheſis is ſtill attended with many difficulties and improbabilities. And ſo are all the ſyſtems and conjectures ever yet framed about this amazing monument. It appears to me to be the work of a rude people who had ſome ideas of art: ſuch as we may ſuppoſe the Romans left behind them among the Britons. In the mean time I do not remember, that in the very controverted etymology of the word *Stonehenge*, the name of Hengiſt has been properly or ſufficiently conſidered. [The etymology referred to by Mr. Ritſon is evidently the moſt plauſible that has been ſuggeſted: Stan-henge—hanging ſtone: *Obſervations*, &c. In addition to this it is ſupported by an authority of high antiquity:

"*Stanheng* ont non en Anglois,
Pierres pendues en François."—Wace's *Brut.*—*Price.*]

In another hym ſelf he was, for he nolde no3t,
3ef cas come, that heo were bothe to dethe y bro3t.
The caſtel, that the erl inne was, the kyng by ſegede faſte,
For he my3te hys gynnes for ſchame to the other caſte.
The he was ther ſene ny3t, and he ſpedde no3t,
Igerne the conteſſe ſo muche was in ys tho3t,
That he nuſte non other wyt, ne he ne my3te for ſchame
Telle yt bute a pryve kny3t, Ulfyn was ys name,
That he truſte meſt to. And tho the kny3t herde this,
"Syre," he ſeide, "y ne can wyte, wat red here of ys,
For the caſtel ys ſo ſtrong, that the lady ys inne,
For ich wene al the lond ne ſchulde yt myd ſtrengthe wynne.
For the ſe geth al aboute, bute entre on ther nys,
And that ys vp on harde roches, & ſo narw wei it ys,
That ther may go bote on & on, that thre men with inne
My3te ſle al the lond, er heo come ther inne.
And no3t for than, 3ef Merlyn at thi conſeil were,
3ef any mygte, he couthe the beſt red the lere."
Merlyn was ſone of ſend, y-ſeid yt was hym ſone,
That he ſchulde the beſte red ſegge, wat were to done.
Merlyn was ſory ynow for the kynges folye,
And natheles, "Sire kyng," he ſeide, "here mot to maiſtrie,
The erl hath twey men hym next, Bry3thoel & Jordan.
Ich wol make thi ſelf, 3ef thou wolt, thoru art that y can,
Habbe al tho fourme of the erl, as thou were ry3t he,
And Olfyn as Jordan, and as Brithoel me."
This art was al clene y do, that al changet he were,
Heo thre in the otheres forme, the ſelve at yt were.
A3eyn euen he wende forth, nuſte no mon that cas,
To the caſtel heo come ry3t as yt euene was.
The porter y ſe ys lord come, & ys meſte priuey twei,
With god herte he lette ys lord yn, & ys men beye.
The contas was glad y now, tho hire lord to hire com
And eyther other in here armes myd gret joye nom.
Tho heo to bedde com, that ſo longe a two were,
With hem was ſo gret delyt, that bitwene hem there
Bi gete was the beſte body, that euer was in this londe,
Kyng Arthure the noble mon, that euer worthe vnderſtonde.
Tho the kynges men nuſte amorwe, wer he was bi come,
Heo ferde as wodemen, and wende he were ynome.
Heo a ſaileden the caſtel, as yt ſchulde adoun a non,
Heo that with inne were, 3arkede hem echon,
And ſmyte out in a fole wille, and fo3te myd here fon:
So that the erl was y ſlawe, and of ys men mony on,
And the caſtel was y nome, and the folk to ſprad there,
3et, tho thei hadde al ydo, heo ne fonde not the kyng there.
The tything to the contas ſone was ycome,
That hire lord was y ſlawe, and the caſtel ynome.
Ac tho the meſſinger hym ſey the erl, as hym tho3te,
That he hadde ſo foule y-low, ful ſore hym of tho3te,
The contaſſe made ſom del deol, for no ſothneſſe heo nuſte.
The kyng, for to glade here, bi clupte hire and cuſte.
"Dame," he ſeide, "no ſixt thou wel, that les yt ys al this?
Ne woſt thou wel ich am olyue? Ich wole the ſegge how it ys.
Out of the caſtel ſtilleliche ych wende al in priuete,
That none of myne men yt nuſte, for to ſpeke with the.
And tho heo miſte me to day, and nuſte wer ich was,
Heo ferden ri3t as gydie men, myd wam no red nas,
And fo3te with the folk with oute, & habbeth in this manere.
Y lore the caſtel and hem ſelue, ac wel thou woſt y am here.

Ac for my caſtel, that is ylore, ſory ich am y now,
And for myn men, that the kyng and ys power ſloȝ.
Ac my power is now to lute, ther fore y drede ſore,
Leſte the kyng vs nyme here, & ſorwe that we were more.
Ther fore ich wole, how ſo yt be, wende aȝen the kynge,
And make my pays with hym, ar he to ſchame vs brynge."
Forth he wende, & het ys men that ȝef the kyng come,
That hei ſchulde hym the caſtel ȝelde, ar he with ſtrengthe it nome.
Tho he come toward ys men, ys own forme he nom,
And leuede the erles fourme, & the kyng Uter by com.
Sore hym of thoȝte the erles deth, ac in other half he fonde
Joye in hys herte, for the contaſſe of ſpouſhed was vnbonde,
Tho he hadde that he wolde, and payſed with ys ſon,
To the contaſſe he wende aȝen, me let hym in a non.
Wat halt it to telle longe? bute heo were ſethth at on,
In gret loue longe y now, wan yt nolde other gon;
And hadde to gedere this noble ſone, that in tho world ys pere nas,
The kyng Arture, and a doȝter, Anne hire name was.[1]

In the latter end of the reign of Edward I. many officers of the French king, having extorted large ſums of money from the citizens of Bruges in Flanders, were murdered: and an engagement ſucceeding, the French army, commanded by the Count of Saint Pol, was defeated; upon which the King of France, who was Philip the Fair, ſent a ſtrong body of troops, under the conduct of the Count of Artois, againſt the Flemings; he was killed, and the French were almoſt all cut to pieces. On this occaſion the following ballad was made in the year 1301.[2]

Luſtneth, lordinges, bothe ȝonge ant olde,
Of the Freynſhe-men that were ſo proude ánt bolde,
Hou the Flemmyſhe-men bohten hem ant ſolde,
Upon a Wedneſday,
Betere hem were at home in huere londe,
Then for te ſeche Flemmyſhe by the ſee ſtronde
Wharethourh moni Frenſhe wyf wryngeth hire honde,
Ant ſyngeth, weylaway.
The Kyng of Fraunce made ſtatuȝ newe,
In the lond of Flaundres among falſe ant trewe,
That the commun of Bruges ful ſore can a-rewe,
And ſeiden amonges hem,
Gedere we us togedere hardilyche at ene,
Take we the bailifs by tuenty ant by tene,
Clappe we of the hevedes an oven o the grene,
Ant caſt we ỳ the fen.
The webbes ant the fullaris aſſembleden hem alle,
And makeden huere conſail in huere commune halle,
Token Peter Conyng huere kyng to calle
Ant beo huere cheventeyn, &c.

Theſe verſes ſhow the familiarity with which the affairs of France were known in England, and diſplay the diſpoſition of the Engliſh towards the French at this period. It appears from this and previous inſtances, that political ballads, I mean ſuch as were the

[1] *Chron.* p. 156[-60, *ut ſupr.*]

[2] The laſt battle was fought that year, July 7. [The ballad is in Harl. MS. 2253, fol. 73, and is printed entire in Wright's *Political Songs*, 1839, p. 187. A ſpecimen only has therefore been retained, from the text of 1839.]

vehicles of political ſatire, prevailed much among our early anceſtors. About the preſent era we meet with a ballad complaining of the exorbitant fees extorted, and the numerous taxes levied, by the king's officers.[1] There is a libel remaining, written indeed in French Alexandrines, on the commiſſion of trayl-baſton,[2] or the juſtices ſo denominated by Edward I. during his abſence in the French and Scotiſh wars about the year 1306. The author names ſome of the juſtices or commiſſioners, now not eaſily diſcoverable: and ſays, that he ſerved the king both in peace and war in Flanders, Gaſcony, and Scotland.[3] There is likewiſe a ballad [written in the reign of Edward II.] againſt the Scots, traitors to Edward I., and taken priſoners at the battles of Dunbar and Kykenclef, in 1305 and 1306.[4] The licentiouſneſs of their rude manners was perpetually breaking out in theſe popular paſquins, although this ſpecies of petulance uſually belongs to more poliſhed times.

Nor were they leſs dexterous than daring in publiſhing their ſatires to advantage, although they did not enjoy the many conveniencies which modern improvements have afforded for the circulation of public abuſe. In the reign of Henry VI., to purſue the topic a little lower, we find a [ſatire] ſtuck on the gates of the royal palace, ſeverely reflecting on the king and his counſellors then ſitting in parliament.[5] But the ancient ballad was often applied to better purpoſes: and it appears from a valuable collection of theſe little pieces, lately publiſhed by my ingenuous friend and fellow-labourer Dr. Percy, in how much more ingenuous a ſtrain they have tranſmitted to poſterity the praiſes of knightly heroiſm, the marvels of romantic fiction, and the complaints of love.

[In] the reign[s] of [the three Edwards],[6] a poet occurs named

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[1] MSS. Harl. 2258, f. 64. There is a ſong half Latin and half French, much on the ſame ſubject. *Ibid.* f. 137, b.

[2] See Spelman and Dufreſne *in v.* and Rob. Brunne's Chron., ed. Hearne, p. 328.

[3] MSS. Harl. *ibid.* f. 113, b.

[4] *Ibid.* f. 59. [This will be found in Wright's *Political Songs*, 1839. The ballad againſt the French is in Ritſon's *Anc. Songs*, 1792.—*Price.*]

[5] This piece is preſerved in the Aſhmolean Muſeum, with the following Latin title prefixed: "*Copia ſcedulæ valvis domini regis exiſtentis in parliamento ſuo tento apud Weſtmonaſterium menſe marcii anno regni Henrici ſexti viceſimo octavo.*" [See Hearne's *Hemingi Chartularium.*—Ritſon.

[6] "In the third Edwards time was I,
When I wrote all this ſtory;
In the houſe of Sixille I was a throwe;
Dan Robert of Malton that ye know,
Did it write for felaws ſake."

"By this paſſage he ſeems to mean that he was born at a place called Malton; that he had reſided ſome time in a houſe in the neighbourhood called Sixhill; and that *there* he, Robert de Brunne, had compoſed at leaſt a part of his poem during the *reign of Edward III.*—Ellis.] MSS. Bibl. Bodl. 415. Cont. 80, pag. Pr. "Fadyr and ſone and holy goſte." And MSS. Harl. 1701. [The Harleian MS., like the Bodleian, if Warton followed the Bodleian manuſcript, profeſſes to be a tranſlation from the French of Groſſeteſte. But this may be a mere dictum of the

Robert Mannyng, but more commonly called Robert de Brunne. He was [born at Brunne in Lincolnſhire, and became] a Gilbertine canon in the [priory of Sempringham, where he remained fifteen years. He afterwards removed to] Sixhille, a houſe of the ſame order, and in the ſame county. He was [not] merely a tranſlator. He [turned] into Engliſh metre, or rather paraphraſed [with large omiſſions and additions] a French book, written by [William of Wadington, and falſely attributed to Biſhop Groſſeteſte], entitled *Manuel Peche*, or *Manuel de Peche*, that is, the Manual of Sins. This tranſlation was [not printed till of late years].[1] It is a long work, and treats of the decalogue and the Seven Deadly Sins, which are illuſtrated by many legendary ſtories. This is the title of the [copies of the MS.]: *Here bygynneth the boke that men clepyn in Frenſhe Manuel Peche, the which boke made yn Frenſhe Robert Grooſteſte byſhop of Lyncoln.* From the Prologue, among other circumſtances, it appears that Robert de Brunne deſigned this performance

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tranſcriber. All we gather from the work itſelf is an acknowledgment of a French original called *Manuel Peche*, whoſe author was clearly unknown to De Brunne. Had it been written by a man of Groſſeteſte's eminence, it would hardly have been publiſhed anonymouſly; nor can we ſuppoſe this circumſtance, if really true, would have been paſſed over in ſilence by his tranſlator. Be this as it may, the French production upon which De Brunne unqueſtionably founded his poem, is claimed by a writer calling himſelf William of Wadington, and that in language too peculiar and ſelf-condemning to leave a doubt as to the juſtice of his title:

> "De le françeis vile ne del rimer,
> Ne me deit nuls hom blamer,
> Kar en Engletere fu ne,
> E norri, e ordiné, e alevé.
> De une vile ſui nomé,
> Ou ne eſt burg ne cité, &c.
> De Deu ſeit beneit cheſcun hom,
> Ke prie por Wilhelm de Wadigton."
>
> *Manuel Peche*, Harl. MSS. 4657.

De Brunne, however, is not a mere tranſlator. He generally amplifies the moral precepts of his original; introduces occaſional illuſtrations of his own (as in the caſe of Groſſeteſte cited in the text), p. 74, and ſometimes avails himſelf of Wadington's Latin authorities, where theſe are more copious or circumſtantial than their French copyiſt. Wadington's work, according to M. de la Rue (*Archæologia*, vol. xiv.), is a free tranſlation of a Latin poem called *Floretus;* by ſome aſcribed to St. Bernard, and by others to Pope Clement. But *Floretus* is ſo ſhort that it cannot fairly be taken as Wadington's original, any more than the Bible and Church Services can. The following lines in one of Manning's ſtories—

> "Equitabat Bevo per ſilvam frondoſam,
> Ducebat ſecum Merſwyndam formoſam,
> Quid ſtamus? cur non imus?
>
> By the leved wode rode Bevolyne,
> Wyth hym he ledde feyre Merſwyne,
> Why ſtond we? why go we noght?—

have been identified by Sir F. Madden as part of the unique Latin legend of St. Edith, by Goſcelin (MS. Rawl. Bodl. 1027). They are not in Wadington's French, and are only part of De Brunne's many additions to the latter.]

[1] [Edit. Furnivall, 1862 (Roxb. Club), with William of Wadington's French original, in parallel columns.]

to be ſung to the harp at public entertainments, and that it was written or begun in the year 1303:[1]

For lewdè[2] men y undyrtoke,
On Englyſsh tunge to make thys boke:
For many ben of ſwyche manere
That talys and rymys wyl blethly[3] here,
Yn gamys and feſtys, and at the ale[4]
Love men to leſtene trotevale[5]: (l. 43-8) &c.
To alle Cryſtyn men undir ſunne,
And to godè men of Brunne;
And ſpeciali, alle be name
The felauſhepe of Symprynghame,[6]
Roberd of Brunnè greteth yow,
In al godeneſſe that may to prow.[7]
Of Brymwake yn Keſtevene[8]
Syxe myle beſyde Sympringham evene,
Y dwelled yn the pryorye
Fyftenè yere yn conpanye,
In the tyme of gode Dane Jone
Of Camelton, that now ys gone;
In hys tyme was Y there ten yeres,
And knewe and herde of hys maneres;
Sythyn wyth Dane Jone of Clyntone
Fyve wyntyr wyth hym gan Y wone.
Dane Felyp was mayſter that tyme
That y began thys Englyſsh ryme,
The yeres of grace fyl[9] than to be
A thouſand and thre hundred and thre.
In that tyme turned y thys
On Englyſshe tunge out of Frankys (l. 57-78).

From the work itſelf I am chiefly induced to give the following ſpecimen; as it contains an anecdote relating to biſhop Groſſeteſte, who will again be mentioned:

Y ſhall yow telle as y have herd
Of the bysſhope Seynt Roberd,
Hys toname[10] ys Groſteſt
Of Lynkolne, ſo ſeyth the geſt.

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[1] fol. 1, a. [2] laymen, illiterate. [3] gladly.
[4] So in *Pierce Ploughman*, fol. xxvi. b. edit. 1550.—

"I am occupied every day, holy day and other,
With idle tales *at the Ale*, &c."

Again, fol. 1, b—

"Foughten *at the Ale*
In glotony, godwote, &c."

And in the *Plowman's Tale*, p. 185, v. 2110—

"And the chief chantours at the *nale*."

[5] truth and all.
[6] The name of his order. [7] Profit.
[8] A part of Lincolnſhire. *Chron. Br.* p. 311.

"At Lincoln the parlement was in
Lyndeſay and Keſtevene."

See a ſtory of three monks of Lyndeſay, *ibid.* p. 80. [The county of Lincoln is divided into the hundreds of Lindſay and Kiſteven.—*Park.*] [9] Fell.
[10] Surname. See Rob. Br. *Chron.* p. 168. "Thei cald hi this toname," &c. Fr. "Eſt ſurnomez," &c. On St. Robert of Lincoln, ſee p. 82 *note*.

He lovede moche to here the harpe,
For mannys wytte hyt makyth ſharpe.
Next hys chaumbre, beſyde hys ſtody,
Hys harpers chaumbre was faſt therby.
Many tymes, be nyghtys and dayys,
He had ſolace of notes and layys,
One aſked hym onys, reſun why
He hadde delyte in mynſtralſy?
He anſwered hym on thys manere,
Why he helde the harper ſo dere:
"The vertu of the harpe, thurghe ſkylle and ryght,
Wyl deſtroye the fendes[1] myght;
And to the croys, by godè ſkylle,
Ys the harpè lykened weyle. (p. 150, l. 4742-59).
Tharefor, gode men, ye ſhul lere,
Whan ye any glemen[2] here,
To wurſchep God at youre powere,
As Davyd ſeyth yn the ſautere:[3]
Yn harpe, yn thabour, and ſymphan gle[4]
Wurſchepe God; yn trounpes and ſautre;
In cordys, an organes, and bellys ryngyng;
Yn all theſe, wurſhepe ye hevene kyng," &c.[5] (l. 4768-75).

But Robert de Brunne's largeſt work is a metrical chronicle of England.[6] The former part, from Æneas to the death of Cadwallader, is tranſlated from an old French poet called Maſter Wace or Gaſſe, who manifeſtly copied Geoffry of Monmouth,[7] in a poem

[1] the *Devil's*. [2] harpers; minſtrels. [3] pſalter.
[4] Chaucer, R. *Sir Thop.* v. 3321:—

Here wonnith the queene of Fairie,
With harpe, and pipe, and *Simphonie*.

[5] Fol. 30, b. There is an old Latin ſong in Burton which I find in this MS. poem. Burton's *Mel.*, part iii. § 2. Memb. iii. p. 423.

[6] The ſecond part [tranſlated from the French of Peter Langtoft,] was printed by Hearne in 1725. Of the firſt part Hearne has given us the Prologue, Pref. p. 96; an extract, *ibid.* p. 188; and a few other paſſages in his Gloſſary to Robert of Glouceſter. [The whole of it will be iſſued in the Rolls Series in 1871.] It appears from *Chron.* p. 337, that our author was educated and graduated at Cambridge.

[How long Mannyng was employed upon his tranſlation of Langtoft does not appear; but that he had not finiſhed it in 1337 is clear from a paſſage on p. 243 of the printed copy (of 1725) of the Second Part; and indeed he, elſewhere, expreſsly tells us:

"Idus that is of May left I to wryte this ryme,
B letter & Friday bi ix. that ȝere ȝede prime."

The dominical letter, as Hearne obſerves, ſhould be D: ſo that the poet finiſhed his work, upon which he had probably been engaged for ſome years, upon Friday, the 15th May, 1339."—*Ritſon.* The only perfect MS. of the Chronicle known is a vellum one in the Inner Temple library; a more modern and abridged copy of Part II. is in Lambeth, MS. 131. (Sir F. Madden's inform.) But the Lambeth copy of Part I., on the old cloſe-ribbed paper of the 14th century, was judged by the experts of the Britiſh Muſeum to be at leaſt as early as the Temple vellum copy, while Dr. Richard Morris, our chief authority on Early Engliſh dialects, judges the dialect of the Lambeth MS. to be much nearer the Eaſt-Midland of Manning than the decidedly northernized Temple MS. From the Lambeth MS., therefore, Mr. Furnivall has printed his edition of Part I. for the National Series of the Maſter of the Rolls, 1871.—F.]

[7] Whether written Euſtace, Euſtache, Wiſtace, Huiſtace, Vace, Gaſſe, or Gace, the name through all its diſguiſes is intended for one and the ſame perſon, Wace of Jerſey. Mr. Tyrwhitt was the firſt to reſcue this ingenious writer from the

commonly entitled *Roman des Rois d'Angleterre*. It is eſteemed one of the oldeſt of the French romances; and was commenced under the title of *Brut d'Angleterre*, in the year 1155. Hence Robert de Brunne calls it ſimply the *Brut*.[1] This romance was ſoon afterwards

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errors which had gathered round his name; and M. de la Rue has fully eſtabliſhed his rights, by ſupplying us with an authentic catalogue of his works, and exhibiting their importance both to the hiſtorian and antiquary. [Wace's *Brut* was printed by Le Roux de Linçy at Rouen in 1836.] De Brunne was induced to follow the *Brut d'Angleterre* in the firſt part of his Chronicle, from the copiouſneſs of its details upon Britiſh hiſtory. But the continuation noticed in the text was the production of Geoffri Gaimar, a poet rather anterior to Wace; and is ſuppoſed to have formed a part of a larger work on Engliſh and Norman hiſtory. *Le Roman du Rou*, or the Hiſtory of Rollo, firſt duke of Normandy, is another of Wace's works; and *Les Vies des Ducs de Normandie*, which is brought down to the ſixth year of Henry I., a third. But the reader who is deſirous of further information on this ſubject, is referred to the 12th, 13th, and 14th volumes of the *Archæologia*, where he will find a brief but able outline of the hiſtory of Anglo-Norman poetry, by M. de la Rue.—PRICE. See alſo M. Joly's compariſon of Wace with his rival chronicler of Normandy, in his *Benoit de St. More et le Roman de Troie*, Caen, 1870, and M. Edeleſtand du Meril's treatiſe on *Wace et ſes Ouvrages*.—F.]

In the Britiſh Muſeum there is a fragment of a poem in very old French verſe, a romantic hiſtory of England, drawn from Geoffry of Monmouth, perhaps before the year 1200. MSS. Harl. 1605, 1, f. 1. In the library of Dr. Johnſton of Pontefract, there was a MS. on vellum, containing a hiſtory in old Engliſh verſe from Brute to the eighteenth year of Edward II.; and in that of Lord Denbigh, a metrical hiſtory in Engliſh from the ſame period to Henry III. Wanley ſuppoſed it to have been of the handwriting of the time of Edward IV.

[1] The *Brut of England*, a proſe chronicle of England, ſometimes continued as low as Henry VI., is a common MS. It was at firſt tranſlated from a French chronicle [MSS. Harl. 200], written in the beginning of the reign of Edward III. The French have a famous ancient proſe romance called *Brut*, which includes the hiſtory of the Sangreal. I know not whether it is exactly the ſame. In an old metrical romance, the ſtory of *Rollo*, there is this paſſage (MS. Vernon, f. 123):—

> "Lordus ȝif ye wil leſten to me,
> Of Croteye the nobile citee
> As wrytten i fynde in his ſtory
> Of *Bruit* the chronicle," &c.

In the Britiſh Muſeum we have *Le petit Bruit*, compiled by Meiſtre Raufe de Boun, and ending with the death of Edward I. MSS. Harl. 902, f. 1. It is [a ſeparate compilation, made in 1310, as ſhown by Sir F. Madden, in his Preface to *Havelock the Dane*]. In the ſame library I find *Liber de Bruto et de geſtis Anglorum metrificatus;* (that is, turned into rude Latin hexameters). It is continued to the death of Richard II. Many proſe annotations are intermixed. MSS. *ibid.* 1808, 24, f. 31. In another copy of this piece, [there is at the end *qd Peckward*, which may merely mean that Peckward was the copyiſt]. MSS. *ib.* 2386, 23, f. 35. In another MS. the grand *Brut* [that is, as Sir F. Madden notes, *Caxton's Chronicle*] is ſaid to be tranſlated from the French by "John Maundeuile parſon of Brunham Thorpe." MSS. *ibid.* 2279, 3.

[It was firſt printed by Caxton, in 1480, under the title of *The Chronycles of England*, and under the ſame title was twice republiſhed. In 1483 it appeared, with a few alterations and conſiderable additions, under the title of *Fructus Temporum*, and theſe are later impreſſions.]

[In the *Chroniques Anglo-Normandes*, 1836, will be found part of Geoffrey Gaimar, of the continuation of the *Brut*, of the Chronicle of Benoit de Sainte More, &c. The *Roman du Rou* was printed in 1827, and a tranſlation of part of it, by Mr. E. Taylor, with notes, in 1837. Laȝamon's *Brut* was publiſhed from the Cotton MS., as elſewhere mentioned, in 1847.]

continued to William Rufus, by Geoffri Gaimar, in the year 1146.[1] Thus both parts were blended, and became one work. Among the royal MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum it is thus entitled: *Le Brut, ke maiſtre Wace tranſlata de Latin en Franceis de tutt les Reis de Brittaigne.*[2] That is, from the Latin proſe hiſtory of Geoffry of Monmouth. And that Maſter Wace aimed only at the merit of a tranſlator, appears from his exordial verſes:—

> Maiſtre Gaſſe l'a tranſlatè
> Que en conte le veritè.

Otherwiſe we might have ſuſpected that the authors drew their materials from the old fabulous Armoric MS., which is ſaid to have been Geoffry's original.

An ingenious French antiquary ſuppoſes, that Wace took many of his deſcriptions from that invaluable and ſingular monument, the *Tapeſtry of the Norman Conqueſt*, preſerved in the treaſury of the cathedral of Bayeux,[3] and engraved and explained in Ducarel's *Anglo-Norman Antiquities*. Lord Lyttelton has quoted this romance, and ſhewn that important facts and curious illuſtrations of hiſtory may be drawn from ſuch obſolete but authentic reſources.[4]

The meaſure uſed by Robert de Brunne, in his tranſlation[5] of the former part of our French chronicle or romance, is exactly like

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[1] [*Anglo-Norman Metrical Chronicle with Notes and Appendix, &c.*, edited by T. Wright, 1850, 8vo.] See Lenglet, *Biblioth. des Romans*, ii. pp. 226-7, and Lacombe, *Diction. de la veille Lang. Fr.* pref. p. xviii. And compare Montfauc. *Catal. Manuſcr.* ii. p. 1669. See alſo M. Galland, *Mem. Lit.* iii. p. 426, 8vo.

[2] 3 A xxi. 3. [Sir F. Madden obſerves, that this is only in part the *Brut* of Wace.] It occurs again, 4 C xi. *Hiſtoire d'Angleterre en vers, par Maiſtre Wace.* In the Cotton library [an early Engliſh MS.] occurs twice, which ſeems to be a tranſlation of Geoffry's Hiſtory, or very like it. Calig. A ix. and Otho. C 13. [Since printed under the care of Sir F. Madden, 1847, 3 vols. 8vo.] The tranſlator is one Laȝamon, a prieſt, born at Ernly on Severn. He ſays, that he had his original from the book of a French clergyman, named *Wate* [Walter Calenius, archdeacon of Oxford,] which book Wate the author had preſented to Eleanor, queen of Henry II. So Laȝamon in the preface, "Bot he nom the thridde, leide ther amidden: tha makede a frenchis clerc: Wate (Wate) wes ihoten," &c.

[3] *Rec.* p. 82, edit. 1581. Mons. Lancelot, *Mem. Lit.* viii. 602. And ſee *Hiſt. Acad. Inſcript.* xiii. 41, 4to. [M. de la Rue has advanced ſome very ſatisfactory reaſons for ſuppoſing this tapeſtry to have been made by, or wrought under the direction of, the Empreſs Matilda, who died in the year 1167. (See *Archæologia*, vol. xviii.) It was evidently ſent to Bayeux at a period ſubſequent to the death of its projector, at whoſe demiſe it was left in an unfiniſhed ſtate. Wace probably never ſaw it. At all events, could it be proved that he did, he diſdained to uſe it in his *Hiſtory of the Irruption of the Normans into England*, his only work where it could have aſſiſted him; ſince his narrative is at variance with the repreſentations this monument contains.—*Price*. But Mr. Bolton Corney has ſought to controvert the opinion that the tapeſtry was preſented by the Empreſs Matilda, and maintains that it was executed for the chapter of Bayeux at their own coſt.]

[4] *Hiſt. Hen. II.* vol. iii. p. 180.

[5] [The work here cited is in courſe of editing for the Maſter of the Rolls' Series by Mr. Furnivall. See notes, p. 75.]

that of his original. Thus the Prologue, [from the northernized Temple MS.]:

Lordynges that be now here!
If ye wille, liſtene and lere
Alle the ſtory of Inglande,
Als Robert Mannyng wryten it fand,
And on Inglyſch has it ſchewed,
Not for the lerid, bot for the lewed;
For tho that in this land[e] wone
That the Latyn no Frankys cone,
For to half ſolace and gamen
In felawſchip when thai ſitt ſamen.
And it is wiſdom forto wytten
The ſtate of the land, and haf it wryten,
What manere of folk firſt it wan,
And of what kynde it firſt began.
And gude it is for many thynges,
For to here the dedis of kynges,
Whilk were foles, and whilk were wyſe,
And whilk of tham couthe moſt quantyſe;
And whylk did wrong, and whilk [did] ryght,
And whilk maynten[e]d pes and fyght.
Of thare dedes ſalle be mi ſawe,
And what tyme, and of what law,
I ſalle you ſchewe fro gre to gre,
Sen the tyme of Sir Noe:
Fro Noe unto Eneas,
And what [thynges] betwixt tham was,
And fro Eneas till Brutus tyme,
[That kynd he telles in this ryme.]
Fro Brutus till Cadwaladres,
The laſt Bryton that this lande lees.
Alle that kynd, and alle the frute
That come of Brutus that is the Brute;
And the ryght Brute is told no more
Than the Brytons tymè wore.
After the Bretons the Inglis camen,
The lordſchip of this lande thai namen;
South, and north, weſt, and eaſt,
That calle men now the Inglis geſt.
When thai firſt [came] amang the Bretons,
That now ere Inglis than were Saxons:
'Saxons' Inglis hight all oliche.
Thai aryved up at Sandwyche,
In the kynges tyme Vortogerne
That the lande walde tham not werne, &c. (l. 1-44).
One, mayſter Wace, the Frankes telles;
The Brute, all that the Latyn ſpelles,
Fro Eneas till Cadwaladre, &c.
And ryght as mayſter Wacè ſays,
I telle myn Inglis the ſame ways, (l. 57-62) &c.[1]

The ſecond part of Robert de Brunne's *Chronicle*, beginning from Cadwallader, and ending with Edward I., is tranſlated in great meaſure from the ſecond part of a French metrical chronicle, written in five books by Peter Langtoft, an Auguſtine canon of the monaſtery of

[1] [Furnivall's edit. pp. 1-2.]

Bridlington in Yorkſhire, who wrote not many years before his tranſlator. This is mentioned in the prologue preceding the ſecond part:

> Frankyſche ſpeche ys cald Romaunce,[1]
> So ſey this clerkes and men of Fraunce.
> Peres of Langtoft, a chanoun
> Schaven y[n] the hous of Brydlyngtoun,
> On Romaunce al thys ſtory he wrot
> Of Engliſhe kynges, &c.[2]

As Langtoft had written his French poem in Alexandrines,[3] the tranſlator, Robert de Brunne, has followed him, the prologue excepted, in uſing the double diſtich for one line, after the manner of Robert of Glouceſter, as in the firſt part he copied the metre of his author Wace. But I will exhibit a ſpecimen from both parts. In the firſt, he gives us this dialogue between Merlin's mother and King Vortigern, from Maſter Wace:

> " Dame," ſeyde the kyng, " welcom be thou:
> Nedlike at the y mot wyte how[4]
> Who than gat[5] thy ſone Merlyne,
> And on what manere was he thyne."
> His moder ſtod a throwe[6] and thought
> Er ſche to the kyng onſwered ought:
> When ſcheo had ſtande a litel wyght,[7]
> Sche ſeyde "by Marye bright,
> That I ne ſey ne nevere knew
> Hym that this child on me ſew.[8]
> Ne wiſte neuere, ne y ne herd,
> What maner wyght wyth me ſo ferde;[9]
> Bot this thyng am y wel of graunt,[10]
> That I was of elde avenaunt:[11]
> On com to my bed, y wyſt,
> And with force me clipte and kyſt:
> Als[12] a man y hym felt,
> And als a man he me welt;[13]

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[1] The Latin tongue ceaſed to be ſpoken in France about the ninth century, and was ſucceeded by what was called the Romance tongue, a mixture of Frankiſh and bad Latin. Hence the firſt poems in that language are called Romans or Romants. *Eſſay on Pope*, p. 281. In the following paſſage of this chronicle, where Robert de Brunne mentions Romance, he ſometimes means Langtoft's French book, from which he tranſlated: viz. *Chron.* p. 205:

> " This that I have ſaid it is Pers ſawe;
> Als he in Romance laid, thereafter gan I drawe."

See Chauc. *Rom. R.* v. 2170. Alſo *Balades*, p. 554, v. 508. And Creſcembin, *Iſtor. della Volg. Poes.* vol. i. L. v. p. 316, *ſeq.*

[2] [Furnivall's edit., 579, l. 16709-14.]

[3] Some are printed by Hollinſh. *Hiſt.* iii. 469. Others by Hearne, *Chron. Langt. Pref.* p. 58, and in the margin of the pages of the Chronicle. [A portion appears in the *Chroniques Anglo-Normandes*, already referred to: it extends from William the Conqueror to Henry I.]

[4] " I muſt by all means know of you."
[5] begot.
[6] awhile.
[7] *white*, while.
[8] begot.
[9] [fared.—*Ritſon.*]
[10] aſſured.
[11] [of a fit age.—*Ritſon.*]
[12] as.
[13] *wielded*, moved.

And als a man he ſpak to me.
Bot what he was, myght y nought ſe.[1]

The following, extracted from the ſame part, is the ſpeech of the Romans to the Britons, after the former had built a wall againſt the Picts, and were leaving Britain:

We haue yow clòſed ther moſt nede was;
And ȝyf ye defende wel that pas
Wyth archers[2] and wyth mangeneles,[3]
And wel kepe the carneles;
Theron ye may bothe ſcheote and kaſte:
Wexeth bold, and fendeþ yow faſte!
Thenk, your fadres wonne fraunchiſe,
Be ye na more in otheres ſerviſe,
Bot frely lyves to your lyves ende:
We taken now leve fro you to wende (p. 239, l. 6797-6800).

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[1] [Ed. Furnivall, pp. 282-3, l. 8039-58.]

[2] Not *bowmen*, but apertures in the wall for ſhooting arrows, viz., in the repairs of Taunton Caſtle, 1266, *Comp. J. Gerneys, Epiſc. Wint.* "Tantonia. Expenſe domorum. In mercede Cementarii pro muro erigendo juxta turrim ex parte orientali cum Kernellis et Archeriis faciendis, xvi. s. vi. d." *Archiv. Wolves. apud Wint.* *Kernells* mentioned here and in the next verſe were much the ſame thing: or perhaps Battlements. In repairs of the great hall at Wolveſey Palace, I find, "In kyrnillis emptis ad idem, xii. d." *Ibid.* There is a patent granted to the monks of Abingdon, in Berkſhire, in the reign of Edward III. "Pro kernellatione monaſterii." Pat. an. 4, par. 1.

[3] Cotgrave has interpreted this word, an old-faſhioned ſling. V. *Mangoneau.* See *Rot. Pip.* An. 4 Hen. iii. (A. D. 1219). "Nordhant. Et in expenſis regis in obſidione caſtri de Rockingham, 100*l.* per Br. Reg. Et cuſtodibus ingeniorum (engines) regis ad ea carianda uſque Biſham, ad caſtrum illud obſidendum, 13*s.* 10*d.* per id. Br. Reg. Et pro duobus coriis, emptis apud Northampton ad fundas petrariarum et mangonellorum regis faciendas, 5*s.* 6*d.* per id. Br. Reg."—*Rot. Pip.* 9 *Hen. III.* (A. D. 1225). "Surr. Comp. de Cnareburc. Et pro vii. cablis emptis ad petrarias et mangonellos in eodem caſtro, 7*s.* 11*d.*" *Rot. Pip.* 5 *Hen. III.* (A. D. 1220). "Devons. Et in cuſto poſito in 1. petraria et 11, mangonellis cariatis a Nottingham uſque Biſham, et it eiſdem reductis a Biſham uſque Notingham, 7*l.* 4*s.*" See *infr.* Mangonel alſo ſignified what was thrown from the machine ſo called. Thus Froiſſart: "Et avoient les Brabançons de tres grans engins devant la ville, qui *gettoient* pierres de faix et *mangoneaux* juſques en la ville."—Liv. iii. c. 118. And in the old French *Ovide* cited by Borel, *Treſor.* in v.:

"Onques pour une tor abatre,
Ne oit on Mangoniaux deſcendre
Plus briement ne du ciel deſtendre
Foudre pour abatre un clocher."

Chaucer mentions both *Mangonels* and *Kyrnils*, in a caſtle in the *Romaunt of the Roſe*, v. 4195, 6279. Alſo *archers, i. e. archeriæ*, v. 4191. So in the *Roman de la Roſe*, v. 3945:

"Vous puiſſiez bien les Mangonneaulx,
Veoir la par-deſſus les Creneaulx.
Et aux archieres de la Tour
Sont arbaleſtres tout entour."

Archieres occur often in this poem. Chaucer, in tranſlating the above paſſage [if we have his tranſlation,] has introduced guns, which were not known when the original was written, v. 4191. The uſe of artillery, however, is proved by a curious paſſage in Petrarch to be older than the period to which it has been commonly referred. The paſſage is in Petrarch's book *de Remediis utriuſque fortunæ*, undoubtedly written before the year 1334. "G. Habeo machinas et baliſtas. R. Mirum,

Vortigern, King of the Britons, is thus deſcribed meeting the beautiful Princeſs Rouwen, daughter of Hengiſt, the Roſamond of the Saxon ages, at a feaſt of waſſail. It is a curious picture of the gallantry of the times, [or, at leaſt, Wace's conception of that gallantry.]

Hengiſt that day dide his myght,
That all was glad, kyng and knyght,
And als thei were beſt in gladyng,
And wel cuppe-ſchoten[1] knyght and kyng,
Fro chaumbre cam Ronewenne ſo gent,
Byfore the kyng in halle ſcheo went.
A coupe wyth wyn ſche hadde in hande
And hure atyr[2] was wel farande.[3]
Byfore the kyng o knes ſche hir ſette
In hure langage ful faire him grette.
"Waſſayl, my lord! Waſſail!" ſeyd ſche.
Then, aſked the kyng, what that myght be.
On that langage the kyng ne couthe.[4]
Bot a knyght that ſpeche had lered[5] in youthe.
Breyth highte[6] that knyght, y-born Bretoun,
That wel ſpak langage of Saxoun.
Thys Breth was the kynges latynier.[7]
And what ſcheo ſeyde teldyt Fortyger.

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niſi et glandes æneas, quæ flammis injectis horriſono ſonitu jaciuntur.—Erat hæc peſtis nuper rara, ut cum ingenti miraculo cerneretur: nunc, ut rerum peſſimarum dociles ſunt animi, ita communis eſt, ut quodlibet genus armorum." Lib. i. Dial. 99. See Muratori, *Antiquitat. Med. Æv.* tom. ii. col. 514. Cannons are ſuppoſed to have been firſt uſed by the Engliſh at the battle of Creſſy, in the year 1346. It is extraordinary that Froiſſart, who minutely deſcribes that battle, and is fond of decorating his narrative with wonders, ſhould have wholly omitted this circumſtance. Muſquets are recited as a weapon of the infantry ſo early as the year 1475. "Quilibet peditum habeat baliſtam vel bombardam." Lit. Caſimiri III. an. 1475. *Leg. Polon.* tom. i. p. 228. Theſe are generally aſſigned to the year 1520. I am of opinion that ſome of the great military battering engines, ſo frequently mentioned in the hiſtories and other writings of the dark ages, were fetched from the Cruſades. See a ſpecies of the catapult, uſed by the Syrian army in the ſiege of Mecca, about the year 680. *Mod. Univ. Hiſt.* b. i. c. 2, tom. ii. p. 117. Theſe expeditions into the Eaſt undoubtedly much improved the European art of war. Taſſo's warlike machines, which ſeem to be the poet's invention, are formed on deſcriptions of ſuch wonderful machines as he had read of in the Cruſade hiſtorians, particularly William of Tyre.

[1] [Drunk: *enivré.—Wace.* See Cotgrave under *yvre.*] [2] attire.
[3] [well facing, fitting, very becoming.—*Ellis.*]
[4] was not ſkilled. [5] learned. [6] was called.
[7] Interpreter. [Formerly printed *Latimer.* Mr. Wright is quite correct in his ſurmiſe, that Latimer is a mere ignorant miſreading of the MSS. for Latiner.] Thus, in the romance of *King Richard*, Saladin's *Latimer* at the ſiege of Babylon proclaims a truce to the Chriſtian army from the walls of the city. Signat. M. i.

"The Latemere tho tourned his eye
To that other ſyde of the toune,
And cryed trues with gret ſoune."

In which ſenſe the French word occurs in the *Roman de Garin*, MSS. Bibl. Reg. Paris, Num. 7542. [Printed in 1833-5, 2 vols. by M. Paulin Paris, and again by Du Meril, in 1845:]

"Latimer fu ſi ſot parler Roman,
Englois, Gallois, et Breton, et Norman."

[See Selden's *Table-Talk*, edit. 1860, p. 179.]

"Sire," Breth ſeyde, "Ronewenne yow gretes,
And kyng calles, and lord yow letes.[1]
Thys ys ther cuſtume and ther geſt,
Whan they arn at ther [ale or] feſt.
Ilk man that loues, ther hym beſt thynk,
Schal ſey 'Waſſail,' and to him drynk.
He that haldes ſchal ſey, 'Waſſayl,'
That other ſchal ſeye ageyn, 'Drynk hayl.'
That ſeys [Waſſeyl] drynkes of the coppe,
Kiſſing his felawe he gyveth hit uppe.
'Drynk hail,' he ſeyth, and drinketh ther-of,
Kyſſyng hym in bourde and ſcof.'[2]
The kyng ſeide as the knight gan kenne,[3]
"Drynk hayle," ſmylynge on Rouewenne.
Ronewenne drank right as hure lyſt,
And gaf the kyng, and ſyn[4] hym kiſt.
That was the firſte waſſail in dede,
That now and evere the fame yede.[5]
Of that 'waſſail' men tolde grete tale,
And uſed 'waſſail' when they were at th' ale.
And 'drynkhail' to them that drank,
Thus was waſſail take to thank.
Ful often thus thys mayden ȝyng[6]
Waſſailed and kyſte ther the kyng.
Of body ſche was ful avenaunt,[7]
Of fair colour, wyth ſwet ſemblaunt.[8]
Hure atir[9] ful wel hit byſemed,
Merveillyke[10] the kyng ſcheo quemed,[11]
Out of meſure was he glad,
Opon that mayden he wax al mad.
The fend and dronkeneſſe hit wrought,
Of that Payen[12] was al his thought.
As meſchaunce that tyme hym ſpedde;
He aſked that Payen for to wedde;
And Hengiſt wernde hym bot lyte,[13]
Bot graunted hure hym al ſo tyt.

And again:—

"Un Latinier vieil ferant et henu
Molt ſot de plet, et molt entreſnie fu."

And in the *Roman du Rou*, which will again be mentioned:—

"L'archeveſque Franches a Jumeges ala,
A Rou, et a ſa gent par Latinier parla."

We find it in Froiſſart, tom. iv. c. 87, and in other ancient French writers. In the old Norman poem on the ſubject of King Dermod's expulſion from his kingdom of Ireland, in the Lambeth library [and printed by M. Michel in 1837,] it ſeems more properly to ſignify, in a limited ſenſe, the *king's domeſtic ſecretary*.

"Parſon demeine Latinier
Que moi conta de luy l'hiſtore," &c.

See Lyttelton's *Hiſt. Hen. II.* vol. iv. App. p. 270. We might here render it literally his Latiniſt, an officer retained by the king to draw up the public inſtruments in Latin. As in *Domeſdai-Book:* "Godwinus accipitrarius, Hugo Latinarius, milo portarius." *MS. Excerpt. penes me.* But in both the laſt inſtances the word may bear its more general and extenſive ſignification. Camden explains Latimer by Interpreter. *Rem.* p. 158. See alſo p. 151, edit. 1674.

[1] eſteems. [2] ſport, joke. [3] to [ſhew.]
[4] ſince, afterwards. [5] went. [6] young.
[7] handſome, gracefully ſhaped, &c. [8] [appearance.—*Ellis.*]
[9] attire. [10] marvellouſly. [11] pleaſed.
[12] pagan, heathen. [13] [refuſed him but little.]

And Hors his brother conſented ſone.
Hire frendes ſeyd alle, hit was to done.
They aſkede the kyng to gyve hure Kent,
In dowarye, to take of rent.
Upon that mayde his herte ſo kaſt,
What-ſo they aſked, the kyng mad faſt.
I wene the kyng tok hure that day,
And wedded hure on Payens lay.[1]
Of preſt was ther no beniſoun,[2]
No meſſe ſongen, ne oryſoun.
In ſeſyn the kyng had hure that nyght.
Of Kent he gaf Hengiſt the ryght.
The Erl that tyme that Kent held,
Sir Gorogon, that bar the ſcheld,
Of that gyft no thyng he ne wyſte,[3]
Til he was dryuen out wyth[4] Hengiſt.[5]

In the ſecond part, [from Langtoft] the attack of Richard I. on a caſtle held by the Saracens is thus deſcribed:—

The dikes were fulle wide that cloſed the caſtelle about,
& depe on ilk a ſide, with bankis hie without.
Was ther non entre that to the caſtelle gan ligge,[6]
Bot a ſtreite kauce,[7] at the end a drauht brigge.
With grete duble cheynes drauhen ouer the gate,
And fyfti armed ſueynes,[8] porters at that ȝate.
With ſlenges & magneles[9] thei kaſt[10] to kyng Richard;
Our Criſten by parcelles kaſted ageynward.[11]
Ten ſergeanz of the beſt his targe gan him bere,
That egre wer & preſt to couere him & to were.[12]
Himſelf as a Geant the cheynes in tuo hew,
The targe was his warant,[13] that non tille him threw.
Right unto the ȝate with the targe thei ȝede,
Fightand on a ȝate, vndir him the ſlou his ſtede.
Ther for ne wild he ſeſſe,[14] alone in to the caſtele
Thorgh tham alle wild preſſe, on fote fauȝht he fulle wele.
& whan he was withinne, fauȝt as a wilde leon,
He ſondred the Sarazins otuynne, & fauht as a dragon.
Without the Criſten gan crie, allas; R[ichard] is taken,
Tho Normans were ſorie, of contenance gan blaken,
To ſlo doun & to ſtroye neuer wild thei ſtint,
Thei ne left for dede no noye,[15] ne for no wound no dynt,
That in went alle ther pres, maugre the Sarazins alle,
And fond R[ichard] on des fightand, & wonne the halle.[16]

From theſe paſſages it appears that Robert of Brunne has ſcarcely more poetry than Robert of Glouceſter. He has, however, taken care to acquaint his readers that he avoided high deſcription, and

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[1] in pagans' law; according to the heatheniſh cuſtom.
[2] benediction, bleſſing. [3] knew not. [4] by.
[5] [ed. Furnivall, pp. 265-268. See the Temple MS. verſion in] Hearne's *Robert of Glo.* p. 695.
[6] lying. [7] cauſey. [8] ſwains, young men, ſodiers.
[9] mangonels. [10] caſt.
[11] In Langtoft's French:—

"Dis ſeriauntz des plus feres e de melz vanez,
Devaunt le cors le Reis ſa targe ount portez."

[12] ward, defend. [13] guard, defence.
[14] "he could not ceaſe." [15] annoyance. [16] *Chron.* ed. Hearne, pp. 182, 183.

that ſort of phraſeology which was then uſed by the minſtrels and harpers; that he rather aimed to give information than pleaſure, and that he was more ſtudious of truth than ornament. As he intended his chronicle to be ſung, at leaſt by parts, at public feſtivals, he found it expedient to apologiſe for theſe deficiencies in the prologue; as he had partly done before in his prologue to [his *Handlyng Synne*, [or the *Manual of Sins:*

I mad noght for no diſours,[1]
Ne for ſeggers, no harpours,
Bot for the luf of ſymple meñ,
That ſtrange Inglis cañ not keñ:[2]
For many it ere[3] that ſtrange Inglis
In ryme wate[4] never what it is (l. 75-80).
I made it not for to be prayſed,
Bot at[5] the lewed meñ were ayſed (l. 83-4).[6]

He next mentions ſeveral ſorts of verſe or proſody, which were then faſhionable among the minſtrels, and have become long ſince unknown:

If it were made in ryme *couwée*,
Or in *ſtrangere* or *enterlacè*, (l. 85-6), &c.[7]

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[1] tale-tellers, *Narratores*, Lat.: *Conteours*, Fr. *Segger* in the next line perhaps means the ſame thing, *i.e.* Sayers. The writers either of metrical or of proſe romances. See *Antholog. Fran.* p. 17, 1765, 8vo. Or *Diſours* may ſignify Diſcourſe, *i.e.* adventures in proſe. We have the "Devils diſours," in *P. Plowman*, fol. xxxi. b. edit. 1550. *Diſour* preciſely ſignifies a tale-teller at a feaſt in Gower. *Conf. Amant.* lib. vii. fol. 155, a, edit. 1554. He is ſpeaking of the coronation feſtival of a Roman emperor:—

"When he was gladeſt at his mete,
And every minſtrell had plaide
And every *diſſour* had ſaide
Which moſt was pleaſaunt to his ere."

Du Cange ſays, that *Diſeurs* were judges of the turney. *Diſs. Joinv.* p. 179.

[2] know. [3] *it ere*, there are. [4] knew. [5] that. [6] eaſed.

[7] The rhymes here called by Robert de Brunne *Couwée* [*verſus caudati*, final rhymes, equivalent to the *coda* in muſic] and *Enterlacée*, were undoubtedly derived from the Latin rhymers of that age, who uſed verſus *caudati* et *interlaqueati*. Brunne here profeſſes to avoid theſe elegancies of compoſition, yet he has intermixed many paſſages in *Rime Couwée*. See his *Chronicle*, pp. 266, 273, &c. &c. [and Gueſt's *Hiſtory of Engliſh Rhythms*.] Almoſt all the latter part of his work from the Conqueſt is written in rhyme *interlacée*, each couplet rhyming in the middle as well as the end. As thus, MSS. Harl. 1002:

"Plauſus Græcorum | lux cæcis et via claudis
Incola cælorum | virgo digniſſima laudis."

The rhyme Baſton had its appellation from Robert Baſton, a celebrated Latin rhymer about the year 1315. The rhyme *ſtrangere* means uncommon. See *Canterbury Tales*, vol. iv. p. 72, *ſeq. ut infra*. The reader, curious on this ſubject, may receive further information from a MS. in the Bodleian library, in which are ſpecimens of *Metra Leonina*, *criſtata*, *cornuta*, *reciproca*, &c. MSS. Laud. K 3. 4to. In the ſame library there is a very ancient MS. of Aldheim's Latin poem *De Virginitate et Laude Sanctorum*, written about the year 700, and given by Thomas Allen, with Saxon gloſſes, and the text almoſt in ſemi-ſaxon characters. Theſe are the firſt two verſes:

"Metrica tyrones nunc promant carmina caſti,
Et laudem capiat quadrato carmine Virgo."

[But ſee Wright's *Biog. Brit. Literaria*, A-S. period, 217.] Langbaine, in reciting

He adds that the old ſtories of chivalry had been ſo diſguiſed by foreign terms, by additions and alterations, that they were now become unintelligible to a common audience: and particularly that the tale of *Sir Triſtram*,[1] the nobleſt of all, was much changed from the original compoſition of its firſt author:

I ſee in ſong in ſedgeyng tale[2]
Of Erceldoun, and of Kendale,
Non tham ſays as thai tham wroght,[3]
And in ther ſay[i]ng[4] it ſemes noght:
That may thou here in Sir Triſtram;[5]
Over geſtes* it has the ſteem,[6]

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this MS. thus explains the *quadratum* carmen. "Scil. prima cujuſque verſus litera, per Acroſtichidem, conficit verſum illum *Metrica tyrones*. Ultima cujuſque verſus litera, ab ultimo carmine ordine retrogrado numerando, hunc verſum facit:

"Metrica tyrones nunc promant carmina caſti."

(Langb. MSS. v. p. 126.) MSS. Digb. 146. There is a very ancient tract, by one Mico, I believe called alſo Levita, on Proſody, *De Quantitate Syllabarum*, with examples from the Latin poets, perhaps the firſt work of the kind. Bib. Bodl. MSS. Bod. A 7. 9. See Hocker's *Catal. MSS. Bibl. Heidelb.* p. 24, who recites a part of Mico's Preface, in which he appears to have been a grammatical teacher of youth. See alſo Dacheri *Spicileg.* tom. ii. p. 300, b, edit. *ult.* [Mr. Wright has obſerved that the *ryme couwée* occurs both in heroic and elegiac verſe.]

[1] [Sir W. Scott and others have endeavoured to prove that the Engliſh romance of Triſtram was written by Thomas of Erceldoune; but the tranſlator merely alludes to him at the commencement in a fanciful manner; and I think it, with Mr. Wright, moſt probable, that finding the name *Thomas* in the French original, and not underſtanding it, he was induced to take a character, then ſo famous, to add ſome popularity to the ſubject.—*Halliwell.* See *On the Legend of Triſtan: its origin in myth, and its development in romance.* By E. T. Leith. Bombay, 1868, 8vo.—*F.* In all the former editions of Warton, eighteen pages were occupied by a vain diſcuſſion of the clearly erroneous opinion of Scott, that the romance, as he has (not very correctly) printed it, is the original caſt of the ſtory from the pen of Thomas of Erceldoune. In the edition of Warton, which appeared in 1840, Mr. Garnett thus ſums up the evidence: "Upon the whole, then, it appears: 1. That the preſent *Sir Triſtram* is a modernized copy of an old Northumbrian romance, which was probably written between A.D. 1260-1300; 2. That it is not, in the proper ſenſe of the word, an original compoſition, but derived more or leſs directly from a Norman or Anglo-Norman ſource; 3. That there is no direct teſtimony in favour of Thomas of Erceldoune's claim to the authorſhip of it, while the internal evidence is, as far as it goes, greatly adverſe to that ſuppoſition. It is, however, by no means improbable that the author availed himſelf of the previous labours of Erceldoune on the ſame theme."]

[2] "among the romances that are ſung," &c.

[3] "none recite them as they were firſt written."

[4] "as they tell them." [5] "this you may ſee," &c. [6] eſteem.

* Hearne ſays that Geſts were oppoſed to Romance. *Chron. Langt.* Pref. p. 37. But this is a miſtake. Thus we have the *Geſte of kyng Horne*, a very old metrical romance. MSS. Harl. 2253, p. 70. Alſo in the Prologue of *Rychard Cuer de Lyon:*

"King Richard is the beſt
That is found in any *jeſte*."

And the paſſage in the text is a proof againſt his aſſertion. Chaucer, in the following paſſage, by Jeſtours, does not mean jeſters in modern ſignification, but writers of adventures. *Houſe of Fame*, v. 108:

"And Jeſtours that tellen tales
Both of wepyng and of game."

Over alle that is or was,
If men it ſayd, as made Thomas (l. 93-100).
Thai ſayd in ſo quante Inglis
That many one[1] wate not what it is (l. 109-110).
And forſoth I couth[e] noght
So ſtrange Inglis as thai wroght (l. 115-116).

On this account, he ſays, he was perſuaded by his friends to write his *Chronicle* in a more popular and eaſy ſtyle, that would be better underſtood:

And men beſoght me many a tyme
To turne in bot in light[e] ryme.
Thai ſayd if I in ſtrange it turne
To here it manyon ſuld ſkurne[2]
For it ere names fulle ſelcouthe[3]
That ere not uſed now in mouth (l. 117-122).
In the hous of Sixille I was a throwe[4]
Danz Robert of Meltone,[5] that ye knowe,
Did it wryte for felawes ſake,
Wheñ thai wild ſolace make[6] (l. 141-4).

[Thomas of[7]] Erceldoune and [Thomas of[8]] Kendal are mentioned, in ſome of theſe lines of Brunne, as [writers of] old romances

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In the *Houſe of Fame* he alſo places thoſe who wrote "olde geſtes," v. 425. It is however obvious to obſerve from whence the preſent term *jeſt* aroſe. See Fauchet, *Rec.* p. 73. In *P. Plowman*, we have *Job's Jeſtes*, fol. xlv. b:

"Job the gentyl in his jeſtes greatly wytneſſeth."

That is, "Job in the account of his Life." In the ſame page we have:

"And japers and judgelers, and jangelers of jeſtes."

That is, minſtrels, reciters of tales. Other illuſtrations of this word will occur in the courſe of the work. *Chanſons de geſtes* were common in France in the thirteenth century among the [trouvères]. See *Mem. concernant les principaux monumens de l'Hiſtoire de France: Mem. Lit.* xv. p. 582; by M. de Sainte Palaye. I add the two firſt lines of a MS. entitled, *Art de Kalender par Rauf*, who lived 1256. Bibl. Bodl. J. b. 2. Th. (Langb. MSS. 5. 439):

"De *geſte* ne voil pas chanter,
Ne *veilles eſtoires* el canter."

There is even *Geſta Paſſionis et Reſurrectionis Chriſti*, in many MSS. libraries. [The *chanſons de geſte*, as Mr. Wright has ſhown, do not ſupport Warton here, as they were poems founded on the real or ſuppoſed exploits of the earlier kings of France.]

[1] many a one. [2] ſcorn. [3] ſtrange. [4] a little while.

[5] "Sir Robert of Malton." It appears [hence that he cauſed the work to be written.—*Madden.*]

[6] Pref. *Rob. Glouc.* pp. 57, 58.

[7] [Compare "as made Thomas," l. 100 of Manning's *Chronicle*, with line 94, "tale of Erceldoun and of Kendale," and with "I was at [Erceldoune:] with Tomas ſpak y there," *Sir Triſtram*, l. 1, &c.:

[8] "When Engle hadde þe lond al þorow,
He gaf to Scardyng Scardeburghe;
Toward þe northe, by þe ſee ſide,
An hauene hit is, ſchipes in to ryde.
fflayn highte his broþer, als ſeyþ þe tale
Þat Thomas made of Kendale;
Of Scarthe & fflayn, Thomas ſeys,
What þey were, how þey dide, what weys."
Manning's *Chronicle*, part i. p. 514.]

or popular tales. Of the latter I can diſcover no traces in our ancient literature. As to the former, Thomas of Erceldoun or Aſhelington is ſaid to have written *Prophecies*, like thoſe of Merlin. Leland, from the *Scalæ Chronicon*,[1] ſays that "William Banaſtre,[2] and Thomas Erceldoune, ſpoke words "yn figure as were the prophecies of Merlin." In the library of Lincoln cathedral there is a [poem, which is almoſt entitled to the name of a romance,] entitled, *Thomas of Erſeldown*, [ſlightly imperfect,] which begins with an addreſs [not found in the other MSS. of this piece]:

"Lordynges both great and ſmall"—

[But ſeveral other MSS. copies of it are extant.[3] The Lincoln MS. has been printed.[4]] In the Bodleian library, among the theological works of John Lawern, monk of Worceſter, and ſtudent in theology at Oxford about the year 1448, written with his own hand, a fragment of an Engliſh poem occurs, which begins thus:

Joly chepert of Aſkeldowne.[5]

[but is wholly unconnected, except in name, with Erceldoun.] In the Britiſh Muſeum a MS. Engliſh poem occurs, with this French title prefixed: *La Counteſſe de Dunbar, demanda a Thomas Eſſedoune quant la guere dEſcoce prendret fyn.*[6] This was probably our pro-

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[1] An ancient French hiſtory or chronicle of England never printed, which Leland ſays was tranſlated out of French rhyme into French proſe. *Coll.* vol. i. p. ii. pag. 59, edit. 1770. It was probably written or reduced by Thomas Gray into proſe. *Londinens. Antiquitat. Cant.* lib. i. p. 38. Others affirm it to have been the work of John Gray, an eminent churchman, about the year 1212. It begins, in the uſual form, with the creation of the world, paſſes on to Brutus, and cloſes with Edward III.

[2] One Gilbert Baneſtre was a poet and muſician. The *Propheſies* of *Baniſter of England* are not uncommon among MSS. In the *Scotch Propheſies*, printed at Edinburgh, [1603,] Banaſter is mentioned as the author of ſome of them. "As Berlington's books and Baneſter tell us," p. 2. Again, "Beid hath brieved in his book and Baneſter alſo," p. 18. He ſeems to be confounded with William Baniſter, a writer of the reign of Edward III. Berlington is probably John Bridlington, an Auguſtine canon of Bridlington, who wrote three books of *Carmina Vaticinalia*, in which he pretends to foretell many accidents that ſhould happen to England. MSS. Digb. Bibl. Bodl. 89 and 186. There are alſo *Verſus Vaticinales* under his name, MSS. Bodl. NE. E. ii. 17, f. 21. He died, aged ſixty, in 1379. He was canoniſed. There are many other *Prophetiæ*, which ſeem to have been faſhionable at this time, bound up with thoſe of the canon of Bridlington in MSS. Digb. 186.

[3] [MSS. Publ. Lib. Camb. Ff. v. 48 (printed by Halliwell in 1845); MS. Cotton. Vitell. E, x; MS. Lanſd. 762; MS. Sloane 2578. Of theſe the firſt is damaged, the ſecond is a copy of no great importance or antiquity, and the third and fourth are imperfect. A later tranſcript is in MS. Rawl. c. 258.]

[4] [Laing's *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of Scotland*, 1822.]

[5] MSS. Bodl. 692, fol.

["Joly chepte of Aſchell downe
Can more on love than al the town."—*Price.*

Ritſon could, of courſe, make out no more, becauſe there is no more to make out, the leaf being torn off here."—*Madden.*]

[6] MSS. Harl. 2253, f. 127. It begins thus:

"When man as mad a kingge of a capped man
When mon is lever other monnes thynge then ys owen."

pheſier Thomas of Erceldown. One of his predictions is mentioned in a Scotiſh poem entitled [*ane new zeir gift*] written in the year 1562 by Alexander Scot.[1] One Thomas [of] Leirmouth, or [the] Rhymer, was alſo a prophetic bard, and lived at Erſlingtoun, ſometimes perhaps pronounced Erſeldoun. This is therefore probably the ſame perſon. One who perſonates him, ſays:

> In Erſlingtoun I dwell at hame,
> Thomas Rymer men call me.

He has left vaticinal rhymes, in which he predicted the union of Scotland with England, about the year 1279.[2] Fordun mentions ſeveral of his prophecies concerning the future ſtate of Scotland.[3]

Robert de Brunne [perhaps] tranſlated into Engliſh rhymes the treatiſe of Cardinal Bonaventura, his cotemporary,[4] *De cœna et paſſione domini et pœnis S. Mariæ Virginis*, with the following title: *Medytaciuns of the Soper of our Lorde Jheſu, and alſo of hys Paſſyun, and eke of the Peynes of hys ſwete Modyr mayden Marye, the whiche made yn Latyn Bonaventure Cardynall.*[5] But I forbear to give further extracts from this writer, who appears to have poſſeſſed much more induſtry than genius,[6] and cannot at preſent be read with much

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[1] [Alex. Scot's *Poems*, ed. 1821, p. 5.]

[2] See *Scotch Prophecies*, [ed. 1680], pp. 11, 13, 18, 19, 36, viz. *The Propheſy of Thomas Rymer*. Pr. "Stille on my wayes as I went."

[3] Lib. x. cap. 43, 44. I think he is alſo mentioned by Spottiſwood. See Dempſt. xi. 810.

[4] He died 1272. Many of Bonaventure's tracts were at this time tranſlated into Engliſh. We have, "The Treatis that is kallid *Prickynge of Love*, made bi a Frere menour Bonaventure, that was Cardinall of the courte of Rome." Harl. MS. 2254, 1. f. 1. This book belonged to Dame Alys Braintwat "the worchypfull prioras of Dartforde." This is not an uncommon MS. [Bonaventura] flouriſhed in Italy, about the year 1270. The enormous magnificence of his funeral deſerves notice more than any anecdote of his life; as it paints the high devotion of the times, and the attention formerly paid to theological literature. There were preſent Pope Gregory X., the emperor of Greece by ſeveral Greek noblemen his proxies, Baldwin II., the Latin eaſtern emperor, James, king of Arragon, the patriarchs of Conſtantinople and Antioch, all the cardinals, five hundred biſhops and archbiſhops, ſixty abbots, more than a thouſand prelates and prieſts of lower rank, the ambaſſadors of many kings and potentates, the deputies of the Tartars and other nations, and an innumerable concourſe of people of all orders and degrees. The ſepulchral ceremonies were celebrated with the moſt conſummate pomp, and the funeral oration was pronounced by a future pope. Miræi *Auctar. Script. Eccles.* p. 72, edit. Fabric.

[5] MSS. Harl. 1701, f. 84. The firſt line is,

> "Almighti god in trinite."

[In the two beſt MSS. known to us of Manning's complete *Handlyng ſynne*, the *Medytaciuns* follow it, after a break. Mr. Bowes, of Streatham caſtle, Durham, has a later MS. of the *Handlyng ſynne*, not yet examined.—*F.* Caxton printed a compilation from the Latin of Bonaventura under the title of *Speculum vite Criſti*. See Blades, ii. 194-7.]

[6] [Sir F. Madden and Mr. Furnivall are of opinion that Warton has done ſcanty juſtice to De Brunne. They conſider him the beſt poet before Chaucer, anterior to 1330, and very ſuperior to the later Hampole and Naſſyngton, though not to the writer of *The Pearl* in the Early Engliſh Alliterative Poems, edited by Mr. R. Morris for the Early Engliſh Text Society in 1864, or the compoſer of the allitera-

pleaſure. Yet it ſhould be remembered, that even ſuch a writer as Robert de Brunne, uncouth and unpleaſing as he naturally ſeems, and [partly] employed in turning the theology of his age into rhyme, contributed to form a ſtyle, to teach expreſſion, and to poliſh his native tongue. In the infancy of language and compoſition, nothing is wanted but writers: at that period even the moſt artleſs have their uſe.

Robert [Groſſeteſte,] biſhop of Lincoln,[1] who died in 1253, is ſaid in ſome verſes of Robert de Brunne, quoted above, to have been fond of the metre and muſic of the minſtrels. He was moſt attached to the French minſtrels, in whoſe language he [is ſaid to have] left a poem of ſome length. This was tranſlated into Engliſh rhyme probably about the reign of Edward [II. or III.] It is called by Leland *Chateau d'Amour*.[2] But in one of the Bodleian MSS. of this book we have the following title: *Romance par Meſtre Robert Groſſeteſte*.[3] In another it is called, *Ce eſt la vie de D. Jhũ de ſa*

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tive *Morte Arthure* in the Thornton MS., aſſuming that that ſpirited poem was written ſome ſeventy or eighty years before the date of the MS. it is in (1440 A.D.).]

[1] See Diſs. ii.—The author and tranſlator are often thus confounded in manuſcripts. To an old Engliſh religious poem on the holy Virgin, we find the following title: *Incipit quidam cantus quem compoſuit frater Thomas de Hales de ordine fratrum minorum*, &c. MSS. Coll. Jes. Oxon. [29,] *ſupr. citat.* [It is hard to tell whether this de Hales is the ſame as Tanner aſſigns (by miſtake) to the fourteenth century, or a different perſon.] But this is the title of our friar's original, a Latin hymn de B. Maria Virgine, improperly adopted in the tranſlation. Thomas de Hales was a Franciſcan friar, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and flouriſhed about the year 1340. We ſhall ſee other proofs of this.

[2] *Script. Brit.* p. 285. [The Engliſh verſion was printed for the Philological Society.]

[3] MSS. Bodl. NE. D. 69. [It has been ſhown in a former note, that Groſſeteſte's claim to the authorſhip of the French *Manuel Peches*—at leaſt to the work at preſent known by that name—cannot be made good]. The following extract from the *Chateau d'Amour*, aſcribed to him by Leland and others, [ſhows that the poem was alſo aſcribed to him in early times; for in it he is called "Saint Robert de Nichole" (the French name for Lincoln), juſt as he is called "Seynt Robert," whoſe ſurname is "Groſteſt of Lynkolne," by Robert of Brunne in the *Handlyng Synne*, l. 4743-5, p. 64 above. Price, ſeemingly ignorant of *Nichole* meaning Lincoln, thought that St. Robert de Nichole could not be Groſſeteſte.]

"Ici comence un eſcrit,
Ke Seint Robert de Nichole fiſt.
Romanze de romanze eſt apelé,
Tel num a dreit li eſt aſſigné;
Kar de ceo livre la materie,
Eſt eſtret de haut cleregie,
E pur ceo ke il paſco (ſurpaſſe) altre romanz
Apelé eſt romanz de romanz.
Les chapitres ben conuz ſerunt
Par les titres ke ſiverunt
Les titles ne voil pas rimer
Kar leur matiere ne volt ſuffrer.
Primis ſera le prologe mis
E puz les titles tuz aſſis."
MSS. Reg. 20 B. xiv.

[It is juſt poſſible that both the preſent poem and the *Manuel Peche* are founded on ſimilar works of Groſſeteſte written in the Latin language; and that the tran-

humanite fet a ordine de Saint Robert Groſſeteſte ke fut eveque de Nichole;[1] and in this copy a very curious apology to the clergy is prefixed to the poem for the language in which it is written.[2] "Et quamvis lingua romana [romance] coram clericis ſaporem ſuavitatis non habeat, tamen pro laicis qui minus intelligunt opuſculum illud aptum eſt."[3] This piece profeſſes to treat of the creation, the redemption, the day of judgment, the joys of heaven, and the torments of hell: but the whole is a religious allegory, and under the ideas of chivalry the fundamental articles of Chriſtian belief are repreſented. It has the air of a ſyſtem of divinity written by a troubadour. The poet, in deſcribing the advent of Chriſt, ſuppoſes that he entered into a magnificent caſtle, which is the body of the immaculate virgin. The ſtructure of this caſtle is conceived with ſome imagination, and drawn with the pencil of romance. The poem begins with theſe lines:

Ki penſe ben, ben peut dire:
Sanz penſer ne poet ſuffiſe:
De nul bon oure commencer
Deu nos dont de li penſer
De ki par ki, en ki, ſont
Tos les biens ki font en el mond.

But I haſten to the tranſlation, which is more immediately connected with our preſent ſubject, and has this title:

Her bygenet a tretys that ys yclept *Caſtel of Love*
that biſcop Groſtey3t made ywis for lewde mennes by-hove.[4]

Then follows the prologue or introduction, [from which an extract may ſuffice, as the work has been printed three times:]

ſcribers, either from ignorance, or a deſire of giving a fictitious value to their own labours, have inſcribed his name upon the copies. His *Templum Domini*, a copious ſyſtem of myſtical divinity, abounding in pious raptures and ſcholaſtic ſubtleties, may have afforded the materials for the former poem; and his treatiſe, *De ſeptem vitiis et remediis*—if we except the *Contes devots*, which Wadington may have gleaned from another ſource—poſſibly ſupplied the doctrines of the latter. The title adopted by Leland and the Engliſh tranſlator has been taken from the following paſſage of the French work:

"En un chaſtel bel e grant,
Bien fourme et avenant,
Ceo eſt le chaſtel d'amour,
E de ſolaz e de ſocour."

Harl. MSS. No. 1121.—*Price.*]

[1] F 16, Laud. The word *Nicole* is perfectly French for *Lincoln*. See likewiſe MSS. Bodl. E. 4, 14. [A parliament was held at Nicole in 1300-1. Riley's *Chronicles of Old London*, p. 245, ed. 1863.—*F.*]

[2] In the hand-writing of the poem itſelf, which is very ancient.

[3] f. 1. So alſo in MSS. C. C. C. Oxon. 232. In MSS. Harl. 1121, 5. "[Ici demouſtre] Roberd Groſſeteſte eveſque de Nichole un tretis en Franceis, del commencement du monde," &c. f. 156. Cod. membran.

[4] Bibl. Bodl. MS. Vernon, f. 292. This tranſlation [has been printed from a later copy in a MS. of the 14th century, differing greatly from the Vernon in its language and dialect, in private hands, by Mr. Halliwell, 1849, 4to. The Vernon MSS. and Add. MS. Brit. Mus. 22283, were edited for the Philological Society in 1864 by Mr. Weymouth.]

On Engliſch[1] I chul mi reſun ſchowen
For him that con not i-knowen
Nouther French ne Latyn:
On Engliſch I chulle tullen him
Wherfore the world was i-wrouht,
And aftur how he was bi-tauht,
Adam vre fader to ben his,
With al the merthe of paradys,
To wonen and welden to ſuch ende
Til that he ſcholde to heuene wende;
And hou ſone he hit for-les
And ſeththen hou hit for-bouht wes
Thorw the hei3e kynges ſone,
That here on eorthe wolde come,
For his ſuſtren that were to-boren,
And for a priſon that was forloren;
And hou he made as 3e ſchul heeren
That heo i-cuſte and ſauht weren;
And to w3uche a Caſtel he alihte, &c.

The moſt poetical paſſages of this poem [are thoſe which deſcribe the caſtle. Of theſe we quote a few lines:]

This Caſtel is ſiker and feir abouten,[2]
And is al depeynted withouten
With threo heowes that wel beth ſene,[3]
So is the foundement al grene,
That to the roche faſte lith.
Wel is that ther murthe i-ſihth,
For the greneſchipe laſteth euere,
And his heuh ne leoſeth neuere,
Seththen abouten that other heu3
So is inde and eke bleu.[4]
That the midel heu3 we clepeth ariht,
And ſchyneth ſo feire and ſo bri3t.

The thridde heu3 an ouemaſt
Ouer-wri3eth al and ſo is i-caſt
That withinnen and withouten
The caſtel lihteth al abouten,
And is raddore then euere eny roſe ſchal
That thuncheth as hit barnde[5] al.[6]
Withinne the Caſtel is whit ſchinynge
So[7] the ſnow3 that is ſneuwynge,
And caſteth that li3t ſo wyde
After-long the tour and be-ſyde,
That never cometh ther wo ne wou3,
Ac ſwetneſſe ther is euer i-nou3.

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[1] [*Caſtel off Loue*, edit. Weymouth, p. 3.]
[2] [Edit. Weymouth, p. 31.]
[3] ["Li chaſteaus eſt bel e bon
De hors depeint enuiron,
De iii. colurs diuerſement."—*Fr. Orig.*]
[4] "Si reſte ynde ſi blui."—*Fr. Orig.*
[5] burned, on fire.
[6] "Plus eſt vermaille qui neſt roſe
E piert vne ardante choſe."—*Fr. Orig.*
[7] as.

Amidde[1] the hei3e tour is ſpringynge
A welle that euere is eornynge[2]
With foure ſtremes that ſtriketh wel,
And erneth vppon the grauel,
And fulleth the diches a-boute the wal;
Muche bliſſe ther is ouer-al,
Ne dar he ſeche non other leche
That mai riht of this water cleche.

In[3] thulke derworth feire tour
Ther ſtont a trone with muche honour,
Of whit iuori, and feirore of liht
Then the ſomeres day whon hee is briht,
With cumpas i-throwen, and with gin al i-do.
Seuene ſteppes ther beoth ther-to, &c.
The[4] foure ſmale toures abouten,
That [witeth] the hei3e tour with-outen,
Foure hed thewes that aboute hire i-ſeoth,
Foure vertues cardinals [that] beoth, &c.
And[5] whyche beoth the threo bayles 3et,
That with the carnels beth ſo wel i-ſet,
And i-caſt with cumpas and walled abouten,
That witeth the hei3e tour with-outen?
Bote the inemaſte bayle, I wot,
Bi-tokeneth hire holy maidenhod, &c.
The[6] middel bayle, that wite 3e,
Bi-tokeneth hire holy chaſtite
And ſeththen the [outemaſte] bayle
Bi-tokeneth hire holy ſpoſayle, &c.
The ſeue [berbicans] abouten,
That with gret gin beon i-wrou3t withouten,
And witeth this Caſtel ſo wel,
With arwe and with qwarel,[7]
That beth the ſeuen vertues with winne
To ouercome the ſeuen dedly ſinne, &c.[8]

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[1] "In mi la tur plus hauteine
Eſt ſurdant une funtayne
Dunt iſſent quater ruiſſell.
Ki bruinet par le gravel," &c.—*Fr. Orig.*

[2] running.

[3] "En cele bel tur a bone
A de yvoire un trone
Ke pluſa eiſſi blanchor
Ci en mi eſte la beau jur
Par engin eſt compaſſez," &c.—*Fr. Orig.*

[4] [Edit. Weymouth, p. 37.]

[5] [*Ibid.* p. 38.]
"Les treis bailles du chaſtel
Ki ſunt overt au kernel
Qui a compas ſunt en virun
E defendent le dungun."—*Fr. Orig.*

[6] [*Ibid.*]

[7] "Les barbicanes ſeet
Kis hors de bailles ſunt fait,
Ki bien gardent le chaſtel,
E de ſeete e de quarrel."—*Fr. Orig.*

[8] [*Ibid.* 38-9.] Afterwards the fountain is explained to be God's grace: Charity is conſtable of the caſtle, &c. &c.

It was undoubtedly a great impediment to the cultivation and progreſſive improvement of the Engliſh language at theſe early periods, that the beſt authors choſe to write in French. Many of Robert [Groſſeteſte's] pieces are indeed in Latin; yet where the ſubject was popular, and not immediately addreſſed to learned readers, he adopted the Romance or French language, in preference to his native Engliſh. Of this, as we have already ſeen, his *Chateau d'Amour* is ſufficient proof; and his example and authority muſt have had conſiderable influence in encouraging the practice. Peter Langtoft not only compiled the large chronicle of England, above recited, in French, but even tranſlated Herbert Boſcam's Latin *Life of Thomas Becket* into French rhymes.[1] John [de] Hoveden, a native of London, doctor of divinity, and chaplain to Queen Eleanor, mother of Edward I. wrote in French rhymes a book entitled, *Roſarium de Nativitate, Paſſione, Aſcenſione, Jheſu Chriſti.*[2] Various other proofs have before occurred. [There is in] the Lambeth library [an imperfect] poem in [Anglo-] Norman verſe on the ſubject of King Dermod's expulſion from Ireland and the recovery of his kingdom.[3] I could mention many others. Anonymous French pieces, both in proſe and verſe, and written about this time, are innumerable in our manuſcript repoſitories.[4] Yet this faſhion proceeded rather from neceſſity and

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[1] Pits, p. 890. Append. He with great probability ſuppoſes him to have been an Engliſhman.

[2] MSS. Bibl. C. C. C. Cant. G. 16. where it is alſo called *The Nightingale.* Pr. "Alme feſſe lit de pereſſe."

In this MS. the whole title is this: *Le Roſſignol, ou la penſee Jehan de Hovedene clerc la roine d'Engleterre mere le roi Edward, de la naiſſance et de la mort et du relievement et de laſcenſion Jeſu Criſt et de laſſumption notre dame.* This MS. was written in the 14th century.

Our author, John [de] Hovenden, was alſo ſkilled in ſacred muſic, and a great writer of Latin hymns. He died, and was buried, at Hoveden, 1275. Pits, p. 356, Bale, v. 79.

There is an old French metrical life of Tobiah, which the author, moſt probably an Engliſhman, ſays he undertook at the requeſt of William, Prior of Kenilworth in Warwickſhire. MSS. Jes. Coll. Oxon. 85, *ſupr. citat.*

"Le prior Gwilleyme me prie
De l'eglyſe ſeynte Marie
De Kenelworth an Ardenne,
Ki porte le plus haute peyne
De charite, ke nul eglyſe
Del reaume a devyſe
Ke jeo liz en romaunz le vie
De kelui ki ont nun Tobie," &c.

[3] [MS. Lamb. 96. See Todd's *Cat.* 1812, p. 94. The poem, which wants beginning and end, has been printed by Michel, 1837, 12mo. An incorrect analyſis of it, made by Sir George Carew, to whom it once belonged, is in Harris's *Hibernica*, 1757.] It was probably written about 1190. See Ware, p. 56, and compare Walpole's *Anecd. Paint.* i. 28, Notes. [The original Latin of this has been already noticed as a production of the reign of Edward I., to whoſe queen John de Hoveden was chaplain. In the Obſervations on the *Lai de Lauſtic*, the error of identifying an Engliſh tranſlation of de Hoveden's tract with the lay is pointed out.]

[4] Among the learned Engliſhmen who now wrote in French, Tyrwhitt mentions Helis de Guinceſtre, or Wincheſter, a tranſlator of Cato into French. (See vol. ii.

a principle of convenience, than from affectation. The vernacular Engliſh, as I have before remarked, was rough and unpoliſhed: and although theſe writers poſſeſſed but few ideas of taſte and elegance, they embraced a foreign tongue almoſt equally familiar, and in which they could convey their ſentiments with greater eaſe, grace, and propriety. It ſhould alſo be conſidered, that our moſt eminent ſcholars received a part of their education at the univerſity of Paris. Another and a very material circumſtance concurred to countenance this faſhionable practice of compoſing in French. It procured them readers of rank and diſtinction. The Engliſh court, for more than two hundred years after the Conqueſt, was totally French: and our kings, either from birth, kindred, or marriage, and from a perpetual intercourſe, ſeem to have been more cloſely connected with France than with England.[1] It was however fortunate that theſe French pieces were written, as ſome of them met with their tranſlators who, perhaps, unable to aſpire to the praiſe of original writers, at leaſt by this means contributed to adorn their native tongue: and who very

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ſect. xxvii.) And Hue de Roteland [or rather, according to Sir F. Madden, Walter de Bibleſworth] author of the Romance, in French verſe, called *Ipomidon*. MSS. Cott. Veſp. A. vii. [Hugh] is ſuppoſed to have written a French Dialogue in metre, MSS. Bodl. 3904. *La pleinte par entre mis Sire Henry de Lacy Counte de Nichole, et Sire Wauter de Bybleſworth pur la croiſerie en la terre ſeinte.* And a French romantic poem on a knight called *Capanee*, perhaps Statius's Capaneus, MSS. Cott. Veſp. A vii. *ut ſupr.* It begins:

"Que bons countes viel entendre."

I have before hinted that it was ſometimes cuſtomary to intermix Latin with French. As thus, MSS. Harl. 2253, f. 137, b.:

"Dieu roy de Mageſte,
Ob perſonas trinas,
Noſtre roy eſa meyne
Ne perire ſinas," &c.

Again, ibid. f. 76, where a lover, an Engliſhman, addreſſes his miſtreſs who was of Paris:

"*Dum ludis floribus velut lacinia*,
Le dieu d'amour moi tient en tiel *Anguſtia*," &c.

Sometimes their poetry was half French and half Engliſh. As in a ſong to the holy virgin on our Saviour's paſſion. *Ibid.* f. 83.

"Mayden moder milde, oyez cel oreyſoun,
From ſhome thou me ſhilde, e de ly mal feloun:
For love of thine childe me menez de treſoun,
Ich wes wod and wilde, ore ſu en priſoun," &c.

In the ſame MS. I find a French poem probably written by an Engliſhman, and in the year 1300, containing the adventures of Gilote and Johanne, two ladies of gallantry, in various parts of England and Ireland; particularly at Wincheſter and Pontefract, f. 66, b. The curious reader is alſo referred to a French poem, in which the poet ſuppoſes that a minſtrel, *jugelour*, travelling from London, clothed in a rich tabard, met the king and his retinue. The king aſks him many queſtions, particularly his lord's name and the price of his horſe. The minſtrel evades all the king's queſtions by impertinent anſwers; and at laſt preſumes to give his majeſty advice. *Ibid.* f. 107, b.

[1] [It is very certain that many French poems were written during this period by Engliſhmen; but it is probable that ſeveral were alſo compoſed by Normans.—*Douce.*]

probably would not have written at all, had not original writers, I mean their cotemporaries who wrote in French, furniſhed them with models and materials.

Hearne, to whoſe diligence even the poetical antiquarian is much obliged, but whoſe conjectures are generally wrong, imagines that the old Engliſh metrical romance, called *Rychard cuer de Lyon*, was written by Robert de Brunne. It is at leaſt probable, that the leiſure of monaſtic life produced many rhymers. From proofs here given we may fairly conclude, that the monks often wrote for the minſtrels: and although our Gilbertine brother of Brunne choſe to relate true ſtories in plain language, yet it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that many of our ancient tales in verſe containing fictitious adventures were written, although not invented, in the religious houſes. The romantic hiſtory of *Guy Earl of Warwick* is expreſſly ſaid, on good authority, to have been written by Walter of Exeter, a Franciſcan friar of Carocus in Cornwall, about the year 1292.[1] The libraries of the monaſteries were full of romances. *Bevis of Southampton*, in French, was in the library of the abbey of Leiceſter.[2] In that of the abbey of Glaſtonbury, we find *Liber de Excidio Trojæ*, *Geſta Ricardi Regis*, and *Geſta Alexandri Regis*, in the year 1247.[3] Theſe were ſome of the moſt favourite ſubjects of romance, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter. In a catalogue of the library of the abbey of Peterborough are recited *Amys and Amelon*,[4] *Sir Triſtram*, *Guy de*

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[1] Carew's *Surv. Cornw.* p. 59, edit. *ut ſupr.* I ſuppoſe Carew means the metrical Romance of *Guy*. But Bale ſays that Walterw rote *Vita Guidonis*, which ſeems to imply a proſe hiſtory. x. 78. [Gerard of Cornwall, a very obſcure writer, in the eleventh chapter of his loſt work, *De Geſtis regum Weſt-Saxonium*, introduced] Guy's hiſtory. Hearne has printed an *Hiſtoria Guidonis de Warwik: Append. ad Annal. Dunſtaple*, num. xi. It was extracted from Girald. Cambrens. *Hiſt. Reg. Weſt-Sax.*, capit. xi. by Girardus Cornubienſis. Lydgate's *Life of Guy*, never printed, is tranſlated from this Girardus, as Lydgate himſelf informs us at the end. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Laud. D 31, f. 64, Tit. *Here gynneth the liff of Guy of Warwyk:*

"Out of the Latyn made by the Chronycler
Called of old Girard Cornubyence:
Which wrote the dedis, with grete diligence,
Of them that were in Weſtſex crowned kynges," &c.

See Wharton, *Angl. Sacr.* i. p. 89.

[2] See *Regiſtrum Librorum omnium et Jocalium in monaſterio S. Mariæ de Pratis prope Leyceſtriam.* f. 132, b. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Laud. I 75. This catalogue was written by Will. Charite, one of the monks, A.D. 1517, f. 139.

[3] Hearne's Joann. Glaſton. *Catal. Bibl. Glaſton.* p. 435. One of the books of Troy is called *bonus et magnus*. There is alſo *Liber de Captione Antiochiæ Gallice. legibilis*, ibid.

[4] The ſame Romance is in MSS. Harl.

[The Harl. MS. is a bad copy of about one half of the poem. This Romance was tranſlated into German verſe by Conrad of Würzburg, who flouriſhed about the year 1300. He choſe to name the heroes Engelhard and Engeldrud.—*Weber.* See Du Cang. *Gloſſ. Lat.* i. *Ind. Auctor*, p. 193. There is an old French Morality on this ſubject—"*Comment Amille tue ſes deux enfans pour guerir Amis ſon compagnon*," &c. Beauchamps, *Rech. Theatr. Fr.* p. 109. There is a French metrical romance, *Hiſtoire d'Amys et Amilion*, MSS. Reg. 12, C xii. 9, and at Bennet College, Num. L. 1. It begins,

"Ki veut oir chaunçoun damur."

Burgoyne, and *Geſta Oſuelis* [*Otuelis*],[1] all in French: together with *Merlin's Prophecies*, *Turpin's Charlemagne*, and the *Deſtruction of Troy*.[2] Among the books given to Wincheſter college by the founder William of Wykeham, a prelate of high rank, about the year 1387, we have *Chronicon Trojæ*.[3] In the library of Windſor college, in the reign of Henry VIII., were diſcovered, in the midſt of miſſals, pſalters and homilies, *Duo libri Gallici de Romances, de quibus unus liber de Roſe, et alius difficilis materiæ*.[4] This is the language of the king's commiſſioners, who ſearched the archives of the college: the firſt of theſe two French romances is perhaps [Guillaume de Lorris]'s *Roman de la Roſe*. A friar, in *Pierce Plowman*, is ſaid to be much better acquainted with the *Rimes of Robin Hood* and *Randal Erle of Cheſter* than with his Pater-noſter.[5] The monks, who very naturally ſought all opportunities of amuſement in their retired and confined ſituations, were fond of admitting the minſtrels to their feſtivals, and were hence familiariſed to romantic ſtories. Seventy ſhillings were expended on minſtrels, who accompanied their ſongs with the harp, at the feaſt of the inſtallation of Ralph abbot of Saint Auguſtin's at Canterbury, in the year 1309. At this magnificent ſolemnity, ſix thouſand gueſts were preſent in and about the hall of the abbey.[6] It was not deemed an occurrence unworthy to be recorded, that when Adam de Orleton, biſhop of Wincheſter, viſited his cathedral priory of Saint Swithin in that city, a minſtrel named Herbert was introduced, who ſang the *Song*

[In the Pipe-roll, 34 and 36 Hen. III. is mentioned, "liber magnus, *Gallico ydiomiate* ſcriptus, in quo continentur Geſta Antiochie et regum et etiam aliorum." —Mr. Wright's inform. Sir F. Madden conjectures this to have been a verſion of the *Antiocheis* of Joſeph of Exeter. Mr. Wright alſo refers us to a very curious liſt of romances given by Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, to the abbey of Bardeſley, printed from the original deed in M. Michel's *Triſtan*.

[1] There is a romance called *Otuel*, MSS. Bibl. Adv. Edinb. W 4, l. xxviii. I think he is mentioned in Charlemagne's ſtory. He is converted to Chriſtianity, and marries Charlemagne's daughter. [Analyſed by Mr. Ellis: vol. ii. p. 324. It has been printed entire for the Abbotsford Club, with the romance of *Rowland and Vernagu*, 1836.

But as to the ſignification of the word *romance* in early documents, it is extremely difficult, after all, to come to any concluſion. In a Cloſe-roll of 6 John (1205), *Romancium de hiſtoria Angliæ* evidently means merely a narrative of Engliſh hiſtory.]

[2] Gunton's *Peterb.* p. 108, *ſeq.* I will give ſome of the titles as they ſtand in the catalogue. *Dares Phrygius de Excidio Trojæ*, bis, p. 180. *Prophetiæ Merlini verſifice*, p. 182. *Geſta Caroli ſecundùm Turpinum*, p. 187. *Geſta Æneæ poſt deſtructionem Trojæ*, p. 198. *Bellum contra Runcivallum*, p. 202. There are alſo the two following articles, viz., *Certamen inter regem Johannem et Barones, verſifice*, per H. de Davench, p. 188. This I have never ſeen, nor know anything of the author. *Verſus de ludo ſcaccorum*, p. 195.

[3] Ex archivis Coll. Wint.

[4] Dugd. *Mon.* iii. *Eccles. Collegiat.* p. 80.

[5] Fol. xxvi. b, edit. 1550. [See the *Erles of Cheſtre* in the *Percy Folio*, Ballads and Romances.]

[6] *Dec. Script.* p. 2011.

of Colbrond, a Daniſh giant, and the tale of *Queen Emma delivered from the ploughſhares*, in the hall of the prior Alexander de Herriard, in the year 1338. I will give this very curious article, as it appears in an ancient regiſter of the priory: "Et cantabat Joculator quidam nomine Herebertus canticum Colbrondi, necnon Geſtum Emme regine a judicio ignis liberate, in aula prioris."[1] In an annual accompt-roll of the Auguſtine priory of Biceſter in Oxfordſhire, for the year 1431, the following entries relating to this ſubject occur, which I chooſe to exhibit in the words of the original: "Dona Prioris. Et in datis cuidam citharizatori in die ſancti Jeronimi, viii. d. Et in datis alteri citharizatori in Feſto Apoſtolorum Simonis et Jude cognomine Hendy, xii. d. Et in datis cuidam minſtrallo domini le Talbot infra natale domini, xii. d. Et in datis miniſtrallis domini le Straunge in die Epiphanie, xx. d. Et in datis duobus miniſtrallis domini Lovell in craſtino S. Marci evangeliſte, xvi. d. Et in datis miniſtrallis ducis Gloceſtrie in Feſto nativitatis beate Marie, iii. s. iv. d." I muſt add, as it likewiſe paints the manners of the monks, "Et in datis cuidam Urſario, iiii. d."[2] In the Prior's accounts of the Auguſtine canons of Maxtoke in Warwickſhire, of various years in the reign of Henry VI., one of the ſtyles or general heads is *De Joculatoribus et Mimis*. I will without apology produce ſome of the particular articles, not diſtinguiſhing between *Mimi*, *Joculatores*, *Jocatores*, *Luſores*, and *Cithariſtæ*, who all ſeem alternately, and at different times, to have exerciſed the ſame arts of popular entertainment: "Joculatori in ſeptimana S. Michaelis, iv. d. Cithariſte tempore natalis domini et aliis jocatoribus, iv. d. Mimis de Solihull, vi. d. Mimis de Coventry, xx. d. Mimo domini Ferrers, vi. d. Luſoribus de Eton, viii. d. Luſoribus de Coventry, viii. d. Luſoribus de Daventry, xii. d. Mimis de Coventry, xii. d. Mimis domini de Aſteley, xii. d. Item iiii. mimis domini de Warewyck, x. d. Mimo ceco, ii. d. Sex mimis domini de Clynton. Duobus Mimis de Rugeby, x. d. Cuidam cithariſte, vi. d. Mimis domini de Aſteley, xx. d. Cuidam cithariſte, vi. d. Citha-

[1] *Regiſtr. Priorat. S. Swithini Winton.* MSS. Archiv. de Wolveſey Wint. Theſe were local ſtories. Guy fought and conquered Colbrond, a Daniſh champion, juſt without the northern walls of the city of Wincheſter, in a meadow to this day called Danemarch: and Colbrond's battle-axe was kept in the treaſury of St. Swithin's priory till the Diſſolution. Th. Rudb. apud Wharton, *Angl. Sacr.* i. 211. This hiſtory remained in rude painting againſt the walls of the north tranſept of the cathedral till within my memory. Queen Emma was a patroneſs of this church, in which ſhe underwent the trial of walking blindfold over nine red-hot ploughſhares. Colbrond is mentioned in the *Squyr of Lowe Degre*. [Hazlitt's *Pop. Poetry*, ii. 26:]

"Or els ſo doughty of my hande
As was the gyaunte ſyr Colbrande."

[See Turnbull's edit. of *Guy of Warwick*, 1840, Introd.]

[2] *Compotus dñi Ricardi Parentyn Prioris, et fratris Ric. Albon canonici, burſarii ibidem, de omnibus bonis per eoſdem receptis et liberatis a craſtino Michaelis anno Henrici Sexti poſt Conqueſtum octavo uſque in idem craſtinum anno R. Henrici prædicti nono.* In Theſaurar. Coll. SS. Trin. Oxon. Biſhop Kennet has printed a Computus of the ſame monaſtery under the ſame reign, in which three or four entries of the ſame ſort occur. *Paroch. Antiq.* p. 578.

riſte de Coventry, vi. d. Duobus citharistis de Coventry, viii. d. Mimis de Rugeby, viii. d. Mimis domini de Buckeridge, xx. d. Mimis domini de Stafford, ii. s. Luſoribus de Coleſhille, viii. d."[1] Here we may obſerve, that the minſtrels of the nobility, in whoſe families they were conſtantly retained, travelled about the county to the neighbouring monaſteries; and that they generally received better gratuities for theſe occaſional performances than the others. Solihull, Rugby, Coleſhill, Eton or Nun-Eton, and Coventry, are all towns ſituated at no great diſtance from the priory.[2] Nor muſt I omit that two minſtrels from Coventry made part of the feſtivity at the conſecration of John, prior of this convent, in the year 1432, viz. "*Dat. duobus mimis de Coventry in die conſecrationis prioris*, xii. d."[3] Nor is it improbable, that ſome of our great monaſteries kept minſtrels of their own in regular pay. So early as the year 1180, in the reign of Henry II., *Jeffrey the harper* received a corrody or

[1] *Ex orig. penes me.*

[2] In the ancient annual rolls of accompt of Wincheſter College, there are many articles of this ſort. The few following, extracted from a great number, may ſerve as a ſpecimen. They are chiefly in the reign of Edward IV. viz. in the year 1481: "Et in ſol. miniſtrallis dom. Regis venientibus ad collegium xv. die Aprilis, cum 12*d.* ſolut. miniſtralis dom. Epiſcopi Wynton. venientibus ad collegium primo die junii, iiii *s.* iiii *d.*—Et in dat. miniſtralis dom. Arundell ven. ad Coll. cum viii *d.* dat. miniſtrallis dom. de Lawarr, ii *s.* iii *d.*"—In the year 1483: "Sol. miniſtrallis dom. Regis ven. ad Coll. iii *s.* iiii *d.*"—In the year 1472: "Et in dat. miniſtrallis dom. Regis cum viii *d.* dat. duobus Berewardis ducis Clarentie, xx *d.* Et in dat. Johanni *Stulto* quondam dom. de Warewyco, cum iiii *d.* dat. Thome Nevyle taborario.—Et in datis duobus miniſtrallis ducis Gloceſtrie, cum iiii *d.* dat. uni miniſtrallo ducis de Northumberlond, viii *d.* Et in datis duobus citharatoribus ad vices venient. ad collegium viii *d.*"—In the year 1479: "Et in datis ſatrapis Wynton venientibus ad coll. feſto Epiphanie, cum xii *d.* dat. miniſtrallis dom. epiſcopi venient. ad coll. infra octavas epiphanie, iii *s.*"—In the year 1477: "Et in dat. miniſtrallis dom. Principis venient. ad coll. feſto Aſcenſionis Domini, cum xx *d.* dat miniſtrallis dom. Regis, *vs.*"—In the year 1464: "Et in dat. miniſtrallis comitis Kancie venient. ad Coll. in menſe julii, iiii *s.* iiii *d.*"—In the year 1467: "Et in datis quatuor mimis dom. de Arundell venient. ad Coll. xiii. die Febr. ex curialitate dom. Cuſtodis, ii *s.*"—In the year 1466: "Et in dat. ſatrapis, [*ut ſupr.*] cum ii *s.* dat. iiii. interludentibus et J. Meke citharistæ eodem ffeſto, iiii *s.*"—In the year 1484: "Et in dat. uni miniſtrallo dom. principis, et in aliis miniſtrallis ducis Gloceſtrie v. die julii, xx *d.*" The minſtrels of the biſhop, of lord Arundel, and the Duke of Glouceſter, occur very frequently. In domo muniment. coll. prædict. in ciſta ex orientali latere.

In rolls of the reign of Henry VI. the counteſs of Weſtmoreland, ſiſter of cardinal Beaufort, is mentioned as being entertained in the college; and in her retinue were the minſtrels of her houſehold, who received gratuities. *Ex Rot. Comp. orig.*

In theſe rolls there is an entry, which ſeems to prove that the *Luſores* were a ſort of actors in dumb ſhow or maſquerade. *Rot. ann.* 1467. "Dat. luſoribus de civitate Winton. venientibus ad collegium in *apparatu* ſuo mens. julii, v *s.* vii *d.*" This is a large reward. I will add from the ſame rolls, *ann.* 1479. "In dat. Joh. Pontiſbery and ſocio ludentibus in aula in die circumciſionis, ii *s.*"

[3] *Ibid.* It appears that the Coventry-men were in high repute for their performances of this ſort. In the entertainment preſented to Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth caſtle in 1575, the Coventry-men exhibited "their old ſtoriall ſheaw." Laneham's *Narrative*, &c. p. 32. Minſtrels were hired from Coventry to perform at Holy Croſſe feaſt at Abingdon, Berks, 1422. Hearne's *Lib. Nig. Scacc.* ii. p. 598. See an account of their play on Corpus Chriſti day, in Dugdale's *Monaſticon*, by Stevens, i. p. 138, and Hearne's *Fordun*, p. 1450, *ſub ann.* 1492.

annuity from the Benedictine abbey of Hide near Wincheſter;[1] undoubtedly on condition that he ſhould ſerve the monks in the profeſſion of a harper on public occaſions. The abbeys of Conway and Stratflur in Wales reſpectively maintained a bard:[2] and the Welſh monaſteries in general were the grand repoſitories of the poetry of the Britiſh bards.[3]

In the ſtatutes of New College at Oxford, given about the year 1380, the founder, William of Wykeham, orders his ſcholars, for their recreation on feſtival days in the hall after dinner and ſupper, to entertain themſelves with ſongs and other diverſions conſiſtent with decency: and to recite poems, chronicles of kingdoms, the wonders of the world, together with the like compoſitions, not miſbecoming the clerical character.[4] The latter part of this injunction ſeems to be an explication of the former: and on the whole it appears that the *Cantilenæ*, which the ſcholars ſhould ſing on theſe occaſions, were a ſort of *Poemata* or poetical Chronicles, containing general hiſtories of kingdoms.[5] It is natural to conclude that they preferred pieces of Engliſh hiſtory, [ſuch as the *Brut* already deſcribed, of a ſomewhat amplified verſion of which (of the reign of Edward III.) ſome fragments occur among Hearne's MSS.][6]

Although we have taken our leave of Robert de Brunne, yet as the ſubject is remarkable, and affords a ſtriking portraiture of ancient manners, I am tempted to tranſcribe that chronicler's deſcription of the preſents received by King Athelſtane from the king of France; eſpecially as it contains ſome new circumſtances, and ſupplies the

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[1] Madox, *Hiſt. Exchequer*, p. 251. Where he is ſtyled, "Galfridus citharœdus."

[2] Powel's *Cambria. To the Reader*, pag. 1, edit. 1584.

[3] Evans's *Diſs. de Bardis. Specimens of Welſh Poetry*, p. 92. Wood relates a ſtory of two itinerant prieſts coming, towards night, to a cell of Benedictines near Oxford, where, on a ſuppoſition of their being mimes or minſtrels, they gained admittance. But the cellarer, ſacriſt, and others of the brethren, hoping to have been entertained with their *geſticulatoriis ludicriſque artibus*, and finding them to be nothing more than two indigent eccleſiaſtics who could only adminiſter ſpiritual conſolation, and being conſequently diſappointed of their mirth, beat them and turned them out of the monaſtery.—*Hiſt. Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* i. 67. Under the year 1224.

[4] I will tranſcribe his words: "Quando ob dei reverentiam aut ſue matris, vel alterius ſancti cujuſcunque, tempore yemali, ignis in aula ſociis miniſtratur; tunc ſcolaribus et ſociis poſt tempus prandii aut cene liceat gracia recreationis in aula, in Cantilenis et aliis ſolaciis honeſtis, moram facere condecentem; et Poemata, regnorum Chronica, et mundi hujus Mirabilia, ac cetera que ſtatum clericalem condecorant, ſerioſius pertractare."—*Rubric.* xviii. The ſame thing is enjoined in the ſtatutes of Wincheſter College, *Rubr.* xv. I do not remember any ſuch paſſage in the ſtatutes of preceding colleges in either univerſity. But this injunction is afterwards adopted in the ſtatutes of Magdalene College, and thence, if I recollect right, was copied into thoſe of Corpus Chriſti, Oxford.

[5] Hearne thus underſtood the paſſage: "The wiſe founder of New College permitted them [metrical chronicles] to be ſung by the fellows and ſcholars upon extraordinary days."—Heming. *Cartul.* ii. Append. Numb. ix. § vi. p. 662.

[6] Given to him by Mr. Murray. See Heming, *Chartul.* ii. p. 654. And *Rob. Glouc.* ii. p. 731. Nunc MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. *Rawlins*, Cod. 4to. (E. Pr. 87.) [Ritſon has printed theſe fragments entire in his *Metrical Romances*, 1802; and the editor could not perceive the advantage of quoting them to the extent that Warton, not knowing what they were, has done.]

defects of [the *Brut*]. It is from his version of Peter Langtoft's chronicle above mentioned:

At the feſte of oure lady the Aſſumpcion,
Went the kyng fro London toward Abindon.
Thider out of France, fro Charles kyng of fame,
Com the duke of Boloyn, Adulphus was his name,
& the duke of Burgoyn, Edmonde ſonne Reynere.
The brouht kynge Athelſton preſent withouten pere:
Fro Charles kyng ſanz faile thei brouht a gonfaynoun
That Saynt Morice bare in batayle befor the legioun;
& the ſcharp lance that thrilled Iheſu ſide;
& a ſuerd of golde,—in the hilte did men hide
Tuo of tho nayles that war thorh Jheſu fete
Tached[1] on the croyce; the blode thei out lete;
& ſom of the thornes that don were on his heued,
& a fair pece that of the croyce leued,[2]
That ſaynt Heleyn ſonne at the batayle wan
Of the Soudan Aſkalone, his name was Madan.
Than blewe the trumpes fulle loud & fulle ſchille,
The kyng com in to the halle that hardy was of wille.
Than ſpak Reyner, Edmunde ſonne, for he was meſſengere:
'Athelſtan, my lord, the gretes, Charles that has no pere;
He ſends the this preſent, and ſais, he wille hym bynde
To the thorh[3] Ilde thi ſiſtere, & tille alle thi kynde."
Befor the meſſengers was the maiden brouht,
Of body ſo gentill was non in erthe wrouht;
No non ſo faire of face, ne non of ſpech ſo luſty.
Scho granted befor tham all to Charles hir body:
& ſo did the kyng, & alle the baronage,
Mykelle was the richeſſe thei purveied [in] hir paſſage.[4]

[One of Hearne's fragments is added here, becauſe it defends and explains the derivation of the name Ynglond from maiden Ynge, of whom Robert Manning declares twice[5] that he had never heard. She is the later repreſentative of Ronwen or Rowenna. This fragment] begins with the martyrdom of Saint Alban, and paſſes on to the introduction of Waſſail, and to the names and diviſion of England:

And now he ys alle ſo hole yfonde,
As whan he was yleyde on grounde.
And ȝyf ȝe wille not trow[6] me,
Goth to Weſtmyſtere, and ȝe mow ſe.
In that tyme Seynt Albon
For Goddys loue tholed[7] martirdome,
And xl. ȝere with ſchame & ſchonde[8]
Was drowen[9] oute of Englond.

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[1] Tacked, faſtened. [2] Remained. [3] "Thee through."

[4] *Chron.* pp. 29, 30, [edit. 1810, *ut ſupr.*] Afterwards follows the combat of Guy with "a hogge (huge) geant, hight Colibrant." As in our fragment, p. 31. See Will. Malms. *Geſt. Angl.* ii. 6. The lance of Charlemagne is to this day ſhown among the relics of St. Denis in France.—Carpentier, *Suppl. Gloſſ. Lat. Ducange.* tom. ii. p. 994, edit. 1766.

[5] [*Chronicle*, Part i. pp. 265, 515.

"Bot this lewed men ſey and ſynge,
And telle that hit was mayden Inge.
Wryten of Inge, no clerk may kenne,
Bot of Hengiſte doughter, Ronewenne."]

[6] Believe. [7] Suffered. [8] Confuſion. [9] Driven, drawn.

In that tyme wete[1] the welle,
Cam ferſt waſſayle & drynkehayl
In to this londe, with owte wene,[2]
Thurghe a mayde brygh[3] and ſchene.[4]
Sche was cleput[5] mayde ynge.
For hur many dothe rede & ſynge,
Lordyngys gent[6] & free.
This lond hath hadde namys thre.
Ferſt hit was cleput Albyon
And ſyth,[7] for Brute, Bretayne anon,
And now ynglond clepyd hit ys,
Aftir mayde ynge ywyſſe.
Thilke ynge fro Saxone was come,
And with here many a moder ſonne,
For gret hungure y underſtonde
ynge went oute of hure londe.
And thorow leue of oure kyng
In this lande ſche hadde reſtyng.
As meche lande of the kyng ſche bade,[8]
As with a hole hyde me my3th[9] ſprede.
The kyng graunted [t]he bonne:[10]
A ſtrong caſtel ſche made ſone,
And when the caſtel was al made,
The kyng to the mete ſche bade.[11]
The kyng graunted here anone.
He wyſt not what thay wolde done.

* * * *

And ſayde to ham[12] in this manere,
"The kyng to morrow ſchal ete here,
He and alle hys men,
Euer[13] one of vs and one of them,
To geder ſchal ſitte at the mete.
And when thay haue al moſt yete,
I wole ſay waſſayle to the kyng,
And ſle hym with oute any leſyng.[14]
And loke that 3e in this manere
Eche of 3ow ſle his fere."[15]
And ſo ſche dede thenne,
Slowe the kyng and alle hys men.
And thus, thorowgh here queyntyſe,[16]
This londe was wonne in this wyſe.
Syth[17] anon ſone an ſwythe[18]
Was Englond deled[19] on fyue,
To fyue kynggys trewelyche,
That were nobyl and ſwythe ryche.
That one hadde alle the londe of Kente,
That ys free and ſwythe gente.
And in hys lond byſshopus tweye.
Worthy men where[20] theye.
The archebyſshop of Caunturbery,
And of Rocheſtere that ys mery.
The kyng of Eſſex of renon[21]

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1 know ye. 2 doubt. 3 bright.
4 fair. 5 called. 6 gentle.
7 [afterwards.] 8 requeſted, deſired. 9 men might.
10 granted her requeſt. 11 bid. 12 them.
13 every. 14 lye. 15 companion.
16 ſtratagem. 17 after. 18 [quickly].
19 divided. 20 were. 21 renown.

He hadde to his portion
Weſtſchire, Barkſchire,
Souſſex, Southamptſhire.
And ther-to Dorſetſhyre,
All Cornewalle & Deuenſhire,
All thys were of hys anpyre.[1]
The kyng hadde on his hond
Fyue Byſshopes ſtarke & ſtrong,
Of Saluſbury was that on.[2]

As to the *Mirabilia Mundi*, mentioned in the ſtatutes of New College at Oxford, in conjunction with theſe *Poemata* and *Regnorum Chronica*, the immigrations of the Arabians into Europe and the Cruſades produced numberleſs accounts, partly true and partly fabulous, of the wonders ſeen in the eaſtern countries; which, falling into the hands of the monks, grew into various treatiſes under the title of *Mirabilia Mundi*. There were alſo ſome profeſſed travellers into the Eaſt in the dark ages, who ſurpriſed the weſtern world with their marvellous narratives which, could they have been contradicted, would not have been believed.[3] At the court of the grand Khan, perſons of all nations and religions, if they diſcovered any diſtinguiſhed degree of abilities, were kindly entertained and often preferred.

In the Bodleian Library we have a ſuperb vellum MS. [of Marco Polo, in French,] decorated with ancient deſcriptive paintings and illuminations, entitled, *Hiſtoire de Graunt Kaan et des Merveilles du Monde.*[4] The ſame work is among the royal MSS.[5] A [ſpurious] Latin epiſtle, ſaid to be tranſlated from the Greek by Cornelius Nepos, is an extremely common manuſcript, entitled, *De ſitu et Mirabilibus Indiæ.*[6]

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[1] empire. [2] [Robert of Glouceſter, edit. 1810, 731-3.]

[3] The firſt European traveller who went far Eaſtward, is Benjamin, a Jew of Tudela in Navarre. He penetrated from Conſtantinople through Alexandria in Ægypt and Perſia to the frontiers of Tzin, now China. His travels end in 1173. He mentions the immenſe wealth of Conſtantinople, and ſays that its port ſwarmed with ſhips from all countries. He exaggerates in ſpeaking of the prodigious number of Jews in that city. He is full of marvellous and romantic ſtories. William de Rubruquis, a monk, was ſent into Perſic Tartary, and by the command of S. Louis, King of France, about the year 1245; as was alſo Carpini, by Pope Innocent IV. Marco Polo, a Venetian nobleman, travelled eaſtward into Syria and Perſia to the country conſtantly called in the dark ages Cathay, which proves to be the northern part of China. This was about the year [1280.] His book is [ſometimes] entitled *De Regionibus Orientis*. He mentions the immenſe and opulent city of Cambalu, undoubtedly Pekin. Hakluyt cites a friar, named Oderick, who tarvelled to Cambalu in Cathay, and whoſe deſcription of that city correſponds exactly with Pekin. Friar Bacon, about 1280, from theſe travels formed his geography of this part of the globe, as may be collected from what he relates of the Tartars. See Purchas, *Pilgr.* iii. 52, and Bac. *Op. Maj.* 228, 235.

[4] MSS. Bodl. F. 10 [264] ad calc. Cod. The handwriting is about the reign of Edward III. [1380-1400].

[5] MSS. Bibl. Reg. 19, D i. 3. [The royal MS. is a magnificent copy of the French tranſlation of Marco Polo's travels, which it affirms to have been made in the year 1298.—*Price.*]

[6] [Maittaire cites an edition of the Latin tranſlation as printed at Venice in 1499, but ſee Brunet, *dern.* edit. i. 163. The Greek has been often printed. Sir F. Madden refers to a Saxon tranſlation in Cotton. MS. Vitell. A. xv.]

It is from Alexander the Great to his preceptor Ariſtotle; and the Greek original was moſt probably drawn from ſome of the fabulous authors of Alexander's ſtory.

There is a MS. containing *La Chartre que Preſtre Jehan maunda a Fredewik l'Empereur de Mervailles de ſa Terre.*[1] This was Frederic Barbaroſſa, emperor of Germany, or his ſucceſſor, both of whom were celebrated for their many ſucceſsful enterpriſes in the Holy Land before the year 1230. Preſter John, a Chriſtian, was emperor of India. I find another tract, *De Mirabilibus Terræ Sanctæ.*[2] A book of Sir John Mandeville, a famous traveller into the Eaſt about the year 1340, is under the title of *Mirabilia Mundi.*[3] His *Itinerary* might indeed have the ſame title.[4] [A copy of his famous book] in the Cotton Library is, "The Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundevile knight, which treateth of the way to Hieruſaleme and of the *Marveyles of* Inde with other ilands and countryes;"[5] [but in the edition by Wynkyn de Worde in 1499 the title is ſomewhat more elaborate.][6] In the Cotton Library there is a piece with the title, *Sanctorum Loca, Mirabilia Mundi*, &c.[7] Afterwards the wonders of other countries were added: and when this ſort of reading began to grow faſhionable, Gyraldus Cambrenſis compoſed his book *De Mirabilibus Hiberniæ.*[8] There is alſo another *De Mirabilibus Angliæ*,[9] [a very common MS., of which a copy is attached to Hearne's edition of *Robert of Glouceſter.*] At length the ſuperſtitious

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[1] MSS. Reg. 20, A xii. 3. And in Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Bodl. E 4. 3. "Literæ Joannis Preſbiteri ad Fredericum Imperatorem," &c.

[2] MSS. Reg. 14, C xiii. 3.

[3] MSS. C. C. C. Cant. A iv. 69. We find *De Mirabilibus Mundi Liber*, MSS. Reg. 13, E ix. 5. And again, *De Mirabilibus Mundi et Viris illuſtribus Tractatus* 14, C vi. 3.

[4] His book is ſuppoſed to have been interpolated by the monks. Leland obſerves that Aſia and Africa were parts of the world at this time, "Anglis de ſola fere nominis umbra cognitas." *Script. Br.* p. 366. He wrote his *Itinerary* in French, Engliſh, and Latin. It extends to Cathay or China before mentioned. Leland ſays that he gave to Becket's ſhrine in Canterbury cathedral a glaſs globe encloſing an apple, which he probably brought from the Eaſt. Leland ſaw this curioſity, in which the apple remained freſh and undecayed. *Ubi ſupr.* Mandeville, on returning from his travels, gave to the high altar of St. Albans abbey church a ſort of patera brought from Ægypt, [formerly] in the hands of an ingenious antiquary in London. He was a native of the town of St. Albans, and a phyſician. He ſays that he left many Mervayles unwritten, and refers the curious reader to [the] *Mappa Mundi*, chap. cviii, cix. A hiſtory of the Tartars became popular in Europe about the year 1310, written or dictated by Aiton, [kinſman to] a king of Armenia who, having traverſed the moſt remarkable countries of the Eaſt, turned monk at Cyprus, and publiſhed his travels which, on account of the rank of the author, and his amazing adventures, gained great eſteem. [A competent and critical edition of Sir John Mandeville's *Travels* is ſtill a want. It has been long on the liſt of intended re-editions by the Early Engliſh Text Society.]

[5] [Printed in 1725, again in 1839, and thirdly in 1866.]

[6] [See *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* art. *Mandevile.*]

[7] Galb. A xxi. 3.

[8] It is printed among the *Scriptores Hiſt. Angl.* 1602, 692. Written about the year 1200. It was ſo favourite a title that we have even *De Mirabilibus Veteris et Novi Teſtamenti.* MSS. Coll. Æn. Nas. Oxon. Cod. 12, f. 190, a.

[9] Bibl. Bodl. MSS. C 6.

curioſity of the times was gratified with compilations under the comprehenſive title of *Mirabilia Hiberniæ, Angliæ, et Orientis*.[1] But enough has been ſaid of theſe infatuations. Yet the hiſtory of human credulity is a neceſſary ſpeculation to thoſe who trace the gradations of human knowledge. Let me add, that a ſpirit of rational enquiry into the topographical ſtate of foreign countries, the parent of commerce and of a thouſand improvements, took its riſe from theſe viſions.

[There is a French elegy on the death of Edward I. in 1307, written in the ſucceeding reign, and alſo an Engliſh verſion, which is ſuppoſed to be taken from it, as it is ſubſtantially identical. As the whole has been printed,[2] a ſpecimen will probably be ſufficient:]

The meſſager to the pope com
And ſeyde that oure kynge was ded :[3]
Ys oune hond the lettre he nom,
Y-wis his herte wes ful gret :
The Pope himſelf the lettre redde,
And ſpec a word of gret honour.
Alas, he ſeide, is Edward ded ?
Of Criſtendome he ber the flour.

The pope to is chaumbre wende
For del ne mihte he ſpeke na more ;
Ant after cardinals he ſende
That muche couthen of Criſtes lore.
Both the laſſe ant eke the more
Bed hem both rede ant ſynge :
Gret deol me myhte ſe thore,
Many mon is honde wrynge.

The pope of Peyters ſtod at is maſſe
With ful gret ſolempnete,
Ther me con the ſoule bleſſe :
Kyng Edward, honoured thou be :
God leue thi ſone come after the
Bringe to ende that thou haſt bygonne,
The holy crois y-mad of tre
So fain thou woldeſt hit han y-wonne, &c.[4]

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[1] As in MSS. Reg. 13 D, i. 11. I muſt not forget that the *Polyhiſtor* of Julius Solinus appears in many MSS. under the title of Solinus *de Mirabilibus Mundi*. This was ſo favourite a book as to be tranſlated into hexameters by ſome monk in the twelfth century, according to Voſs. *Hiſt. Lat.* iii. p. 721.

[2] [Wright's *Political Songs*, 1839, 241-50.]

[3] He died in Scotland, July 7, 1307. The chronicles pretend that the Pope knew of his death the next day by a viſion or ſome miraculous information. So Robert of Brunne, who recommends this tragical vent to thoſe who "Singe and ſay in romance and ryme."—*Chron.* p. 340, edit. *u ſupr.*:

"The Pope the tother day wiſt it in tne court of Rome.
The Pope on the morn bifor the clergi cam
And tolde tham biforn, the floure of Criſtendam
Was ded and lay on bere, Edward of Ingeland.
He ſaid with hevy chere, in ſpirit he it fond."

He adds, that the Pope granted five years of pardon to thoſe who would pray for his ſoul.

[4] MSS. Harl. 2253, f. 73. In [Mrs. Cooper's] *Muſes Library*, 1737, there is an elegy on the death of Henry I., "wrote immediately after his death, the author

That the Pope ſhould here pronounce the funeral panegyric of Edward I. is by no means ſurpriſing, if we conſider the predominant ideas of the age. And in the true ſpirit of theſe ideas, the poet makes this illuſtrious monarch's achievements in the Holy Land his principal and leading topic. But there is a particular circumſtance alluded to in theſe ſtanzas, relating to the cruſading character of Edward,[1] together with its conſequences, which needs explanation. Edward, in the decline of life, had vowed a ſecond expedition to Jeruſalem; but finding his end approach, in his laſt moments he devoted the prodigious ſum of thirty thouſand pounds to provide one hundred and forty knights,[2] who ſhould carry his heart into Paleſtine. But this appointment of the dying king was never executed. Our elegiſt and the chroniclers impute the crime of withholding ſo pious a legacy to the advice of the king of France, whoſe daughter Iſabel was married to the ſucceeding king. But it is more probable to ſuppoſe that Edward II. and his profligate minion Piers Gaveſton diſſipated the money in their luxurious and expenſive pleaſures.

SECTION III.

WE have ſeen, in the preceding ſection, that the character of our poetical compoſition began to be changed about the reign of the firſt [or ſecond] Edward: that either fictitious adventures were ſubſtituted by the minſtrels in the place of hiſtorical and traditionary facts, or reality diſguiſed by the miſrepreſentations of invention; and that a taſte for ornamental and even exotic expreſſion gradually prevailed over the rude ſimplicity of the native Engliſh phraſeology. This change, which with our language affected our poetry, had been growing for ſome time, and among other cauſes was occaſioned by the introduction and increaſe of the tales of chivalry.

The ideas of chivalry, in an imperfect degree, had been of old eſtabliſhed among the Gothic tribes. The faſhion of challenging to ſingle combat, the pride of ſeeking dangerous adventures, and the

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unknown," p. 4. [It has been remarked by Ritſon, that the elegy printed by Mrs. Cooper was the compoſition of Fabyan the chronicler, who died in 1511: but then it is a tranſlation from the original Latin, preſerved by Knighton, of the twelfth century.—*Park.*]

[1] It appears that King Edward I. about the year 1271, took his harper with him to the Holy Land. This officer was a cloſe and conſtant attendant of his maſter: for when Edward was wounded with a poiſoned knife at Ptolemais, the harper, *cithareda ſuus*, hearing the ſtruggle, ruſhed into the royal apartment, and killed the aſſaſſin. *Chron.* Hemingford, cap. xxxv. p. 591. (*V. Hiſtor. Anglic. Scriptor.* vol. ii. 1687.) [After the king himſelf had ſlain the aſſaſſin his harper had the ſingular courage to brain a dead man with a trivet or *tripod*, for which act of heroiſm he was juſtly reprimanded by Edward.—*Ritſon.*]

[2] The poet ſays eighty.

ſpirit of avenging and protecting the fair ſex, ſeem to have been peculiar to the Northern nations in the moſt uncultivated ſtate of Europe. All theſe cuſtoms were afterwards encouraged and confirmed by correſponding circumſtances in the feudal conſtitution. At length the Cruſades excited a new ſpirit of enterpriſe, and introduced into the courts and ceremonies of European princes a higher degree of ſplendour and parade, caught from the riches and magnificence of eaſtern cities.[1] Theſe oriental expeditions eſtabliſhed a taſte for hyperbolical deſcription, and propagated an infinity of marvellous tales, which men returning from diſtant countries eaſily impoſed on credulous and ignorant minds. The unparalleled emulation with which the nations of Chriſtendom univerſally embraced this holy cauſe, the pride with which emperors, kings, barons, earls, biſhops, and knights, ſtrove to excel each other on this intereſting occaſion, not only in proweſs and heroiſm, but in ſumptuous equipages, gorgeous banners, armorial cogniſances, ſplendid pavilions, and other expenſive articles of a ſimilar nature, diffuſed a love of war and a fondneſs for military pomp. Hence their very diverſions became warlike, and the martial enthuſiaſm of the times appeared in tilts and tournaments. Theſe practices and opinions cooperated with the kindred ſuperſtitions of dragons,[2] dwarfs, fairies, giants, and enchanters, which the traditions of the Gothic ſcalds had already planted; and produced that extraordinary ſpecies of compoſition which has been called Romance.

Before theſe expeditions into the Eaſt became faſhionable, the principal and leading ſubjects of the old fablers were the achievements of King Arthur with his knights of the round table, and of Charlemagne with his twelve peers. But in the romances written after the holy war, a new ſet of champions, of conqueſts and of countries were introduced. Trebizond took place of Roncevalles, and Godfrey of Bulloigne, Solyman, Nouraddin, the caliphs, the ſoldans, and the cities of Ægypt and Syria, became the favourite topics.[3] The

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[1] I cannot help tranſcribing here a curious paſſage from old Fauchet. He is ſpeaking of Louis the young king of France about the year 1150. "Le quel fut le premier roy de ſa maiſon, qui monſtra dehors ſes richeſſes allant en Jeruſalem. Auſſi la France commença de ſon temps a s'embellir de baſtimens plus magnifiques: prendre plaiſir a pierrieres et autres delicateſſes gouſtus en Levant par luy, ou les ſeigneurs qui avoient ja fait ce voyage. De ſorte qu'on peut dire qu'il a eſte le premier tenant Cour de grand Roy: eſtant ſi magnifique, que ſa femme, dedaignant la ſimplicité de ſes predeceſſeurs, luy fit elever une ſepulture d'argent, au lieu de pierre." *Recueil de la Lang. et Poes. Fr.* ch. viii. p. 76. edit. 1581. He adds, that a great number of French romances were compoſed about this period.

[2] See Kircher's *Mund. Subterran.* viii. § 4. He mentions a knight of Rhodes made grand maſter of the order for killing a dragon, 1345.

[3] [Though this paſſage has been the ſubject of ſevere animadverſion, and characterized as containing nothing but "random aſſertion, falſehood and impoſition," there are few of its poſitions which a more temperate ſpirit of criticiſm might not reconcile with the truth. The popularity of Arthur's ſtory, anterior to the firſt Cruſade, is abundantly manifeſted by the language of William of Malmeſbury and Alanus de Inſulis, who refer to it as a fable of common notoriety and general belief among the people. Had it ariſen within their own days, we may be certain

troubadours of Provence, an idle and unſettled race of men, took up arms, and followed their barons in prodigious multitudes to the conqueſt of Jeruſalem. They made a conſiderable part of the houſehold of the nobility of France. Louis VII., king of France, not only entertained them at his court very liberally, but commanded a conſiderable company of them into his retinue, when he took ſhip for Paleſtine, that they might ſolace him with their ſongs during the dangers and inconveniences of ſo long a voyage.[1] The ancient chronicles of France mention *Legions de poetes* as embarking in this wonderful enterpriſe.[2] Here a new and more copious ſource of fabling was opened: in theſe expeditions they picked up numberleſs extravagant ſtories, and at their return enriched romance with an infinite variety of oriental ſcenes and fictions. Thus theſe later wonders in ſome meaſure ſupplanted the former: they had the recommendation of novelty, and gained ſtill more attention, as they came from a greater diſtance.[3]

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that Malmeſbury, who rejected it as beneath the dignity of hiſtory, would not have ſuffered an objection ſo well founded as the novelty of its appearance to have eſcaped his cenſure; nor can the narrative of Alanus be reconciled with the general progreſs of traditionary faith—a plant of tardy growth—if we limit its firſt publicity to the period thus preſcribed (1096-1142). With regard to Charlemagne and his peers, as their deeds were chaunted by Talliefer at the battle of Haſtings (1066), it would be needleſs to offer further demonſtrations of their early popularity; nor in fact does the accuracy of this part of Warton's ſtatement appear to be called in queſtion by the writer alluded to. It would be more difficult to define the degree in which theſe romances were ſuperſeded by ſimilar poems on the achievements of the Cruſaders; or, to uſe the more cautious language of the text, to ſtate how far "Trebizond took place of Roncevalles." But it will be recollected that in conſequence of the Cruſades, the action of ſeveral romances was transferred to the Holy Land, ſuch as Sir Bevis, Sir Guy, Sir Iſumbras, the King of Tars, &c.: and that moſt of theſe were "favorite topics" in high eſteem, is clear from the declaration of Chaucer, who catalogued them among the "romances of Pris." In ſhort, if we omit the names of the caliphs, and confine ourſelves to the Soldans—a generic name uſed by our early writers for every ſucceſſive ruler of the Eaſt—and the cities of Egypt and Syria, this rhapſody, as it has been termed, will contain nothing which is not ſtrictly demonſtrable by hiſtorical evidence or the language of the old romancers. The Life of Godfrey of Boulogne was written in French verſe by Gregory Bechada, about the year 1130. It is uſually ſuppoſed to have periſhed; unleſs, indeed, it exiſt in a poem upon the ſame ſubject by Wolfram Von Eſchenbach, who generally founded his romances upon a French or Provençal original.—*Price.*]

[1] Velley, *Hiſt. Fr.* ſub an. 1178.

[2] Maſſieu, *Hiſt. Poes. Fr.* p. 105. Many of the troubadours, whoſe works now exiſt, and whoſe names are recorded, accompanied their lords to the holy war. Some of the French nobility of the firſt rank were troubadours about the eleventh century: and the French critics with much triumph obſerve, that it is the glory of the French poetry to number counts and dukes, that is ſovereigns, among its profeſſors, from its commencement. What a glory! The worſhipfull company of Merchant-taylors in London, if I recollect right, boaſt the names of many dukes, earls, and princes, enrolled in their community. [Herbert's *Hiſt. of the 12 Livery-Companies*, ii. 384.] This is indeed an honour to that otherwiſe reſpectable ſociety. But poets can derive no luſtre from counts and dukes, or even princes, who have been enrolled in their liſts; only in proportion as they have adorned the art by the excellence of their compoſitions.

[3] The old French hiſtorian Mezeray goes ſo far as to derive the origin of the French poetry and romances from the Cruſades. *Hiſt.* pp. 416, 417. Geoffrey Vine-

In the mean time we ſhould recollect that the Saracens or Arabians, the ſame people which were the object of the Cruſades, had acquired an eſtabliſhment in Spain about the ninth century: and that by means of this earlier intercourſe many of their fictions and fables, together with their literature, muſt have been known in Europe before the Chriſtian armies invaded Aſia. It is for this reaſon the elder Spaniſh romances have profeſſedly more Arabian alluſions than any other. Cervantes makes the imagined writer of Don Quixote's hiſtory an Arabian. Yet, excluſively of their domeſtic and more immediate connection with this eaſtern people, the Spaniards from temper and conſtitution were extravagantly fond of chivalrous exerciſes. Some critics have ſuppoſed that Spain, having learned the art or faſhion of romance-writing from their naturaliſed gueſts the Arabians, communicated it, at an early period, to the reſt of Europe.[1]

It has been imagined that the firſt romances were compoſed in metre, and ſung to the harp by the poets of Provence at feſtive ſolemnities: but an ingenious Frenchman, who has made deep reſearches into this ſort of literature, attempts to prove that this mode of reciting romantic adventures was in high reputation among the natives of Normandy above a century before the troubadours of Provence, who are generally ſuppoſed to have led the way to the poets of Italy, Spain and France, and that it commenced about the year 1162.[2] If the critic means to inſinuate, that the French troubadours acquired their art of verſifying from theſe Norman bards, this reaſoning will favour the ſyſtem of thoſe who contend that metrical romances lineally took their riſe from the hiſtorical odes of the Scandinavian ſcalds; for the Normans were a branch of the Scandinavian ſtock. But Fauchet, at the ſame time that he allows the Normans to have been fond of chanting the praiſes of their heroes in verſe, expreſſly pronounces that they borrowed this practice from the Franks or French.[3]

ſauf ſays, that when King Richard I. arrived at the Chriſtian camp before Ptolemais, he was received with *populares Cantiones*, which recited *Antiquorum Præclara Geſta. It. Hieroſol.* cap. ii. p. 332, *ibid.*

[1] Huet in ſome meaſure adopts this opinion. But that learned man was a very incompetent judge of theſe matters. Under the common term Romance, he confounds romances of chivalry, romances of gallantry, and all the fables of the Provençal poets. What can we think of a writer who, having touched upon the gothic romances, at whoſe fictions and barbariſms he is much ſhocked, talks of the conſummate degree of art and elegance to which the French are at preſent arrived in romances? He adds, that the ſuperior refinement and politeſſe of the French gallantry has happily given them an advantage of ſhining in this ſpecies of compoſition. *Hiſt. Rom.* p. 138. But the ſophiſtry and ignorance of Huet's Treatiſe has been already detected and expoſed by a critic of another caſt in the *Supplement to Jarvis's Preface*, prefixed to the Tranſlation of *Don Quixote*.

[2] Mons. L'Eveque de la Ravaliere, in his *Revolutions de la Langue Françoiſe, à la ſuite des Poeſies du Roi de Navarre.* [2 vols. 12mo., Paris, 1743.]

[3] "Ce que les Normans avoyent pris des François." *Rec.* liv. i. p. 70. edit. 1581. [Mr. Wright very properly animadverts on the temerity of ſeeking the origin of romance in any one ſource, or of tracing the progreſs of romance from one people to another, and illuſtrates his poſition by pointing out that, while there

It is not my buſineſs, nor is it of much conſequence, to diſcuſs this obſcure point, which properly belongs to the French antiquaries. I therefore proceed to obſerve, that [William Biſhop of Ely, chancellor to] our Richard I., who [was] a diſtinguiſhed hero of the Cruſades, a moſt magnificent patron of chivalry, and a Provençal poet,[1] invited to his [maſter's] court many minſtrels or troubadours from France, whom he loaded with honours and rewards.[2] Theſe

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is no nation which has not probably borrowed ſome of its romantic literature from other nations, there is alſo none which has not a certain ſhare of home-grown romance. He thinks that the Teutonic tribes poſſeſſed many of the *fabliaux*, before they were known to Weſtern Europe.]

[1] See *Obſervations on Spenſer*, i. § i. pp. 28, 29. And Mr. Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, i. 5. See alſo Rymer's *Short View of Tragedy*, ch. vii. p. 73. [Guilhem le Breton,] one of the Provençal poets, ſaid of Richard:—

"Coblas a teira faire adroitement
Pou voz oillez enten dompna gentiltz."

"He could make ſtanzas on the eyes of gentle ladies." Rymer, *ibid.* p. 74. There is a curious [but moſt probably apocryphal] ſtory recorded by the French chroniclers concerning Richard's ſkill in the minſtrel art. [Here, in all the editions, follows the abſurd ſtory of Blondel, which is not worth repeating, eſpecially as it is to be found in ſo many books. It may, however, be worth while to refer the reader to M. de la Rue, *Eſſais ſur les Jougleurs*, ii. 325-9, where Guillaume Blondel, an Anglo-Norman, is ſaid to have been the real Blondel, and to have been rewarded with eſtates, which were reſtored to his deſcendant by Henry III. —Mr. Thoms' inform.] See alſo Fauchet, *Rec.* p. 93. Richard lived long in Provence, where he acquired a taſte for their poetry.

[There is too much reaſon to believe the ſtory of Blondel and his illuſtrious patron to be purely apocryphal. The poem publiſhed by Walpole is written in the Provençal language, and a Norman verſion of it is given by M. Siſmondi, in his *Literature du Midi*, vol. i. p. 149. In which of theſe languages it was originally compoſed remains a matter of diſpute among the French antiquaries.—*Price.*]

[2] "De regno Francorum cantores et joculatores muneribus allexerat." *Rog. Hoved.* Ric. i. p. 340. Theſe gratuities were chiefly arms, clothes, horſes, and ſometimes money.

It appears to have been William biſhop of Ely, chancellor to Richard I. who thus invited minſtrels from France, whom he loaded with favours and preſents to ſing his praiſes in the ſtreets. This paſſage is in a letter of Hugh biſhop of Coventry, which ſee alſo in Hearne's *Benedictus Abbas*, vol. ii. p. 704, *ſub ann.* 1191. It appears from this letter, that he was totally ignorant of the Engliſh language, *ibid.* p. 708. By his cotemporary Gyraldus Cambrenſis he is repreſented as a monſter of injuſtice, impiety, intemperance, and luſt. Gyraldus has left theſe anecdotes of his character, which ſhew the ſcandalous groſſneſs of the times. "Sed taceo quod ruminare ſolet, nunc clamitat Anglia tota, qualiter puella, matris induſtria tam coma quam cultu puerum profeſſa, ſimulanſque virum verbis et vultu, ad cubiculum belluæ iſtius eſt perducta. Sed ſtatim ut exoſi illius ſexus eſt inventa, quanquam in ſe pulcherrima, thalamique thorique deliciis valde idonea, repudiata tamen eſt et abjecta. Unde et in craſtino, matri filia, tam flagitioſi facinoris conſcia, cum Petitionis effectu, terriſque non modicis eandem jure hæreditario contingentibus, virgo, ut venerat, eſt reſtituta. Tantæ nimirum intemperantiæ, et petulantiæ fuerat tam immoderatæ, quod quotidie in prandio circa finem, pretioſis tam potionibus quam cibariis ventre diſtento, virga aliquantulum longa in capite aculeum præferente pueros nobiles ad menſam miniſtrantes, eique propter multimodam qua fungebatur poteſtatem in omnibus ad nutum obſequentes, pungere viciſſim conſueverit: ut eo indicio, quaſi ſigno quodam ſecretiore, quem fortius, inter alios, atque frequentius ſic quaſi ludicro pungebat," &c. &c. *De Vit. Galfrid. Archiepiſcop. Ebor.* apud Whart. *Angl.*

poets imported into England a great multitude of their tales and ſongs which before or about the reign of Edward II. became familiar an popular among our anceſtors, who were ſufficiently acquainted witl the French language. The moſt early notice of a profeſſed book o chivalry in England, as it ſhould ſeem, appears under the reign o Henry III., and is a curious and evident proof of the reputation an eſteem in which this ſort of compoſition was held at that period In the revenue roll of the twenty-firſt year of that king, there is a

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Sacr. vol. ii. p. 406. But Wharton endeavours to prove, that the characte of this great prelate and ſtateſman in many particulars had been miſrepreſente through prejudice and envy. *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 632.

[Two metrical reliques by Richard I. were firſt printed in *La Tour ténébreuſe*, &c 1705. The firſt of theſe, in mixed *Romance* and Provençal, profeſſes to be th veritable *chanſon* of Blondel; the other is a love-ſong in Norman French. Th ſonnet cited by Mr. Walpole was exhibited with an Engliſh verſion in Dr. Burney' *Hiſtory of Muſic*, but has ſince received a more graceful illuſtration from the pen o Mr. George Ellis, in the laſt edition of *Royal and Noble Authors.—Park.* Th whole has been publiſhed by M. Raynouard, in the fourth volume of his *Choix de Poeſies originales des Troubadours*, a volume which had not reached me when th note, to which this is a ſupplement, was ſent to the preſs. Another poem b Richard I. will be found in the *Parnaſſe Occitanien*, Toulouſe, 1819, a publicatio from which the following remark has been thought worth extracting: "Creſcim beni avait dit qu'il exiſtait des poeſies du roi Richard dans le manuſcrit 3204; e la-deſſus Horace Walpole le taxe d'inexactitude. Cependant le ſirvente ſe trouv au fol. 170, Ro. et 171 Ro. C'eſt donc l'Anglois qui ſe trompe en diſant: ther is no work of King Richard."—*Price.* Mr. Thoms adds, that there may b ſome foundation for the ſtatement in the preface to *La Tour Tenebreuſe*, that th baſis of the work was a MS. communicated by the then poſſeſſor, and calle *Chronique et Fabliaux de la compoſition de Richard Roy d'Angleterre recueillis tot nouvel et conjoints enſemblement, par le labour de Jean de Sorels l'an* 1308. Thef fabliaux are the two which Richard is alleged to have written during his impriſon ment in La Tour Tenebreuſe.]

It ſeems the French minſtrels, with whom the Song of Roland originated, wer famous about this period. Muratori cites an old hiſtory of Bologna, under th year 1288, by which it appears that they ſwarmed in the ſtreets of Italy. "U Cantatores Francigenarum in plateis comunis ad cantandum morari non poſſent.' On which words he obſerves, "Colle quale parole ſembra veriſimile, che ſieno di ſegnati i cantatori del favole romanze, che ſpezialmente della Franzia erano portat in Italia." *Diſſert. Antichit. Ital.* tom. ii. c. xxix. p. 16. He adds, that the min ſtrels were ſo numerous in France as to become a peſt to the community, an that an edict was iſſued, about the year 1200, to ſuppreſs them in that kingdom Muratori, in further proof of this point, quotes the above paſſage from Hoveden which he [alſo] miſapplies to our Richard I. But, in either ſenſe, it equally ſuit his argument. In the year 1334, at a feaſt on Eaſter Sunday, celebrated at Rimini on occaſion of ſome noble Italians receiving the honour of knighthood, more tha one thouſand five hundred hiſtriones are ſaid to have attended. "Triumphu quidem maximus fuit ibidem, &c.—Fuit etiam multitudo Hiſtrionum circa mill quingentos et ultra." *Annal. Cæſenat.* tom. xiv. *Rer. Italic. Scriptor.* col. 1141 But their countries are not ſpecified. In the year 1227, at a feaſt in the palace o the archbiſhop of Genoa, a ſumptuous banquet and veſtments without number wer given to the minſtrels or Joculatores then preſent, who came from Lombardy Provence, Tuſcany, and other countries. Caffari *Annal. Genuens.* lib. vi. p. 449 D. *apud* tom. vi. *ut ſupr.* In the year 774, when Charlemagne entered Italy an found his paſſage impeded, he was met by a minſtrel of Lombardy, whoſe ſon promiſed him ſucceſs and victory. "Contigit Joculatorem ex Longobardorun gente ad Carolum venire, et Cantiunculam a ſe compoſitam, rotando in conſpect ſuorum, cantare." Tom. ii. p. 2, ut ſupr. *Chron. Monaſt. Noval.* lib. iii. cap. x p. 717, D.

entry of the expenſe of ſilver claſps and ſtuds for the king's great book of romances. This was in the year 1237. But I will give the article in its original dreſs: "Et in firmaculis hapſis et clavis argenteis ad magnum librum Romancis regis."[1] That this ſuperb volume was in French, may be partly collected from the title which they gave it: and it is highly probable that it contained [ſome of the *Round Table* romances or the *Brut*. An earlier inſtance may be pointed out in the Cloſe Rolls of King John, in 1205, where Reginald Cornhille is ordered to ſend to the king *Romancium de Hiſtoria Angliæ*.[2]] The victorious achievements of Richard I. were ſo famous in the reign of Henry III. as to be made the ſubject of a picture in the royal palace of Clarendon near Saliſbury. A circumſtance which likewiſe appears from the ſame ancient record, under the year 1246: "Et in camera regis ſubtus capellam regis apud Clarendon lambruſcanda, et muro ex tranſverſo illius cameræ amovendo et hyſtoria Antiochiæ in eadem depingenda cum duello regis Ricardi."[3] To theſe anecdotes we may add that in the Royal library at Paris there is, *Lancelot du Lac mis en François par* [*Walter Mapes*,] *du commandement d'Henri roi de Angleterre avec figures*;[4] and the ſame MS. occurs twice again in that library in three and in four volumes of the largeſt folio.[5] Which of our Henries it was who thus commanded the romance of *Lancelot au Lac* to be tranſlated [out of Latin, as is pretended,] into French, is indeed uncertain: but moſt probably it was Henry [II.][6]

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[1] *Rot. Pip. an.* 21, *Hen. III.* [Although Warton has himſelf ſtated frequently enough that the word *romance* in early writers need mean nothing but French, yet he is continually arguing on the ſuppoſition that it muſt mean romance in our preſent acceptation of the term. The above-mentioned book was not neceſſarily a book of romances. However, the following entry in the Cloſe Roll of the 34th of the ſame reign (March 17) may refer to the ſame book, in which caſe it would ſeem to countenance Warton's ſuppoſition:—"De quodam libro liberato ad opus regine. Mandatum eſt fratri R. de Sanforde, magiſtro milicie Templi in Anglia, quod faciat habere Henrico de Warderoba, latori preſencium, ad opus Regine, quendam librum magnum, qui eſt in domo ſua Londoniis, Gallico ydiomate ſcriptum, in quo continentur Geſta Antiochie et regum et etiam aliorum." Teſte *ut ſupra.—Wright.*]

[2] [Sir F. Madden's correction. It by no means follows that the contents of this book were romances of chivalry. Any collection of French pieces, eſpecially in verſe, would at this time be called romances; and this from the language, not the ſubject.—*Douce.*]

[3] *Rot. Pip. an.* 36, *Henr. III.* Richard I. performed great feats at the ſiege of Antioch in the Cruſade. The Duellum was another of his exploits among the Saracens. Compare Walpole's *Anecd. Paint.* i. 10. Who mentions [the *Geſta Antiochiæ* above referred to]. He adds, that there was a chamber in the old palace of Weſtminſter painted with this hiſtory in the reign of Henry III., and therefore called the Antioch Chamber: and another in the Tower.

[4] Cod. 6783, fol. max. See Montfauc. *Cat. MSS.* p. 785 a.

[5] The old *Guiron le Courtois* is ſaid to be tranſlated by "Luce chevalier ſeigneur du chaſteau du Gal, [perhaps Sal., an abbreviation for Saliſberi,] voiſin prochain du Sablieres, par le commandement de tres noble et tres puiſſant prince M. le roy Henry jadis roy d'Angleterre."—*Bibl. Reg. Paris. Cod.* 7526.

[6] [With regard to the period when the proſe romances of the *Round Table* were compiled, and whether by order of King Henry II. or III., has long been a ſubject of diſcuſſion; but the writers on it have generally been too little acquainted with the ſubject to attempt to draw any certain or reaſonable concluſions. A recent

From an ingenious correſpondent, who has not given me the honour of his name, and who appears to be well acquainted with the manners and literature of Spain, I have received the following notices relating to the Spaniſh Trovadores, of which other particulars may be ſeen in the old French hiſtory of Languedoc. "At the end of the ſecond volume of Mayan's *Origines de la Lingua Eſpanola*, 1737, is an extract from a MS. entitled, *Libro de la Arte de Trovar, ò Gaya Sciencia, por Don Enrique de Villena*, ſaid to exiſt in the library of the cathedral of Toledo, and perhaps to be found in other libraries of Spain. It has theſe particulars. The Trovadores had their origin at Toulouſe, about the middle of the twelfth century. A Conſiſtorio de la Gaya Sciencia was there founded by Ramon Vidal de Beſalin, containing more than one hundred and twenty celebrated poets, and among theſe, princes, kings, and emperors. Their art was extended throughout Europe, and gave riſe to the Italian and Spaniſh poetry, *ſervio el Garona de Hippocrene.* To Ramon Vidal de Beſalin ſucceeded Jofre de Foxa, Monge negro, who enlarged the plan, and wrote what he called *Continuacion de trovar.* After him Belenguer de Troya came from Majorca, and compiled a treatiſe *de Figuras y Colores Rhetoricos.* And next Gul. Vedal of Majorca wrote *La Suma Vitulina.* To ſupport the Gaya Sciencia at the poetical college of Toulouſe, the King of France appropriated privileges and revenues: appointing ſeven Mantenedores, *que licieſſen Leyes.* Theſe conſtituted the Laws of Love, which were afterwards abridged by Guill. Moluier under the title *Tratado de las Flores.* Next Fray Ramon framed a ſyſtem called Doctrinal, which was cenſured by Caſtilnon. From thence nothing was written in Spaniſh on the ſubject till the time of Don Enrique de Villena. So great was the credit of the Gay Science, that Don Juan, the firſt king of Arragon who died 1393, ſent an embaſſy to the king of France requeſting that ſome Troubadours might be tranſmitted to teach this art in his kingdom. Accordingly two Mantenedores were diſpatched from Toulouſe, who founded a college for poetry in Barcelona, conſiſting of four Mantenedores, a cavalier, a maſter in theology, a maſter in laws, and an honourable citizen. Diſputes about Don Juan's ſucceſſor occaſioned the removal of the college to Tortoſa. But Don Ferdinand being elected king, Don Enrique de Villena was taken into his ſervice; who reſtored the college, and was choſen principal. The ſubjects he propoſed were ſometimes the Praiſes of the Holy Virgin, of Arms, of Love, *y de buenas Coſtumbres.* An account of the ceremonies of their public acts then follows, in which

writer, however, M. Paulin Paris, in his account of the French MSS. preſerved in the Bibliothèque du Roi, 8vo. Par. 1836, more critically conſidered the hiſtory of theſe remarkable compoſitions, and has produced a paſſage from the Chronicle of Helinand, (who brings down his work to the year 1204, and died in 1227,) which proves ſatisfactorily that the proſe romance of the *Saint Graal* was compoſed in the twelfth century, a fact confirmed by the lines quoted by Warton from Fauchet. Now as Robert de Borron, who compoſed the *Saint Graal*, wrote alſo the romance of *Merlin* and the firſt part of *Lancelot*, we muſt neceſſarily refer the period of their compoſition to the reign of Henry II.—*M.*]

every compoſition was recited, being written 'en papeles Damaſquinos dediverſos colores, con letras de oro y de platau, et illuminaduras formoſas, lo major qua cada una podio.' The beſt performance had a crown of gold placed upon it; and the author, being preſented with a *joya* or prize, received a licence to *cantar y decir in publico*. He was afterwards conducted home in form, eſcorted among others by two Mantenedores, and preceded by minſtrels and trumpets, where he gave an entertainment of confects and wine."

There ſeems to have been a ſimilar eſtabliſhment at Amſterdam, called Rhederiicker camer, or the Chamber of Rhetoricians, mentioned by Iſaacus Pontanus, who adds, "Sunt autem hi rhetores viri amœni et poetici ſpiritus, qui lingua vernacula, aut proſa aut verſa oratione, comœdias, tragœdias, ſubindeque et mutas perſonas, et facta maiorum notantes, magna ſpectantium voluptate exhibent."[1] In the preceding chapter, he ſays that this fraternity of rhetoricians erected a temporary theatre at the ſolemn entry of Prince Maurice into Amſterdam in 1594, where they exhibited in dumb ſhow the hiſtory of David and Goliah.[2] Meteranus, in his Belgic hiſtory, ſpeaks largely of the annual prizes, aſſemblies, and conteſts of the guilds or colleges of the rhetoricians in Holland and the Low Countries. They anſwered in rhyme queſtions propoſed by the Dukes of Burgundy and Brabant. At Ghent, in 1539, twenty of theſe colleges met with great pomp, to diſcuſs an ethical queſtion, and each gave a ſolution in a moral comedy, magnificently preſented in the public theatre. In 1561, the rhetorical guild of Antwerp, called the Violet, challenged all the neighbouring cities to a deciſion of the ſame ſort. On this occaſion, three hundred and forty rhetoricians of Bruſſels appeared on horſeback, richly but fantaſtically habited, accompanied with an infinite variety of pageantries, ſports and ſhows. Theſe had a garland, as a reward for the ſuperior ſplendour of their entry. Many days were ſpent in determining the grand queſtions: during which there were feaſtings, bonfires, farces, tumbling, and every popular diverſion.[3]

In Benet College Library at Cambridge, there is [part of] an Engliſh poem on the Sangreal and [Merlin], containing forty thouſand verſes.[4] The MS. is imperfect both at the beginning and at the end.

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[1] *Rer. et Urb. Amſt.* lib. ii. c. xvi. p. 118, ed. 1611, fol.

[2] *Ibid.* c. xv. p. 117.

[3] *Belg. Hiſtor. Vniverſal.* fol. 1597, lib. i. pp. 31, 32.

[4] MS. lxxx. Edited by F. J. Furnivall for the Roxburghe Club, 1862-6, 2 vols. The reader, who is deſirous of forming more correct opinions upon the ſubject, is referred to M. Raynouard's *Poeſies des Troubadours* (*Lexique Roman*, 1838, i.) a work which has done more towards forming a juſt underſtanding of the merits of Provençal poetry, and the extent and value of Provençal literature, than any publication which has hitherto appeared. The maſs of evidence there adduced in favour of the early efforts of the Provençal muſe muſt effectually ſilence every theory attempting to confine ſong and romantic fiction to any particular age or country.—*Price*. Mr. R. Taylor alſo refers us to M. Rochegude's *Parnaſſe Occitanien*, 1819, Mr. E. Taylor's *Lays of the Minneſingers*, 1825, and to De la Rue's *Hiſt. of Northern French Poetry*.]

The title at the head of the firſt page is *Acta Arthuri Regis*, written probably by Joceline, chaplain and ſecretary to Archbiſhop Parker. The narrative, which appears to be on one continued ſubject, is divided into books or ſections of unequal length. It is a tranſlation made from Robert [de] Borron's French romance[s of the *Saint Graal* and *Merlin*] by Henry Lonelich, Skinner, a name which I never remember to have ſeen among thoſe of the Engliſh poets. The diction is of the age of Henry VI. Borel, in his *Treſor de Recherches et Antiquitez Gauloiſes et Francoiſes*, ſays, "Il y'a un Roman ancien intitule le Conqueſte de Sangreall," &c. [In the recent edition of the *Saint Graal*] Robert [de] Borron's French [proſe] romance [is printed in parallel columns with Lonelich's tranſlation]. The diligence and accuracy of Mr. Naſmith have furniſhed me with the following tranſcript from Lonelich's tranſlation in Benet College Library :—

Thanne paſſeth forth this ſtorye with al,
That is cleped of ſom men Seynt Graal;
Alſo the Sank Ryal iclepid it is
Of mochel peple with owten mys.

. . . . .

Now of al this ſtorie have I mad an ende
That is ſchwede of Celidoygne, and now forthere to wend,
And of anothir brawnche moſt we begynne,
Of the ſtorye that we clepen prophet Merlynne,
Wiche that Maiſter Robert of Borrown
Owt of Latyn it tranſletted hol and ſoun;
Onlich into the langage of Frawnce
This ſtorie he drowgh be adventure and chaunce;
And doth Merlynne inſten with Sank Ryal,
For the ton ſtorie the tothir medlyth withal,
After the ſatting of the forſeid Robert
That ſomtym is tranſletted in Middilerd.
And I, as an unkonneng man trewely,
Into Engliſch have drawen this ſtorye;
And thowgh that to 3ow not pleſyng it be,
Ȝit that ful excuſed 3e wolde haven me
Of my neclegence and unkonnenge,
On me to taken ſwich a thinge,
Into owre modris tonge for to endite,
The ſwettere to ſowne to more and lyte,
And more cler to 3oure undirſtondyng
Thanne owthir Frenſh other Latyn to my ſuppoſing.
And therfore atte the ende of this ſtorye
A pater noſter 3e wolden for me preye,
For me that Herry Lonelich hyhte;
And greteth owre lady ful of myhte.
Hartelich with an ave that 3e hir bede,
This proceſſe the bettere I myhte procede,
And bringen this book to a good ende:
Now thereto Jeſu Criſt grace me ſende,
And than an ende there offen myhte be,
Now good Lord graunt me for charite.

. . . . .

Thanne Merlyn to Blaſye cam anon,
And there to hym he ſeide thus ſon:
"Blaſye, thou ſchalt ſuffren gret peyne

This ſtorye to an ende to bringen certeyne;
And 3it ſchall I ſuffren mochel more."
How ſo, Merlyn, quod Blaſye there.
"I ſhall be ſowht," quod Merlyne tho,
"Owt from the weſt with meſſengeris mo,
And they that ſcholen comen to ſeken me,
They have maad ſewrawnce, I telle the,
Me forto ſlen for any thing,
This ſewrawnce hav they mad to her kyng.
But whanne they me ſen, and with me ſpeke,
No power they ſchol hav on me to ben awreke,
For with hem hens moſte I gon,
And thou into othir partyes ſchalt wel ſon,
To hem that hav the holy veſſel
Which that is icleped the Seynt Graal;
And wete thow wel and ek ſorſothe,
That thow and ek this ſtorye bothe
Ful wel beherd now ſchall it be,
And alſo beloved in many contre;
And has that will knowen in ſertaygne
What kynges that weren in grete Bretaygne
Sithan that Chriſtendom thedyr was browht,
They ſcholen hem fynde has ſo that it ſawht
In the ſtorye of Brwttes book;
There ſcholen 3e it fynde and 3e weten look,
Which that Martyn de Bewre tranſlated here
From Latyn into Romaunce in his manere.
But leve me now of Brwttes book,
And aftyr this ſtorye now lete us look.

After this latter extract, which is to be found nearly in the middle of the MS., [the romance of *Merlin* begins, and] the ſcene and perſonages of the poem are changed; and King Evalach, King Mordreins, Sir Naſciens, Joſeph of Arimathea, and the other heroes of the former part, give place to King Arthur, King Brangors, King Loth, and the monarchs and champions of the Britiſh line. In a paragraph, very ſimilar to the ſecond of theſe extracts, the following note is written in the hand of the text, "Henry Lonelich, Skynner, that tranſlated this boke out of Frenſhe into Englyſhe, at the inſtaunce of Harry Barton."

The *Queſt of the Sangreal*, as it is called, in which devotion and necromancy are equally concerned, makes a conſiderable part of King Arthur's romantic hiſtory, and was one grand object of the knights of the Round Table. He who achieved this hazardous adventure was to be placed there in the "ſiege perillous," or ſeat of danger. "When Merlyn had ordayned the rounde table, he ſaid, by them that be fellowes of the rounde table the truthe of the Sangreall ſhall be well knowne, &c.—They which heard Merlyn ſay ſoe, ſaid thus to Merlyn, Sithence there ſhall be ſuch a knight, thou ſhouldeſt ordayne by thy craft a ſiege that no man ſhould ſitte therein, but he onlie which ſhall paſſe all other knights.—Then Merlyn made the ſiege perillous," &c.[1] Sir Lancelot, "who is come but of the eighth degree from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt," is repreſented as the chief adventurer in this honourable expedition.[2] At a celebration of the

[1] [Malory's] *Mort d'Arthur*, B. xiv. c. 2.

[2] *Ibid.* B. iii. c. 35.

feaſt of Pentecoſt at Camelot by King Arthur, the Sangreal ſuddenly enters the hall, "but there was no man might ſee it nor who bare it," and the knights, as by ſome inviſible power, are inſtantly ſupplied with a feaſt of the choiceſt diſhes.[1] Originally *Le Brut*, *Lancelot*, *Triſtan*, and the *Saint Greal* were ſeparate hiſtories; but they were [ſubſequently brought into a certain degree of connection—perhaps at a very early date, and ſome confuſion may alſo have ariſen from the careleſſneſs or ignorance of copyiſts]. The book of the *Sangreal*, a ſeparate work, is referred to in *Morte Arthur*. "Now after that the queſt of the *Sancgreall* was fulfylled, and that all the knyghtes that were lefte alive were come agayne to the Rounde Table, as the booke of the Sancgreall makethe mencion, than was there grete joye in the courte. And eſpeciallie King Arthur and quene Guenever made grete joye of the remnaunt that were come home. And paſſynge glad was the kinge and quene of ſyr Launcelot and ſyr Bors, for they had been paſſynge longe awaye in the queſt of the Sancgreall. Then, as the Frenſhe booke ſayeth, ſyr Lancelot," &c.[2] And again, in the ſame romance: "Whan ſyr Bors had tolde him [Arthur] of the adventures of the Sancgreall, ſuch as had befallen hym and his felawes,—all this was made in grete bookes, and put in almeryes at Saliſbury."[3] The former part of this paſſage is almoſt literally tranſlated from one in the French romance of *Triſtan*.[4] "Quant Boort ot conte laventure del Saint Graal teles com eles eſtoient avenues, eles furent miſes en eſcrit, gardees en lamere de Saliſbieres, *dont Meſtre Galtier Map l'eſtreſt a faiſt ſon livre du Saint Graal por lamor du roy Herri ſon ſengor, qui fiſt leſtoire tralater del Latin en romanz.*"[5] In the Royal Library at Paris there is *Le Roman de Triſtan et Iſeult, traduit de Latin en François, par Lucas, Chevalier du Gaſt pres de Sariſberi, Anglois, avec figures*.[6] And again,[7] *Liveres de Triſtan mis en François par Lucas chevalier ſieur de chateau du Gat*.[8] *Almeryes* in the Engliſh, and *l'Amere*, properly *aumoire* in the French, mean, I believe, *Preſſes*, *Cheſts*, or *Archives*. *Ambry*, in this ſenſe, is not an uncommon old Engliſh word. From the ſecond part of the firſt

[1] [Malory's] *Mort d'Arthur*, B. iii. c. 35. [2] B. xviii. cap. 1.

[3] B. xvii. c. 23. The romance ſays that King Arthur "made grete clerkes com before him that they ſhould cronicle the adventures of theſe goode knygtes." [See *infra*, Section xi.]

[4] Bibl. Reg. MSS. 20 D. ii. fol. antep.

[5] See *infra*, ſect. xxviii. note. [No doubt the "chaſtel de Gaſt prés de Saliſberi" is referred to here as well as in the next paragraph; it appears to have been in the canton of St. Severe, in the department of Calvados.—De la Rue, *Eſſais ſur les Bardes*, &c., vol. ii. p. 231, quoted by Sir F. Madden. See eſpecially M. Paulin Paris's introduction to his *Romans de la Table Ronde mis en nouveau Langage*, Paris, 1868.—*F.*]

[6] Montfauc. Catal. MSS. Cod. Reg. Paris, Cod. 6776, fol. max.

[7] Cod. 6956, fol. max.

[8] There is printed, *Le Roman du noble et vaillant Chevalier Triſtan fils du noble roy Meliadus de Leonnoys, par Luce, chevalier, ſeigneur du chaſteau de Gaſt*. Rouen, 1489, fol. [But ſee Brunet, *dern.* edit. v. 955. All the poems relating to this hero were collected by M. Michel, 3 vols. 12mo.]

French quotation which I have diſtinguiſhed by italics, it appears that Walter Mapes,[1] a learned archdeacon in England, under the reign of Henry II., wrote a French *Sangreal*, which he tranſlated from Latin, by the command of that monarch. Under the idea that Walter Mapes was a writer on this ſubject, and in the fabulous way, ſome critics may be induced to think, that the Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, from whom Geoffrey of Monmouth profeſſes to have received the materials of his hiſtory, was this Walter Mapes, and not Walter Calenius, who was alſo an eminent ſcholar, and an archdeacon of Oxford. Geoffrey ſays in his Dedication to Robert Earl of Glouceſter, "Finding nothing ſaid in Bede or Gildas of King Arthur and his ſucceſſors, although their actions highly deſerved to be recorded in writing, and are orally celebrated by the Britiſh bards, I was much ſurpriſed at ſo ſtrange an omiſſion. At length Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, a man of great eloquence, and learned in foreign hiſtories, offered me an ancient book in the Britiſh or Armorican tongue which, in one unbroken ſtory and an elegant diction, related the deeds of the Britiſh kings from Brutus to Cadwallader. At his requeſt, although unuſed to rhetorical flouriſhes, and contented with the ſimplicity of my own plain language, I undertook the tranſlation of that book into Latin."[2] Some writers ſuppoſe that Geoffrey pretended to have received his materials from Archdeacon Walter, by way of authenticating his romantic hiſtory. Theſe notices ſeem to diſprove that ſuſpicion. In the year 1488, a French romance was publiſhed, in two magnificent folio volumes, entitled *Hiſtoire de Roy Artus et des Chevaliers de la Table Ronde*. The firſt volume was printed at Rouen, the ſecond at Paris. It contains in four detached parts the Birth and Achievements of King Arthur, the Life of Sir Launcelot, the Adventure of the Sangreal, and the Death of Arthur and his Knights. In the body of the work, this romance more than once is ſaid to be written by Walter Map or Mapes, and by the command of his maſter King Henry. For inſtance:[3] "Cy fine Maiſtre Gualtier Map ſon traittie du Saint Graal." Again:[4] "Apres ce que Maiſtre Gualtier Map eut tractie des avantures du Saint Graal aſſez ſoufiſamment, ſicomme il luy ſembloit, il fut ad adviz au roy Henry ſon ſeigneur, que ce quil avoit fait ne debuit ſoufrire ſil ne racontoys la fin de ceulx dont il fait mention.—Et commence Maiſtre Gualtier en telle manier ceſte derniere partie." This derniere partie treats of the death of King Arthur and his knights. At the end of the ſecond tome there is this colophon: "Cy fine le dernier volume de La Table Ronde,

[1] [From a paſſage in the French romance of *Lancelot du Lac*, M. Roquefort is of opinion that there were two perſons of this name. In that he is ſtyled "meſſire Gautier Map qui fut chevalier le roi." But ſo much confuſion prevails upon this ſubject, that it is almoſt impoſſible to name the author of any proſe romance.—*Price.*]

[2] B. i. ch. i. See alſo B. xii. ch. xx.

[3] Tom. ii. ſign. Dd i. end of *Partie du Saint Graal.*

[4] Tom. ii. ch. i. ſign. D d ii. (*La derniere partie*).

faiſant mencion des fais et proeſſes de monſeigneur Launcelot du Lac et dautres pluſieurs nobles et vaillans hommes ſes compagnons. Compile et extraict preciſement et au juſte des vrayes hiſtoires faiſantes de ce mencion par treſnotable et treſexpert hiſtorien Maiſtre Gualtier Map," &c. The paſſage quoted above from the royal MS. in the Britiſh Muſeum, where King Arthur orders the adventures of the Sangreal to be chronicled, is thus repreſented in this romance: "Et quant Boort eut compte depuis le commencement juſques a la fin les avantures du Saint Graal telles comme il les avoit veues, &c. Si fiſt le roy Artus rediger et mettre par eſcript aus dictz clers tout ci que Boort avoit compte," &c.[1] At the end of the royal MS. at Paris,[2] entitled *Lancelot du Lac mis en François par Robert de Borron par le commandement de Henri roi d'Angleterre*, it is ſaid that Meſſire Robert de Borron tranſlated into French not only Lancelot, but alſo the ſtory of the *Saint Graal:* "Li tout du Latin du *Gautier Mappe.*" The French antiquaries in this ſort of literature are of opinion that the word Latin here ſignifies Italian, and that by this Latin of Gualtier Mapes we are to underſtand Engliſh verſions of thoſe romances made from the Italian language; [but ſuch a notion ſeems ſcarcely deſerving of ſerious diſcuſſion.] The French hiſtory of the *Sangreal*, printed at Paris in 1516, is ſaid in the title to be tranſlated from Latin into French rhymes, and from thence into French proſe by Robert [de] Borron. This romance was reprinted in 1523.

[Malory's] *Morte Arthur*, finiſhed in the year 1469, [is an abſtract of certain old French Arthur romances.][3] But the matter of the whole is ſo much of the ſame ſort, and the heroes and adventures of one ſtory are ſo mutually and perpetually blended with thoſe of another, that no real unity or diſtinction is preſerved. It conſiſts of twenty-one books. The firſt ſeven books treat of King Arthur. The eighth, ninth, and tenth, of Sir Triſtram. The eleventh and twelfth, of Sir Lancelot.[4] The thirteenth of the Saingral, which is alſo called Sir Lancelot's book. The fourteenth, of Sir Percival. The fifteenth, again, of Sir Launcelot. The ſixteenth, of Sir Gawaine. The ſeventeenth, of Sir Galahad. [But all the four laſt-mentioned books are alſo called the *hiſtorye of the holy Sancgreall.*] The eighteenth and nineteenth, of miſcellaneous adventures. The two laſt, of

[1] *Ibid.* tom. ii. *La Partie du Saint Graal*, ch. *ult.* Juſt before it is ſaid, "Le roy Artus fiſt venir les clercs qui les aventures aux chevallieres mettoient en eſcript" —as in *Mort d'Arthur.*

[2] *Cod.* 6783.

[3] [The only MS. exhibiting in French the ſtory of *Balin and Balan*, which Sir Thomas Malory has in his Engliſh, (printed by Caxton in 1485,) is at preſent in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Henry Huth. It is a folio volume on vellum, with initial letters, but no miniatures. Three or four leaves, including the firſt, are deficient. It exhibits in thoſe parts where it covers the ſame ground as the Engliſh work, marked variations from the latter. This MS. is in preparation for the preſs by Mr. Furnivall.]

[4] But at the end, this twelfth book is called "the ſecond booke of *Syr Tryſtram.*" And it is added, "But here is no reherſall of the thyrd booke [of *Sir Triſtram.*"]

King Arthur and all the knights. Lwhyd mentions a Welſh Sangreall which, he ſays, contains various fables of King Arthur and his knights, &c.[1] *Morte Arthur* is often literally tranſlated[2] from various and very ancient detached hiſtories of the heroes of the round table, which I have examined; and on the whole, it nearly reſembles Walter Map's romance above mentioned, printed at Rouen and Paris, both in matter and diſpoſition.

I take this opportunity of obſerving, that a very valuable vellum fragment of *Le Brut*, of which the writing is uncommonly beautiful and of high antiquity, containing part of the ſtory of Merlin and King Vortigern, covers a MS. of Chaucer's *Aſtrolabe*, preſented, together with ſeveral Oriental MSS., to the Bodleian library by Thomas Hedges, of Alderton in Wiltſhire; a gentleman poſſeſſed of many curious MSS. and Greek and Roman coins, and moſt liberal in his communications.

But not only the pieces of the French minſtrels, written in French, were circulated in England about this time, but tranſlations of theſe pieces were made into Engliſh which, containing much of the French idiom, together with a ſort of poetical phraſeology before unknown, produced various innovations in our ſtyle. Theſe tranſlations, it is probable, were enlarged with additions, or improved with alterations of the ſtory. Hence it was that Robert de Brunne, as we have already ſeen, complained of ſtrange and quaint Engliſh, of the changes made in the ſtory of *Sir Triſtram*, and of the liberties aſſumed by his cotemporary minſtrels in altering facts and coining new phraſes. Yet theſe circumſtances enriched our tongue, and extended the circle of our poetry. And for what reaſon theſe fables were ſo much admired and encouraged, in preference to the languid poetical chronicles of Robert of Glouceſter and Robert of Brunne, it is obvious to conjecture. The gallantries of chivalry were exhibited with new ſplendour, and the times were growing more refined. The Norman faſhions were adopted even in Wales. In the year 1176, a ſplendid carouſal, after the manner of the Normans, was given by a Welſh prince. This was Rhees ap Gryffyth king of South Wales, who at Chriſtmas made a great feaſt in the caſtle of Cardigan, then called Aber-Teify, which he ordered to be proclaimed throughout all Britain; and to "which came many ſtrangers, who were honourably received and worthily entertained, ſo that no man departed diſcontented. And among deeds of arms and other ſhewes, Rhees cauſed all the poets of Wales[3] to come thither; and provided chairs for them to be ſet in

[1] *Archæolog. Brit.* Tit. vii. p. 265, col. 2. [It is only a tranſlation of Map's French *Queſte del Saint Graal.*]

[2] [In Hoffmann's *Horæ Belgicæ*, 1830, according to Mr. R. Taylor, is an account of various Flemiſh verſions of theſe romances.]

[3] In illuſtration of the argument purſued in the text we may obſerve, that about this time the Engliſh minſtrels flouriſhed with new honours and rewards. At the magnificent marriage of [Joan Plantagenet, grand-]daughter of Edward I., every king minſtrel received xl. ſhillings. See Anſtis, *Ord. Gart.* ii. p. 303; and Dugd. *Mon.* i. 355. In the ſame reign a multitude of minſtrels attended the ceremony of knighting Prince Edward on the Feaſt of Pentecoſt. They entered the hall, while

his hall, where they ſhould diſpute together to try their cunning and gift in their ſeveral faculties, where great rewards and rich giftes were appointed for the overcomers.[1]" Tilts and tournaments, after a long diſuſe, revived with ſuperior luſtre in the reign of Edward I. Roger [de] Mortimer, a magnificent baron of that reign, erected in his ſtately caſtle of Kenilworth a Round Table, at which he reſtored the rites of King Arthur. He entertained in this caſtle the conſtant retinue of one hundred knights and as many ladies, and invited thither adventurers in chivalry from every part of Chriſtendom.[2] Theſe fables were therefore an image of the manners, cuſtoms, mode of life, and favourite amuſements, which now prevailed not only in France but in England, accompanied with all the decorations which fancy could invent, and recommended by the graces of romantic fiction. They complimented the ruling paſſion of the times, and cheriſhed in a high degree the faſhionable ſentiments of ideal honour and fantaſtic fortitude.

Among Richard's French minſtrels, the names only of three are recorded. I have already mentioned Blondel de Neſle. Fouquet of Marſeilles[3] and [Gauç]elme Faydit,[4] many of whoſe compoſitions

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the king was ſitting at dinner ſurrounded with the new knights. Nic. Trivet. *Annal.* p. 342, edit. Oxon. The whole number knighted was two hundred and ſixty-ſeven. Dugd. *Bar.* i. 80, b. Robert de Brunne ſays this was the greateſt royal feaſt ſince King Arthur's at Carleon, concerning which he adds, "thereof yit men *rime*," p. 332. In the wardrobe-roll of the ſame prince, under the year 1306, we have this entry: "Will. Fox et Cradoco ſocio ſuo cantatoribus cantantibus coram Principe et aliis magnatibus in comitiva ſua exiſtente apud London, &c. xx *s.*" Again, "Willo Ffox et Cradoco ſocio ſuo cantantibus in præſentia principis et al. Magnatum apud London de dono ejuſdem dni per manus Johis de Ringwode, &c. 8 die jan. xx *s.*" Afterwards, in the ſame roll, four ſhillings are given, "Miniſtrallo comitiſſæ Mareſchal. facienti meneſtralciam ſuam coram principe, &c. in comitiva ſua exiſtent. apud Penreth." *Comp. Garderob. Edw. Princip. Wall.* ann. 35 Edw. I. This I chiefly cite to ſhew the greatneſs of the gratuity. Minſtrels were part of the eſtabliſhment of the houſeholds of our nobility before the year 1307. Thomas Earl of Lancaſter allows at Chriſtmas cloth, or *veſtis liberata*, to his houſehold minſtrels at a great expence, in the year 1314. Stow's *Surv. Lond.* p. 134, edit. 1618. See *ſupr.* Soon afterwards the minſtrels claimed ſuch privileges that it was thought neceſſary to reform them by an edict in 1315. See Hearne's *Append. Leland. Collectan.* vi. 36. Yet, as I have formerly remarked in Obſervations on Spenſer's *Faerie Queene*, we find a perſon in the character of a minſtrel entering Weſtminſter-hall on horſeback while Edward I. was ſolemnizing the feaſt of Pentecoſt as above, and preſenting a letter to the king. See Walſing. *Hiſt. Angl. Franc.* p. 109.

[1] Powell's *Wales*, 237, edit. 1584. Who adds, that the bards of "Northwales won the prize, and amonge the muſicians Rees's owne houſhold men were counted beſt." Rhees was one of the Welſh princes who, the preceding year, attended the Parliament at Oxford, and were magnificently entertained in the caſtle of that city by Henry II. Lord Lyttelton's *Hiſt. Hen. II.* edit. iii. p. 302. It may not be foreign to our preſent purpoſe to mention here, that Henry II., in the year 1179, was entertained by Welſh bards at Pembroke caſtle in Wales, in his paſſage into Ireland. Powell, *ut ſupr.* p. 238. The ſubject of their ſongs was the hiſtory of King Arthur. See Selden on *Polyolb.* s. iii. p. 53.

[2] Drayton's *Heroic. Epiſt.* Mort. Iſabel. v. 53. And Notes *ibid.* from Walſingham.

[3] Mr. Thoms refers us to Diez (*Leben und Werke der Troubadours*, ſ. 234-51) for

ſtill remain, were alſo among the poets patroniſed and entertained in England by Richard. They are both celebrated and ſometimes imitated by Dante and Petrarch. Fayditt, a native of Avignon, united the profeſſions of muſic and verſe; and the Provençals uſed to call his poetry *de bon mots e de bon ſon.* Petrarch is ſuppoſed to have copied, in his *Triomfo d'Amore*, many ſtrokes of high imagination from a poem written by Fayditt on a ſimilar ſubject; particularly in his deſcription of the Palace of Love. But Petrarch has not left Fayditt without his due panegyric: he ſays that Fayditt's tongue was ſhield, helmet, ſword, and ſpear.[1] He is likewiſe in Dante's *Paradiſo.* Fayditt was extremely profuſe and voluptuous. On the death of King Richard, he travelled on foot for nearly twenty years, ſeeking his fortune; and during this long pilgrimage he married a nun of Aix in Provence, who was young and lively, and could accompany her huſband's tales and ſonnets with her voice. Fouquet de Marſeilles had a beautiful perſon, a ready wit, and a talent for ſinging; theſe popular accompliſhments recommended him to the courts of King Richard, Raymond, count of Toulouſe, and Beral de Baulx; where, as the French would ſay, *il fit les delices de cour.* He fell in love with Adelaſia the wife of Beral, whom he celebrated in his ſongs. One of his poems is entitled, *Las complanchas de Beral.* On the death of all his lords, he received abſolution for his ſin of poetry, turned monk, and at length was made Archbiſhop of Toulouſe.[2] But among the

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an account of Fouquet. Twenty-five of his ſongs are extant, of which two are printed in Raynouard's *Lexique Romain*, i. 341-5).]

[[4] See Raynouard, *Lexique*, ed. 1838, i. 368. Mr. Thoms remarks that the object of Fayditt's admiration and poetical ardour was Maria de Ventadour, daughter of Boſo II. and wife of Ebles IV. Vicomte de Ventadour, "a lady of refined taſte in poetry, and celebrated by the troubadours and their hiſtorians as the nobleſt of her ſex." A conſiderable number of Fayditt's pieces is extant.]

[1] Triunf. Am. c. iv.

[2] See Beauchamps, *Recherch. Theatr. Fr.* 1735, pp. 7, 9. It was Jeffrey, Richard's brother, who patroniſed Jeffrey Rudell, a famous troubadour of Provence, who is alſo celebrated by Petrarch. This poet had heard, from the adventurers in the Cruſades, the beauty of a Counteſs of Tripoli highly extolled. He became enamoured from imagination; embarked for Tripoli, fell ſick in the voyage through the fever of expectation, and was brought on ſhore at Tripoly half expiring. The counteſs, having received the news of the arrival of this gallant ſtranger, haſtened to the ſhore and took him by the hand. He opened his eyes, and, at once overpowered by his diſeaſe and her kindneſs, had juſt time to ſay inarticulately that, having ſeen her, he died ſatisfied. The counteſs made him a moſt ſplendid funeral, and erected to his memory a tomb of porphyry, inſcribed with an epitaph in Arabian verſe. She commanded his ſonnets to be richly copied and illuminated with letters of gold; was ſeized with a profound melancholy, and turned nun. I will endeavour to tranſlate one of the ſonnets which he made on his voyage. *Yrat et dolent m'en partray*, &c. It has ſome pathos and ſentiment, "I ſhould depart penſive, but for this love of mine *ſo far away;* for I know not what difficulties I have to encounter, my native land being *ſo far away.* Thou who haſt made all things, and who formed this love of mine *ſo far away*, give me ſtrength of body, and then I may hope to ſee this love of mine *ſo far away.* Surely my love muſt be founded on true merit, as I love one *ſo far away!* If I am eaſy for a moment, yet I feel a thouſand pains for her who is *ſo far away.* No other love ever touched my heart than this for her *ſo*

many French minſtrels invited into England by Richard, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that ſome of them made their magnificent and heroic patron a principal ſubject of their compoſitions.[1] And this ſubject by means of the conſtant communication between both nations, probably became no leſs faſhionable in France; eſpecially if we take into the account the general popularity of Richard's character, his love of chivalry, his gallantry in the Cruſades, and the favours which he ſo liberally conferred on the minſtrels of that country. We have a romance now remaining in Engliſh rhyme, which celebrates the achievements of this illuſtrious monarch. It is entitled *Richard Cuer de Lyon*, and was probably tranſlated from the French about the [reign of Edward I.] That it was, at leaſt, tranſlated from the French, appears from the prologue:

> In Fraunce theſe rymes were wroht,
> Every Englyſhe ne knew it not.

From which alſo we may gather the popularity of his ſtory, in theſe lines:

> King Richard is the beſte
> That is found in any geſte.

[It was printed by W. de Worde in 1509 and 1528.][2] That this romance, either in French or Engliſh, exiſted before the year 1300, is evident from its being cited by Robert of Glouceſter, in his relation of Richard's reign:

> In Romance of him imade me it may finde iwrite.[3]

This tale is alſo mentioned as a romance of ſome antiquity among other famous romances, in the prologue of a voluminous metrical tranſlation of Guido de Colonna, [wrongly] attributed to Lidgate.[4]

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far away. A fairer than ſhe never touched any heart, either near, or *far away.*' Every fourth line ends with *du luench.* See Noſtradamus, &c.

[The original poem, of which the above is only a fragment, will be found in the third volume of M. Raynouard's *Choix des Poeſies Originales des Troubadours.* [*Lexique Roman*, 1838, i. 341.] The ſeeming inaccuracies of Warton's tranſlation may have ariſen from the varied readings of his original text. The fragment publiſhed by M. Siſmondi differs eſſentially from the larger poem given by M. Raynouard.—*Price.*]

[1] Fayditt is ſaid to have written a *Chant funèbre* on his death. Beauchamps, *ibid.* p. 10.

[For ſpecimens of the poetry of Fouquet de Marſeilles and Gauçelm Faidit the reader is referred to the firſt volume of M. Raynouard's excellent work already noticed. The ſecond volume of the old edition contains a proſe tranſlation of Faidit's *Planh* on the death of Richard I.—*Price.*]

[2] There is a MS. copy of it in Caius College, Cambridge.

[3] *Chron.* p. 487.

[4] "Many ſpeken of men that romaunces rede," &c.

> "Of Bevys, Gy, and Gawayne,
> Of Kyng Rychard, and Owayne,
> Of Triſtram, and Percyvayle,
> Of Rowland ris, and Aglavaule,
> Of Archeroun, and of Octavian,
> Of Charles, and of Caſſibelan,
> Of K[H]eveloke, Horne, and of Wade,
> In romances that of hem bi made

It is likewiſe frequently quoted by Robert de Brunne, who wrote much about the ſame time with Robert of Glouceſter :

Whan Philip tille Acres cam, litelle was his dede,
The Romance ſais gret ſham who ſo that pas[1] will rede.
The Romancer it ſais Richard did make a pele.[2]—
The Romance of Richard ſais he wan the toun.[3]—

That geſtours dos of him geſtes
At mangeres and at great feſtes,
Here dedis ben in remembraunce
In many fair romaunce.
But of the worthieſt wyght in wede,
That ever byſtrod any ſtede,
Spekes no man, ne in romaunce redes,
Off his battayle ne of his dedes;
Off that battayle ſpekes no man,
There all prowes of knyghtes began,
Thet was forſothe of the batayle
Thet at Troye was ſaunfayle,
Of ſwythe a fyght as ther was one, &c.
For ther were in thet on ſide,
Sixti kynges and dukes of pride.—
And there was the beſt bodi in dede
That ever yit wered wede,
Sithen the world was made ſo ferre,
That was Ector in eche werre," &c.

Laud. K 76 [595], f. 1, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Cod. membr. [There is no authority, as Sir F. Madden has ſtated, for attributing this to Lydgate.] Whether this poem was written by Lidgate, I ſhall not enquire at preſent. I ſhall only ſay here, that it is totally different from either of Lidgate's two poems on the Theban and Trojan Wars; and that the manuſcript, which is beautifully written, appears to be of the age of Henry VI.

By the way, it appears from this quotation that there was an old romance called *Wade*. Wade's *Bote* is mentioned in Chaucer's *Marchaunts Tale*, v. 940 :

"And eke theſe olde wivis, god it wote,
They connin ſo much crafte in Wadis bote."

Again *Troil. Creſs.* iii. 615 :

"He ſonge, ſhe plaide, he tolde a tale of Wade."

Where, ſays the gloſſariſt, "A romantick ſtory, famous at that time, of one Wade, who performed many ſtrange exploits, and met with many wonderful adventures in his boat *Guigelot*." Speght ſays that Wade's hiſtory was *long* and *fabulous*.

[The ſtory of Wade is alſo alluded to in the following paſſage taken from the romance of Sir Bevis :

"Swiche bataile ded neuer non
Criſtene man of fleſch and bon—
Of a dragoun thar beſide,
That Beues ſlough ther in that tide,
Saue Sire Launcelot de Lake,
He faught with a fur-drake,
And Wade dede alſo,
And neuer knightes boute thai to."—*Price.*

A perſonage of ſimilar name occurs in the *Vilkina Saga* and in the *Scôp, or Gleeman's Tale*, l. 46. The Engliſh myth is referred to in the metrical *Morte Arthure*, edited by Halliwell, 1847, and again for the Early Engliſh Text Society. M. Michel has publiſhed a *brochure*, entitled *Wade : Lettre a M. Henri Ternaux-Compans, &c. ſur une Tradition Angloiſe du Moyen Age.* Paris, 1837. 8vo.]

[1] Paſſus. Compare Percy's *Reliques*, ii. 66, 398, edit. 1767.
[2] Percy's *Rel.* ii. p. 157. [3] *Ibid.*

He tellis in the Romance ſen Acres wonnen was
How God gaf him fair chance at the bataile of Caiſas.[1]—
Sithen at Japhet was ſlayn fauelle his ſtede
The Romans tellis gret pas of his douhty dede.[2]—
Soudan ſo curteys never drank no wyne,
The ſame the Romans ſais that is of Richardyn.[3]
In priſoun was he bounden, as the Romance ſais,
In cheynes and lede wonden, that hevy was of peis.[4]

I am not indeed quite certain, whether or no in ſome of theſe inſtances, Robert de Brunne may not mean his French original Peter Langtoft. But in the following lines he manifeſtly refers to our romance of *Richard*, between which and Langtoft's chronicle he expreſſly makes a diſtinction. And in the concluſion of the reign:

I knowe no more to ryme of dedes of kyng Richard:
Who ſo wille his dedes all the ſothe ſe,
The romance that men reden, ther is propirte.
This that I have ſaid it is Pers ſawe.[5]
Als he in romance[6] lad, ther after gan I drawe.[7]

It is not improbable that both theſe rhyming chroniclers cite from the Engliſh tranſlation: if ſo, we may fairly ſuppoſe that this romance was tranſlated in the reign of Edward I. This circumſtance throws the French original to a ſtill higher period.

In the Royal Library at Paris there is *Hiſtoire de Richard Roi d'Angleterre et de Maquemore d'Irlande en rime*.[8] Richard is the laſt of our monarchs whoſe achievements were adorned by fiction and fable. If not a ſuperſtitious belief of the times, it was an hyperbolical invention ſtarted by the minſtrels, which ſoon grew into a tradition, and is gravely recorded by the chroniclers, that Richard carried with him to the Cruſades King Arthur's celebrated ſword Caliburn, and that he preſented it as a gift or relic of ineſtimable value, to Tancred King of Sicily, in the year 1191.[9] Robert of Brunne calls this ſword a *jewel*.[10]

And Richard at that time gaf him a faire juelle,
The gude ſwerd Caliburne which Arthur luffed ſo well.[11]

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[1] p. 175. [Warton's conjecture is perfectly correct in moſt of theſe inſtances. They contain alluſions to circumſtances which are unnoticed by Langtoft.—*Price.*]

[2] Percy's *Rel.* ii. p. 175. [3] *Ibid.* p. 188. [4] p. 198.

[5] "The words of my original *Peter Langtoft.*" [6] In French.

[7] p. 205. Du Cange recites an old French MS. proſe romance, entitled *Hiſtoire de la Mort de Richard Roy d'Angleterre. Gloſs. Lat. Ind. Auct.* i. p. cxci. [But this is upon the depoſition of Richard II.] There was one, perhaps the ſame, among the MSS. of Martin of Palgrave.

[8] Num. 7532. [An account of this hiſtorical poem will be found in Mr. Strutt's *Regal Antiquities*. It relates entirely to the Iriſh wars of Richard II. and the latter part of the reign of that unfortunate monarch.—*Price.* The poem is printed entire in *Archæologia*, xx.]

[9] In return for ſeveral veſſels of gold and ſilver, horſes, bales of ſilk, four great ſhips, and fifteen galleys, given by Tancred. Benedict. Abb. p. 642, edit. Hearne.

[10] *Jocale.* In the general and true ſenſe of the word. Robert de Brunne, in another place, calls a rich pavilion a *jowelle*, p. 152.

[11] *Chron.* p. 153. [Sir F. Madden refers for an account of *Caliburne* to M. Michel's *Triſtan*, lxxxv.]

Indeed the Arabian writer of the life of the Sultan Saladin mentions ſome exploits of Richard almoſt incredible. But, as Lord Lyttelton juſtly obſerves, this hiſtorian is highly valuable on account of the knowledge he had of the facts which he relates. It is from this writer we learn, in the moſt authentic manner, the actions and negotiations of Richard in the courſe of the enterpriſe for the recovery of the Holy Land, and all the particulars of that memorable war.[1]

But before I produce a ſpecimen of Richard's Engliſh romance, I ſtand ſtill to give ſome more extracts from its prologues, which contain matter much to our preſent purpoſe: as they have very fortunately preſerved the ſubjects of many romances, perhaps metrical, then faſhionable both in France and England. And on theſe therefore, and their origin, I ſhall take this opportunity of offering ſome remarks:

Fele romanſes men make newe
Of good knyghtes ſtrong and trewe:
Of hey dedys men rede romance,
Bothe in England and in Fraunce;
Of Rowelond and of Olyver,
And of everie Doſeper,[2]
Of Alyſander and Charlemain,
Of Kyng Arthor and of Gawayn;
How they wer knyghtes good and curteys,
Of Turpyn and of Ocier Daneys.
Of Troye men rede in ryme,
What werre ther was in olde tyme;
Of Ector and of Achylles,
What folk they ſlewe in that pres, &c.[3]

And again, in a ſecond prologue, after a pauſe has been made by the minſtrel in the courſe of ſinging the poem:

Now hearkenes to my tale ſothe,
Though I ſwere yow an othe
I wole reden romaunces non
Of Paris,[4] ne of Ypomydone,
Of Aliſaundre, ne Charlemagne,
Of Arthour, ne of ſere Gawain,
Nor of ſere Launcelot the Lake,
Of Beffs, ne Guy, ne ſere Sydrake,
Ne of Ury, ne of Octavian,
Ne of Hector the ſtrong man,
Ne of Jaſon, neither of Hercules,
Ne of Eneas, neither Achilles.[5]

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[1] See *Hiſt. of Hen. II.* vol. iv. p. 361, App.

[2] Charlemagne's twelve peers. *Douze Pairs.* Fr.

[3] [The text has been corrected by Mr. Weber's edition of this romance, in his *Metrical Romances*, 1810.—*Price.*]

[4] [The old printed copy reads Pertonape,] perhaps Parthenope, or Parthenopeus.

[5] Line 6657. To ſome of theſe romances the author of the MSS. *Lives of the Saints*, written about the year 1[3]00, and cited above at large, alludes in a ſort of prologue. See ſect. i. *ſupr.*

"Wel auht we loug Criſtendom that is ſo dere y bou3t,
With oure lordes herte blode that the ſpere hath y-ſou3t.

Here, among others, ſome of the moſt capital and favourite ſtorie of romance are mentioned, Arthur, Charlemagne, the Siege o Troy with its appendages, and Alexander the Great: and there ar four authors of high eſteem in the dark ages, Geoffry of Monmouth Turpin, Guido di Colonna, and Calliſthenes, whoſe books were th grand repoſitories of theſe ſubjects, and contained moſt of the tradi tionary fictions, whether of Arabian or claſſical origin, which con ſtantly ſupplied materials to the writers of romance.

Men wilnethe more yhere of batayle of kyngis,
And of kny3tis hardy, that mochel is leſyngis.
Of Roulond and of Olyvere, and Gy of Warwyk,
Of Wawayen and Triſtram that ne foundde here y-like.
Who ſo loveth to here tales of ſuche thinge,
Here he may y-here thyng that nys no leſynge,
Of poſtoles and marteres that hardi kny3ttes were,
And ſtedfaſt were in bataile and fledde no3t for no fere," &c.

The anonymous author of *The boke of Stories called Curſor Mundi*, tranſlate from the French, ſeems to have been of the ſame opinion. His work [is a hiſtor of the two Teſtaments]: but in the prologue he takes occaſion to mention man tales of another kind, which were more agreeable to the generality of readers MSS. Laud, K 53, f. 177, Bibl. Bodl.

"Men lykyn Jeſtis for to here
And romans rede in divers manere:
Of Alexandre the conquerour,
Of Julius Ceſar the emperour,
Of Greece and Troy the ſtrong ſtryf,
Ther many a man loſt his lyf:
Of Brut, that baron bold of hand,
The firſt conquerour of Englond;
Of kyng Artour that was ſo ryche,
Was non in hys tyme ſo ilyche:
Of wonders that among his knyghts felle,
And auntyrs dedyn, as men her telle,
As Gaweyn and othir full abylle,
Which that kept the round tabyll.
How kyng Charles and Rowland fawght
With Sarazins, nold thei be cawght;
Of Tryſtram and Yſoude the ſwete,
How thei with love firſt gan mete.
Of kyng John and Iſenbras,
Of Ydoyne and Amadas.
Stories of divers thynges,
Of princes, prelates and kynges:
Many ſongs of divers ryme,
As Engliſh, French, and Latyne, &c.
This ylke boke is tranſlate
Into Engliſh tong to rede
For the love of Engliſh lede,
For comyn folk of England, &c.
Syldyn yt ys for any chaunce
Engliſh tong preched is in Fraunce," &c.

See Montf. Par. MSS. 7540, and p. 123, *ſupr.* [Sir F. Madden cites other MSS of the *Curſor Mundi* in the Bodleian, Adv. Lib. Edinb., at Göttingen, *et alibi.* Th work is to be printed from MSS. in the Br. Mus. and at Cambridge by the Earl Engliſh Text Society. Mr. Furnivall notes, that the MS. Cotton Veſp. A. iii. i the beſt in the Northern dialect: that at Trinity College, in a Midland one.]

But I do not mean to repeat here what has been already obſerved[1] concerning the writings of Geoffrey of Monmouth and Turpin. It will be ſufficient to ſay at preſent, that theſe two fabulous hiſtorians recorded the achievements of Charlemagne and of Arthur: and that Turpin's hiſtory was artfully forged under the name of that archbiſhop about the year 1110, with a deſign of giving countenance to the Cruſades from the example of ſo high an authority as Charlemagne, whoſe pretended viſit to the holy ſepulchre is deſcribed in the twentieth chapter.

As to the ſiege of Troy, it appears that both Homer's poems were unknown, at leaſt not underſtood, in Europe from the abolition of literature by the Goths in the fourth century to the fourteenth. Geoffrey of Monmouth indeed, who wrote about the year 11[28], a man of learning for that age, produces Homer in atteſtation of a fact aſſerted in his hiſtory: but in ſuch a manner as ſhows that he knew little more than Homer's name, and was but imperfectly acquainted with Homer's ſubject. Geoffrey ſays that Brutus, having ravaged the province of Aquitaine with fire and ſword, came to a place where the city of Tours now ſtands, as Homer teſtifies.[2] But the Trojan ſtory was ſtill kept alive in two Latin pieces, which paſſed under the names of Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretenſis. Dares' hiſtory of the deſtruction of Troy, as it was called, which purports to have been tranſlated from the Greek of Dares Phrygius into Latin proſe by Cornelius Nepos, is a wretched performance, and was forged under thoſe ſpecious names in the decline of Latin literature.[3] Dictys Cretenſis is a proſe Latin hiſtory of the Trojan war, in ſix books, paraphraſed about the reign of Diocleſian or Conſtantine by one Septimius from ſome Grecian hiſtory on the ſame ſubject, ſaid to be diſcovered under a ſepulchre by means of an earthquake in the city of Cnoſſus about the time of Nero, and to have been compoſed by Dictys, a Cretan and a ſoldier in the Trojan war. The fraud ſo frequently practiſed, of diſcovering copies of books in this extraordinary manner, in order to infer thence their high and indubitable antiquity, betrays itſelf. But that the preſent Latin Dictys had a Greek original, now loſt, appears from the numerous greciſms with which it abounds, and from the literal correſpondence of many paſſages with the Greek fragments of one Dictys cited by ancient authors. The Greek original was very probably forged under the

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[1] See Diſs. i.

[2] L. i. ch. 14.

[3] In the Epiſtle prefixed, the pretended tranſlator Nepos ſays, that he found this work at Athens in the handwriting of Dares. He adds, ſpeaking of the controverted authenticity of Homer, "De ea re Athenis judicium fuit, cum pro inſano Homerus haberetur, quod deos cum hominibus belligeraſſe deſcripſit." In which words he does not refer to any public decree of the Athenian judges, but to Plato's opinion in his *Republic*. Dares, with Dictys Cretenſis next mentioned in the text, was firſt printed at Milan in 1477. Mabillon ſays, that a manuſcript of the Pſeudo-Dares occurs in the Laurentian library at Florence, upwards of eight hundred years old. *Mus. Ital.* i. p. 169. This work was abridged by Vincentius Bellovacenſis, a friar of Burgundy, about the year 1244. See his *Specul. Hiſtor.* lib. iii. 63.

name of Dictys, a traditionary writer on the ſubject, in the reign o Nero, who is ſaid to have been fond of the Trojan ſtory.[1] On th whole, the work appears to have been an arbitrary metaphraſe o Homer, with many fabulous interpolations. At length Guido d Colonna, a native of Meſſina in Sicily, a learned civilian, and n contemptible Italian poet, about the year 1260, engrafting on Dare and Dictys many new romantic inventions, which the taſte of hi age dictated, and which the connection between Grecian and Gothi fiction eaſily admitted, at the ſame time comprehending in his pla the Theban and Argonautic ſtories from Ovid, Statius, and Va lerius Flaccus,[2] compiled a grand proſe romance in Latin, con taining fifteen books, and entitled in moſt manuſcripts *Hiſtoria d Bello Trojano*.[3] It was written at the requeſt of Matteo di Porta Archbiſhop of Salerno. Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretenſis ſeem t have been in ſome meaſure ſuperſeded by this improved and com prehenſive hiſtory of the Grecian heroes, [for, of courſe, Colonn cannot be regarded as the firſt popularizer of the ſubject;] and fro this period Achilles, Jaſon and Hercules were adopted into romance and celebrated in common with Lancelot, Rowland, Gawain, Oliver and other Chriſtian champions, whom they ſo nearly reſembled in th extravagance of their adventures.[4] This work abounds with Ori

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[1] See Perizon. *Diſſertat. de Dict. Cretens.* ſect. xxix. Conſtantinus Laſcaris, learned monk of Conſtantinople, one of the reſtorers of Grecian literature in Europ near four hundred years ago, ſays that Dictys Cretenſis in Greek was loſt. Thi writer is not once mentioned by Euſtathius, who lived about the year 1170, in hi elaborate and extenſive commentary on Homer.

[2] The *Argonautics* of Valerius Flaccus are cited in Chaucer's *Hypſipile and Medea* "Let him reade the boke Argonauticon," v. 90. But Guido is afterwards cite as a writer on that ſubject, *ibid.* 97. [Only two MSS. appear to be known: i Queen's Coll. Oxford, and at Holkham. It ſeems to be almoſt open to queſtion whether Chaucer refers to Valerius Flaccus.]

[3] It was firſt printed [at Cologne, 1477, and there are many later edits.] Th work was finiſhed, as appears by a note at the end, in 1287. It was tranſlated int Italian by Philip or Chriſtopher Ceffio, a Florentine, and this tranſlation was firſ printed at Venice in 1481, 4to. It has alſo been tranſlated into German. Se Lambec. ii. 948. The purity of our author's Italian ſtyle has been much com mended. For his Italian poetry, ſee Mongitor, *ubi. infra*, p. 167. Compare alſo *Diar. Eruditor. Ital.* xiii. 258. Montfaucon mentions, in the royal library at Paris Le Roman de Thebes qui futracine de Troye la grande. *Catal. MSS.* ii. p. 923— 198. [This *Roman de Thebes* is in reality one of thoſe works on the ſtory of th ſiege of Troy, engrafted either on that of Columna or on his materials.—*Douce.*]

[4] Bale ſays, that Edward I. having met with our author in Sicily, in returning from Aſia, invited him into England, xiii. 36. This prince was intereſted in th Trojan ſtory, as we ſhall ſee below. Our hiſtorians relate, that he wintered in Sicil in the year 1270. *Chron. Rob. Brun.* p. 227. A writer quoted by Hearne, ſuppoſe to be John Stow the chronicler, ſays that "Guido de Columpna arriving in Eng land at the commaundement of king Edward the Firſte, made ſcholies and anno tations upon Dictys Cretenſis and Dares Phrigius. Beſides theſe, he writ at larg the Battayle of Troye." Heming. *Cartul.* ii. 649. Among his works is recite *Hiſtoria de Regibus Rebuſque Angliæ.* It is quoted by many writers under the titl of *Chronicum Britannorum.* He is ſaid alſo to have written *Chronicum Magnum libris* xxxvi. See Mongitor. *Bibl. Sic.* i. 265.

[Eichhorn has ſtated theſe "Scholies" of Guido to have been publiſhed in the year 1216; a manifeſt miſtake,—ſince it leaves ſeventy-one years between this

ental imagery, of which the ſubject was extremely ſuſceptible. It has alſo ſome traits of Arabian literature. The Trojan horſe is a horſe of braſs; and Hercules is taught aſtronomy and the ſeven liberal ſciences. But I forbear to enter at preſent into a more par-

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date and the period to which he aſſigns the firſt appearance of the *Hiſtoria Trojana*. But whatever may have been Guido's merit in thus affording a common text-book for ſubſequent writers, his work could have contained little of novelty, either in matter or manner, for his contemporaries; and it may be reaſonably doubted, whether his labours extended beyond the humble taſk of reducing into proſe the metrical compilations of his predeceſſors. It is true, this circumſtance will not admit of abſolute proof, till the ſeveral poems upon the Trojan ſtory extant in our own and various continental libraries ſhall be given to the world; but the following notices of ſome of theſe productions, though ſcanty and imperfect, will perhaps juſtify the opinion which has been expreſſed. The hiſtory of the Anglo-Saxon kings by Geoffri Gaimar, a poet antecedent to Wace (1155), is but a fragment of a larger work, which the author aſſures us commenced with an account of Jaſon and the Argonautic expedition. This was doubtleſs continued through the whole cycle of Grecian fabulous hiſtory, till the ſiege of Troy connected Brutus, the founder of the Britiſh dynaſty, with the heroes of the ancient world. The voluminous work of Benoit de Saint More (noticed by Warton below) is confeſſedly taken from Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretenſis, and is adorned with all thoſe fictions of romance and chivalric coſtume, which theſe writers are ſuppoſed to have received from the interpolations of Guido. Among the romances enumerated by Melis Stoke, as the productions of earlier writers in Holland, and ſtill (1300) held in general eſteem, we find "The Conflict of Troy" (*De Stryd van Troyen*); and we know upon the authority of Jakob van Maerlant (1270), the tranſlator of Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum Hiſtoriale*, that this was a verſion of Benoit's poem. It is not ſo certain whence Conrad of Wurzburg, a contemporary of Guido, derived his German Ilias; but he profeſſes to have taken it from a French original, and his poem, like Gaimar's, commences with Jaſon and the Argonautic expedition. Upon the ſame principle that Conrad conceived it neceſſary to preface his Ilias with the ſtory of the Golden Fleece, his countryman Henry von Veldeck embraced the whole of the Trojan war, its origin and conſequences, in his verſion of the Æneis. This, however, is uſually believed to be a tranſlation from the *Enide* of Chretien de Troyes; and, if the date (*ante* 1186) aſſumed for its appearance by Von der Hagen be correct, would place the French original in an earlier period than is given it by the French antiquaries. In the year 1210, Albrecht von Halberſtadt publiſhed a metrical verſion of Ovid's *Metamorphoſes*. See Von der Hagen's *Grundriſs zur Geſchichte der Deutſchen Poeſie*, Berlin, 1812; and Henrik van Wyn's *Hiſtoriſche Avondſtonden*, Amſterdam, 1800.—*Price.*]

[Sir F. Madden refers us to Hoffmann's *Horæ Belgicæ*, 1830, p. 30. Mr. Wright ſpeaks of a hiſtory of the ſiege of Troy in Latin proſe, attributed to the eleventh century, and executed in France (Arundel MSS. Br. Mus. No. 375).]

[The popularity of the *Hiſtoria Trojana* in Britain is well atteſted by the number of verſions of it in Engliſh that have come down to us. Beſides Lydgate's *Troy Book* and the metrical verſion in the Bodleian Library, noticed by Warton, there is an Alliterative verſion in the Hunterian Muſeum, Univerſity of Glaſgow, which the Early Engliſh Text Society is now publiſhing; and in a MS. copy of Lydgate in the Univerſity Library, Cambridge, there are two conſiderable fragments of another verſion by Barbour, author of the *Brus*, diſcovered by Mr. Bradſhaw in 1866. Theſe verſions are independent tranſlations from Guido de Colonna, belong to the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century, and muſt have been made within a period of fifty years. Probably the earlieſt was that by Barbour, then the Alliterative, then Lydgate's, and laſt of all, the Bodleian. Yet there is abundant evidence that Lydgate had read the Alliterative verſion, for many of his interpolations and renderings are the ſame as, or expanſions of thoſe given in that verſion; the ſame may be affirmed of the author of the Bodleian verſion. Indeed, it may be to the Alliterative verſion that the author refers as the

ticular examination of this hiſtory, as it muſt often occaſionally be cited hereafter. I ſhall here only further obſerve in general, that this work is the chief ſource from which Chaucer derived his ideas about the Trojan ſtory; that it was profeſſedly paraphraſed by Lydgate [between the years 1414 and 1420] into a prolix Engliſh poem, called the *Boke of Troye*,[1] at the command of Henry V.; that it became the ground-work of a new compilation in French on the ſame ſubject ["out of dyuerce bookes of latyn"] by Raoul le Feure, chaplain to the Duke of Burgundy, in the year 1464 and partly tranſlated into Engliſh proſe in the year 1471 by Caxton, under the title of the [recuyell of the hiſtoryes of Troye,] at the requeſt of Margaret, ducheſs of Burgundy: and that from Caxton's book, afterwards moderniſed, Shakeſpeare [may have] borrowed his drama of *Troilus and Creſſida*.[2]

Romana that the "ſothe telles,"—a phraſe that occurs very frequently in the Al literative verſion.

Beſides theſe metrical renderings, the third book of Caxton's *Recuyell of th Hiſtoryes of Troye*, is a proſe tranſlation of the greater portion of the *Hiſtoria Trojana* omitting the ſtory of Jaſon and Medea.

That the Bodleian MS. is probably a popular rendering of the Alliterative compare the paſſages given by Warton with thoſe in the Early Engliſh Tex Society, vol. i. pp. 12*-15. All the paſſages from the Bodleian MS. that I hav compared, and they were many, ſhow the ſame peculiarities: ſome of them are eve more ſtriking.—*Donaldſon.*]

[1] Who mentions it in a French as well as Latin romance: edit. 1555, ſignat B i. pag. 2:

"As in the latyn and the frenſhe yt is."

It occurs in French, MSS. Bibl. Reg. Brit. Mus. 16 F. ix. This MS. was pro bably written not long after the year 1300. In Lincoln's-inn Library there is poem entitled *Bellum Trojanum.* Num. 150. Pr.

"Sithen god hade this worlde wroght."

[2] The weſtern nations, in early times, have been fond of deducing their origi from Troy. This tradition ſeems to be couched under Odin's original emigratio from that part of Aſia which is connected with Phrygia. Aſgard, or Aſia fortreſs, was the city from which Odin led his colony; and by ſome it is calle Troy. To this place alſo they ſuppoſed Odin to return after his death, whe he was to receive thoſe who died in battle, in a hall roofed with glitterin ſhields. See Bartholin. l. ii. cap. 8, pp. 402, 403. *ſeq.* This hall, ſays the Edd is in the city of Aſgard, which is called the Field of Ida. Bartholin. *ibid.* In th very ſublime ode on the Diſſolution of the World, cited by Bartholinus, it is ſai that after the twilight of the gods ſhould be ended, and the new world appea "the Aſæ ſhall meet in the field of Ida, and tell of the deſtroyed habitations. Barthol. l. ii. cap. 14, p. 597. Compare Arngrim. Jon. Crymog. l. i. c. 4, pp. 4 46. See alſo Edda, fab. 5. In the proem to Reſenius's Edda it is ſaid, "Od appointed twelve judges or princes at Sigtune in Scandinavia, as at Troy; an eſtabliſhed there all the laws of Troy and the cuſtoms of the Trojans." S Hickes, *Theſaur.* i. Diſſertat. Epiſt. p. 39. See alſo Mallet's *Hiſt. Dannem.* ii. 34. Bartholinus thinks that the compiler of the Eddic mythology, who lived A. 1070, finding that the Britons and Franks drew their deſcent from Troy, w ambitious of aſſigning the ſame boaſted origin to Odin. But this tradition appea to have been older than the Edda. And it is more probable that the Britons an Franks borrowed it from the Scandinavian Goths, and adapted it to themſelve unleſs we ſuppoſe that theſe nations, I mean the former, were branches of th Gothic ſtem, which gave them a ſort of inherent right to the claim. This reaſonin

Proofs have been given in the two prologues juſt cited of the general popularity of Alexander's ſtory, another branch of Grecian hiſtory famous in the dark ages. To theſe we may add the evidence of Chaucer:

> Aliſaundres ſtorie is ſo commune,
> That everie wight that hath diſcrecioune
> Hath herde ſomewhat or al of his fortune.[1]

In the *Houſe of Fame*, Alexander is placed with Hercules.[2] I have already remarked that he was celebrated in a Latin poem by Gualtier de Chatillon, in the year 1212.[3] Other proofs will occur in their proper places.[4] The truth is, Alexander was the moſt eminent knight errant of Grecian antiquity. He could not therefore be long without his romance. Calliſthenes, an Olynthian, educated under Ariſtotle with Alexander, wrote an authentic life of Alexander.[5] This hiſtory,

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may perhaps account for the early exiſtence and extraordinary popularity of the Trojan ſtory among nations ignorant and illiterate, who could only have received it by tradition. Geoffrey of Monmouth took this deſcent of the Britons from Troy from the Welſh or Armoric bards, and they perhaps had it in common with the Scandinavian ſcalds. There is not a ſyllable of it in the authentic hiſtorians of England, who wrote before him; particularly thoſe ancient ones, Bede, Gildas, and the uninterpolated Nennius. Henry of Huntingdon began his hiſtory from Cæſar; and it was only on further information that he added Brute. But this information was from a manuſcript found by him in his way to Rome in the abbey of Bec in Normandy, [which, ſays Sir F. Madden, is, however, merely a copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Latin work.] H. Hunt. *Epiſtol. ad Warin.* MSS. Cantabr. Bibl. publ. cod. 251. I have mentioned in another place, that Witlaf, a king of the Weſt Saxons, grants in his charter, dated A.D. 833, among other things to Croyland-abbey his robe of tiſſue, on which was embroidered "The deſtruction of Troy." *Obs. on Spenſer's Fairy Queen*, i. ſect. v. p. 176. This proves the ſtory to have been in high veneration even long before that period: and it ſhould at the ſame time be remembered, that the Saxons came from Scandinavia.

This fable of the deſcent of the Britons from the Trojans was ſolemnly alleged as an authentic and undeniable proof in a controverſy of great national importance, by Edward I. and his nobility, without the leaſt objection from the oppoſite party. It was in the famous diſpute concerning the ſubjection of the crown of England to that of Scotland, about the year 1301. The allegations are in a letter to Pope Boniface, ſigned and ſealed by the king and his lords. *Ypodigm. Neuſtr.* apud Camd. *Angl. Norman.* p. 492. Here is a curious inſtance of the implicit faith with which this tradition continued to be believed even in a more enlightened age, and an evidence that it was equally credited in Scotland.

[1] V. 656. [2] V. 323. [3] See Second Diſſertation.

[4] In the reign of Henry I. the ſheriff of Nottinghamſhire is ordered to procure the queen's chamber at Nottingham to be painted with the Hiſtory of Alexander. Madox, *Hiſt. Exch.* pp. 249-259. "Depingi facias hiſtoriam Alexandri undiquaque." In the Romance of Richard, the minſtrel ſays of an army aſſembled at a ſiege in the Holy Land, ſign. Q iii:

> "Covered is both mount and playne
> Kyng Alyſaunder and Charlemayne
> He never had halfe the route
> As is the city now aboute."

By the way, this is much like a paſſage in Milton, *Par. Reg.* iii. 337:

> "Such forces met not, nor ſo wide a camp,
> When Agrican," &c.

[5] See *Recherch. ſur la Vie et les Ouvrages de Calliſthene.* Par M. l'Abbe Sevin.

which is frequently referred to by ancient writers, has been long since loſt. But a Greek life of this hero, under the adopted name of Calliſthenes, at preſent exiſts, and is no uncommon manuſcript in good libraries.[1] It is entitled, Βιος Αλεξανδρου του Μακεδονος και Πραξεις. That is, *The Life and Actions of Alexander the Macedonian.*[2] This piece was written in Greek, being a tranſlation from the Perſic, by Simeon Seth, ſtyled *Magiſter*, and protoveſtiary or wardrobe keeper of the Palace of Antiochus at Conſtantinople,[3] about the year 1070 under the Emperor Michael Ducas.[4] It was moſt probably very

Mem. de Lit. viii. p. 126, 4to. But many very ancient Greek writers had corrupted Alexander's hiſtory with fabulous narratives, ſuch as Orthagoras, Oneſicritus, &c.

[Julian Africanus, who lived in the third century, records the fable of Nectanabus, king of Egypt, the preſumptive father of Alexander, who figures ſo conſpicuouſly in the later romances. It is alſo preſumed, that ſimilar fictions were introduced into the poems of Arrian, Hadrian, and Soterichus. See *Görres Volkſbücher*, p. 58, a tranſlation of whoſe obſervations upon this ſubject will be found in the *Retroſpective Review*, No. vi. For an account of Arabic, Turkiſh, and Perſian verſions of this ſtory, ſee Herbelot, i. 144, and Weber's *Metrical Romances*, vol. i. xx.—*Price.*]

[1] Particularly Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. MSS. Barocc. Cod. xvii. And Bibl. Reg. Paris. Cod. 2064. See Montfauc. *Catal. MSS.* p. 733. See paſſages cited from this manuſcript, in Steph. Byzant. Abr. Berckel. V. Βουκεφαλεια. Cæſar Bulenger de Circo, c. xiii. 30, &c. and Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* xiv. 148, 149, 150. It is adduced by Du Cange, *Gloſſar. Gr.* ubi vid. tom. ii. *Catal. Scriptor.* p. 24.

[2] Undoubtedly many ſmaller hiſtories now in our libraries were formed from this greater work.

[3] Πρωτοβεςιαριος, *Protoveſtiarius.* See Du Cange, *Conſtantinop. Chriſt.* lib. ii. § 16 n. 5. Et ad Zonar. p. 46.

[4] Allat. de Simeonibus, p. 181. And Labb. *Bibl. nov. MSS.* p. 115. Simeon Seth tranſlated many Perſic and Arabic books into Greek. Allat. *ubi ſupr* p. 182, *ſeq.* Among them he tranſlated from Arabic into Greek, about the year 1100, for the uſe of or at the requeſt of the Emperor Alexius Comnenus, the celebrated Indian Fables now commonly called the *Fables of Bidpay*. This work he entitled, Στεφανιτης και Ιχνηλατης, and divided it into fifteen books. It was printed at Berlin, A.D. 1697, under the title, Συμεων Μαγιςρα και φιλοσοφα του Σηθ Κυλιλε και Διμνε. Theſe are the names of two African or Aſiatic animals, called in Latin *Thoes*, a ſort of [jackall,] the principal interlocutors in the fables. Sect. i-ii. This curious monument of a ſpecies of inſtruction peculiar to the Orientals is upward of two thouſand years old. It has paſſed under a great variety of names. Khoſrou a king of Perſia, in whoſe reign Mahomet was born, ſent his phyſician named Burzviſch into India, on purpoſe to obtain this book, which was carefully preſerved among the treaſures of the kings of India, and commanded it to be tranſlated out of the Indian language into the ancient Perſic. Herbelot. *Dict. Oriental.* p. 456. It was ſoon afterwards turned into Syriac, under the title *Calaileg* and *Damnag* Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* vi. p. 461. About the year of Chriſt 750, one of the caliphs ordered it to be tranſlated from the ancient Perſic into Arabic, under the name *Kalila ve Damna.* Herbel. *ubi ſupr.* In the year 920, the Sultan Ahmed, of the dynaſty of the Samanides, procured a tranſlation into more modern Perſic which was ſoon afterwards put into verſe by a celebrated Perſian poet named Roudeki. Herbel. *ibid.* Fabric. *ibid.* p. 462. About the year 1130, the Sultan Bahram, not ſatisfied with this Perſian verſion, ordered another to be executed by Naſrallah, the moſt eloquent man of his age, from the Arabic text of Mocanna; and this Perſian verſion is what is now extant under the title *Kalila ve Damna* Herbel. *ibid.* See alſo Herbel. p. 118. But as even this laſt-mentioned verſion had too many Arabic idioms and obſolete phraſes, in the reign of Sultan Hoſein Mirza, it was thrown into a more modern and intelligible ſtyle, under the name of *Anuar Soheli.* Fraſer's *Hiſt. Nadir-Shah. Catal. MSS.* pp. 19, 20. Nor muſt

ſoon afterwards tranſlated from the Greek into Latin, and at length from thence into French, Italian, and German.[1] The Latin tranſ-

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be forgotten, that about the year 1100, the Emir Sohail, general of the armies of Huſſain, Sultan of Khoraſſan of the poſterity of Timur, cauſed a new tranſlation to be made by the Dr. Huſſien Vaez, which exceeded all others in elegance and perſpicuity. It was named *Anwair Sohaili*, Splendor *Canopi*, from the Emir who was called after the name of that ſtar. Herbel. pp. 118, 245. It would be tedious to mention every new title and improvement which it has paſſed through among the eaſtern people. It has been tranſlated into the Turkiſh language both in proſe and verſe: particularly for the uſe of Bajazet II. and Solyman II. Herbel. p. 118. It has been alſo tranſlated into Hebrew by Rabbi Joel: and into Latin, under the title *Directorium Vitæ humanæ*, by Johannes of Capua [about 1480.] From thence [in 1498] it got into Caſtilian: and from the Spaniſh was made an Italian verſion, printed at Ferrara, A.D. 1583, viz. *Lelo Damno* [for *Calilah u Damnah*] *del Governo de regni, ſotto morali*, &c. A ſecond edition appeared at Ferrara in 1610, viz, *Philoſophia morale del doni*, &c. But there was an Italian edition at Venice, under the laſt-mentioned title, with old rude cuts, 1552. From the Latin verſion [alſo] it was tranſlated into German, by the command of Ebelhard firſt Duke of Wirtenberg: and this tranſlation was printed at Ulm [1485. There are ſeveral later editions by David Sahid d'Iſpahan which appeared at Paris in 1644, of which Gilbert Gaulmin is believed to have been in great part the author.] But this is rather a paraphraſe, and was reprinted in Holland. See Starchius, *ubi ſupr.* præf. § 19, 20, 22. Fabric. *ubi ſupr.* p. 463, *ſeq.* Another tranſlation was printed at Paris, viz. *Contes et Fables Indiennes de Bidpai et De Lokman traduits d'Ali Tchelchi-Bengalek auteur Turc, par M. Galland* [1724, and again, 1778.] Fabricius ſays, that Mons. Galland had procured a Turkiſh copy of this book four times larger than the printed copies, being a verſion from the original Perſic, and entitled *Humagoun Nameh*, that is, *The royal* or *imperial book*, ſo called by the Orientals, who are of opinion that it contains the whole art of government. See Fabric. *ubi ſupr.* p. 465. Herbel. p. 456. A tranſlation into Engliſh from the French of the four firſt books was printed at London in 1747, under the title of *Pilpay's Fables;* [but all the earlier Engliſh verſions are ſingularly indifferent. The beſt tranſlation is that by Eaſtwick in 1854.] As to the name of the author of this book, Herbelot ſays that Bidpai was an Indian philoſopher, and that his name ſignifies the merciful phyſician. See Herbelot, pp. 206, 456, and *Bibl. Lugdun. Catal.* p. 301. [Sir Wm. Jones, who derives this name from a Sanſcrit word, interprets it the beloved or favourite phyſician.—*Price.*] Others relate, that it was compoſed by the Brahmins of India, under the title *Kurtuk Dumnik*. Fraſer, *ubi ſupr.* p. 19. It is alſo ſaid to have been written by Iſame fifth king of the Indians, and tranſlated into Arabic from the Indian tongue three hundred years before Alexander the Macedonian. Abraham Ecchelens, *Not. ad Catal. Ebed Jeſu*, p. 87.—The Indians reckon this book among the three things in which they ſurpaſs all other nations, *viz.* "Liber Culila et Dimna, ludus Shatangri, et novem figuræ numerariæ." Saphad. *Comment. ad Carm. Tograi.* apud Hyde, *prolegom. ad lib. de lud. Oriental.* d. 3. Hyde intended an edition of the Arabic verſion. *Præfat. ad lib. de lud. Oriental.* vol. ii. 1767, edit. ad calc. I cannot forſake this ſubject without remarking, that the Perſians have another book, which they eſteem older than any writings of Zoroaſter, entitled *Javidan Chrad*, that is, *æterna Sapientia*. Hyde *Præfat. Relig. Vet. Perſarum.* This has been alſo one of the titles of Bidpai's Fables.

See Wolfii *Bibl. Hebr.* i. 468, ii. 931, iii. 350, iv. 934.

[The Indian origin of theſe fables is now placed beyond the poſſibility of diſpute. Mr. Colebrooke has publiſhed a Sanſcrit verſion of them, under the title of *Hitopadeſa*, and they have been tranſlated, from the ſame language, by Sir Wm. Jones and Dr. Wilkins.—*Price.* See *ſupra.*]

[1] Caſaub. *Epiſt. ad Joſ. Scaliger.* 402, 413. Scalig. *Epiſt. ad Caſaubon*, 113, 115; who mentions alſo a tranſlation of this work from the Latin into Hebrew, by one who adopted the name of Jos. Gorionides, called Pſeudo-Gorionides. This Latin hiſtory was tranſlated into German by John Hartlieb Moller, a German

lation was printed at Cologne in 1489.[1] [Among Rawlinſon's books at Oxford is a MS. copy of the *Geſta Alexandri Metricé Compoſita*, which once belonged to Hearne.] It is ſaid to have been [written in Greek by Æſopus, and to have been thence turned into Latin] by Julius Valerius:[2] ſuppoſititious names, which ſeem to have been forged by the artifice, or introduced through the ignorance, of ſcribes and librarians. This Latin tranſlation, however, is of high antiquity in the middle age of learning: for it is quoted by Giraldus Cambrenſis, who flouriſhed about the year 1190.[3] About the year 1236, the ſubſtance of it was thrown into a long Latin poem, written in elegiac verſe[4] by Aretinus Quilichinus.[5] This fabulous narrative of Alexander's life and achievements is full of prodigies and extravagances.[6] But we ſhould remember its origin. The Arabian books

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phyſician, at the command of Albert Duke of Bavaria, and publiſhed Auguſt. Vindel. A.D. 1478, fol. [This edition was preceded by two others from the preſs of Bämler, dated 1472 and 1473. Theſe and the Straſburg edition of 1488 call the tranſlator Dr. John Hartlieb of Munich.—*Price.*] See Lambecc. lib. ii. *de Bibl. Vindobon*, p. 949. Labbe mentions a fabulous hiſtory of Alexander, written, as he ſays, in 1217, and tranſcribed in 1455. Undoubtedly this in the text. Londinenſis quotes "pervetuſtum quendam librum manuſcriptum de actibus Alexandri." Hearne's T. Caius *ut infr.* p. 82. See alſo pp. 86, 258.

[1] Lenglet mentions *Hiſtoria fabuloſa incerti authoris de Alexandri Magni præliis*, 1494. He adds, that it is printed in the laſt edition of Cæſar's Commentaries by Grævius in octavo. *Bibl. des Romans*, ii. pp. 228, 229, edit. Amſt. Compare Vogt's *Catalogus librorum rarior*, p. 24, edit. 1753. Montfaucon ſays this hiſtory of Calliſthenes occurs often in the royal library at Paris, both in Greek and Latin: but that he never ſaw either of them printed. *Cat. MSS.* ii. p. 733, 2543. I think a life of Alexander is ſubjoined to an edition of Quintus Curtius in 1584 by Joannes Monachus.

[2] Du Cange *Gloſſar. Gr.* v. Εβελλινος. Jurat. ad Symmach. iv. 33. Barth. Adverſar. ii. 10, v. 14. [Sir F. Madden has ſhown that the work of Julius Valerius, which is ſaid to have been taken from the Greek of Æſopus, is entirely different from the ordinary Latin proſe narratives of the Life of Alexander. It was publiſhed by Mai, Frankf. 1818, 8vo., with a ſecond piece called *Itinerarium Alexandri*, from MSS. in the Ambroſian library, at Milan, of the twelfth century.]

[3] Hearne, T. Caii *Vindic. Antiquit. Acad. Oxon.* tom. ii. Not. p. 802, who thinks it a work of the monks. "Nec dubium quin monachus quiſpiam Latine, ut potuit, ſcripſerit. Eo modo, quo et alios id genus fœtus parturiebant ſcriptores aliquot monaſtici, e fabulis quas vulgo admodum placere ſciebant."—*Ibid.*

[4] A Greek poem on this ſubject will be mentioned below, written in politic verſes, entitled Αλεξανδρευς ὁ Μακεδων.

[5] Labb. *Bibl. Nov. MSS.* p. 68. Ol. Borrich. *Diſſertat. de Poet.* p. 89.

[6] The writer relates that Alexander, incloſed in a veſſel of glaſs, dived to the bottom of the ocean for the ſake of getting a knowledge of fiſhes and ſea monſters. He is alſo repreſented as ſoaring in the air by the help of gryphons. At the end, the opinions of different philoſophers are recited concerning the ſepulchre of Alexander. Nectabanos, a magician and aſtrologer, king of Egypt, is a very ſignificant character in this romance. He transforms himſelf into a dragon, &c. Compare Herbelot. *Bibl. Oriental.* p. 319, b. *ſeq.* In ſome of the MSS. of this piece which I have ſeen, there is an account of Alexander's viſit to the trees of the ſun and moon: but I do not recollect this in the printed copies. Undoubtedly the original has had both interpolations and omiſſions. Pſeudo-Gorionides above mentioned ſeems to hint at the groundwork of this hiſtory of Alexander in the following paſſage: "Cæteras autem res ab Alexandro geſtas, et egregia ejus facinora ac quæcunque demum perpetravit, ea in libris Medorum et Perſarum,

abound with the moſt incredible fictions and traditions concerning Alexander the Great, which they probably borrowed and improved from the Perſians. They call him Eſcander. If I recollect right, one of the miracles of this romance is our hero's horn. It is ſaid, that Alexander gave the ſignal to his whole army by a wonderful horn of immenſe magnitude, which might be heard at the diſtance of ſixty miles, and that it was blown or ſounded by ſixty men at once.[1] This is the horn which Orlando won from the giant Jatmund, and which, as Turpin and the Iſlandic bards report, was endued with magical power, and might be heard at the diſtance of twenty miles. Cervantes ſays, that it was bigger than a maſſy beam.[2] Boiardo, Berni and Arioſto have all ſuch a horn: and the fiction is here traced to its original ſource. But in ſpeaking of the books which furniſhed the ſtory of Alexander, I muſt not forget that Quintus Curtius was an admired hiſtorian of the romantic ages. He is quoted in the *Policraticon* of John of Saliſbury, who died in the year 1181.[3] Eneas Sylvius relates, that Alphonſus IX., king of Spain in the thirteenth century and a great aſtronomer, endeavoured to relieve himſelf from a tedious malady by reading the Bible over fourteen times, with all the gloſſes; but not meeting with the expected ſucceſs, he was cured by the conſolation he received from once reading Quintus Curtius.[4] Peter Bleſenſis, [or Peter of Blois,] Archdeacon of London, a ſtudent at Paris about the year 1150, mentioning the books moſt common in the ſchools, declares that he profited much by frequently looking into this author.[5] Vincentius Bellovacenſis, cited above, a writer of the thirteenth century, often quotes Curtius in his *Speculum Hiſtoriale*.[6] He was alſo early tranſlated into French. Among the royal MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum, there is a fine copy of a French tranſlation of this claſſic, adorned with elegant old paintings and illuminations, entitled, *Quinte Curſe Ruf, des faiz d'Alexandre*, ix. *liv. tranſlate par Vaſque de Lucene Portugalois. Eſcript par la main de Jehan du Cheſne, a Lille.*[7] It

atque apud Nicolaum, Titum, et Strabonem; et in libris nativitatis Alexandri, rerumque ab ipſo geſtarum, quos Magi ac Ægyptii eo anno quo Alexander deceſſit, compoſuerunt, ſcripta reperies." Lib. ii. c. 12-22, [Lat. Vers.] p. 152, edit. Jo. Frid. Briethaupt.

[1] It is alſo in a MS. entitled *Secreta Secretorum Ariſtotelis*, lib. 5. MSS. Bodl. D. 1, 5. This treatiſe, aſcribed to Ariſtotle, was anciently in high repute. It is pretended to have been tranſlated out of Greek into Arabic or Chaldee by one John, a Spaniard; thence into Latin by Philip, a Frenchman; at length into Engliſh verſe by Lydgate: under whom more will be ſaid of it. [The Latin is dedicated to Guido Vere de Valentia, Biſhop of Tripoli.—*Madden.*]

[2] See *Obſervat. Fair. Qu.* i. § v. p. 202.

[3] viii. 18. [4] Op. p. 476.

[5] Epiſt. 101. *Frequenter inſpicere hiſtorias Q. Curtii*, &c.

[6] iv. 61, &c. Montfaucon, I think, mentions a MS. of Q. Curtius in the Colbertine library at Paris 800 years old. See Barth. ad Claudian. p. 1165. Alexander Benedictus, in his hiſtory of Venice, tranſcribes whole pages from this hiſtorian. I could give other proofs.

[7] 17 F i. Brit. Mus. And again, 20 C. iii. and 15 D. iv. [Sir F. Madden refers to M. Paris's Cat. of the MSS. of the Bibl. Imper. 1836, Noes, 6727-9.]

was made in 1468. But I believe the Latin tranſlations of Simeon Seth's romance on this ſubject were beſt known and moſt eſteemed for ſome centuries.

The French, to reſume the main tenor of our argument, had written metrical romances on moſt of theſe ſubjects before or about the year 1200. Some of theſe ſeem to have been formed from proſe hiſtories, enlarged and improved with new adventures and embelliſhments from earlier and more ſimple tales in verſe on the ſame ſubject. Chreſtien of Troyes wrote *Le Romans du Graal*, or the adventures of the Sangraal, which included the deeds of King Arthur, Sir Triſtram, Lancelot du Lac, and the reſt of the knights of the round table, before 1191. There is a paſſage in a coeval romance, relating to Chreſtien, which proves what I have juſt advanced, that ſome of theſe hiſtories previouſly exiſted in proſe :—

> Chriſtians qui entent et paine
> A rimoyer le meillor conte,
> Par le commandement le Conte,
> Qu'il ſoit contez in cort royal
> Ce eſt li contes del Graal
> Dont li quens li bailla le livre.[1]

Chreſtien alſo wrote the romance of *Sir Percival*, which belongs to the ſame hiſtory.[2] Godfrey de Ligny, a cotemporary, finiſhed a romance begun by Chreſtien, entitled *La Charette* [or Du Chevalier a la Charette], containing the adventures of Launcelot. [This has been printed of late years.] Fauchet affirms, that Chreſtien abounds with

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[1] *Apud* Fauchet, *Rec.* liv. ii. x. p. 99, who adds, "Je croy bien que Romans que nous avons ajourdhuy imprimez, tels que Lancelot du Lac, Triſtan, et autres, ſont refondus ſus les vielles proſes et rymes et puis refraichis de language."

[The *Roman du Saint Graal* is aſcribed to an anonymous *Trouvere* by M. Roquefort, who denies that it was written by Chretien de Troyes. On the authority of the *Cat. de la Valliere*, he alſo attributes the firſt part of the proſe verſion of this romance to Luces du Gaſt, and the continuation only to Robert de Borron. Of de Borron's work entitled *Enfierrement de Merlin ou Roman de St. Graal*, there is a metrical verſion MS. no. 1987 fonds de l'abbaye St. Germain. See *Poeſie Françaiſe dans les xii. et xiii. Siècles.*—Price.]

The oldeſt MSS. of romances on theſe ſubjects which I have ſeen are the following. They are in the royal MSS. of the Britiſh Muſeum. *Le Romanz de Triſtran*, 20 D. ii. This was probably tranſcribed not long after the year 1200.—*Hiſtoire du Lancelot ou S. Graal*, ibid. iii. Perhaps older than the year 1200. Again, *Hiſtoire du S. Graal, ou Lancelot*, 20 C. vi. 1. Tranſcribed ſoon after 1200. This is imperfect at the beginning. The ſubject of Joſeph of Arimathea bringing a veſſel of the Sangral, that is [the holy diſh or veſſel] into England, is of high antiquity. It is thus mentioned in *Morte Arthur*. "And then the old man had an harpe, and he ſung *an olde ſonge* how Joſeph of Arimathy came into this lande." B. iii. c. 5.

[2] Fauchet, p. 103. [*Perceval le galloys, le qui acheua les aduẽtures du Saĩct Graal, auec aulchuns faictz belliqueulz du noble cheualier Gauuaĩ, &c.*], *tranſlatees de rime de l'ancien auteur.*—[Chretien de Troyes. Printed at Paris, 1530, folio. This writer at his death left the ſtory unfiniſhed. It was reſumed by Gautier de Denet, and concluded by Meſſenier. See Roquefort *ut ſup.* p. 194.—*Price.*]

In the royal library at Paris is *Le Roman de Perſeval le Galois, par Creſtien de Troyes.* In verſe, fol. Mons. Galland thinks there is another romance under this title, *Mem. de Lit.* iii. p. 427, ſeq. 433, 8vo. The author of which he ſuppoſes may be Rauol de Biavais, mentioned by Fauchet, p. 142. Compare Lenglet, *Bibl. Rom.*

beautiful inventions.[1] But no ſtory is ſo common among the earlieſt French poets as Charlemagne and his Twelve peers. In the Britiſh Muſeum we have an old French MS. containing the hiſtory of Charlemagne, tranſlated into proſe from Turpin's Latin. The writer declares, that he preferred a ſober proſe tranſlation of this authentic hiſtorian, as hiſtories in rhyme, undoubtedly very numerous on this ſubject, looked ſo much like lies.[2] His title is extremely curious: *Ci comence l'Eſtoire que Turpin le Erceveſque de Reins fit del bon roy Charlemayne, coment il conquiſt Eſpaigne, e delivera des Paens. Et pur ceo qe Eſtoire rimee ſemble menſunge, eſt ceſte mis in proſe, ſolun le Latin qe Turpin meſmes fiſt, tut enſi cume il le viſt et viſt.*[3]

Ogier the Dane makes a part of Charlemagne's hiſtory, and, I believe, is mentioned by Archbiſhop Turpin. But his exploits have been recorded in verſe by Adenez, an old French poet, not mentioned by Fauchet, author of the two metrical romances of [Berthe] and *Cleomades*, under the name of *Ogier le Danois*, in the year 1270. This author was maſter of the muſicians, or, as others ſay, heralds at arms, to the Duke of Brabant. Among the royal

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p. 250. The author of this laſt-mentioned Percevall, in the exordium, ſays that he wrote, among others, the romances of Eneas, Roy Marc, and Uſelt le Blonde: and that he tranſlated into French, Ovid's *Art of Love*. [The French romance of *Perceval* is preſerved in a MS. in the College of Arms, No. 14.—*Madden.* The Engliſh tranſlation is preſerved in a MS. in Lincoln Cathedral Library, and is included in Mr. Halliwell's *Thornton Romances*, 1844.]

[1] P. 105, *ibid.* [Perhaps the ſame, ſays Ritſon, with *Les romans de Chevalier à l'épée, ou L'Hiſtoire de Lancelot du Lac.* To the ſame romance-writer are attributed, *Du Chevalier à Lion, du prince Alexandre, d'Erec*, with others that are now loſt.—*Park.* M. Roquefort's catalogue of Chretien's works ſtill extant contains: *Perceval, le Chevalier au Lion, Lancelot du Lac, Cliget* (Cleges?), *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, and *Erec et Enide*. The latter probably gave riſe to the opinion, that Chretien tranſlated the Æneid, and which has been adopted from Von der Hagen.—*Price.*]

[2] There is a curious paſſage to this purpoſe in an old French proſe romance of *Charlemagne*, written before the year 1200. "Baudouin Comte de Hainau trouva a Sens en Bourgongne le vie de Charlemagne: et mourant la donna a ſa ſour Yolond Comteſſe de S. Pol, qui m'a prie que je la mette en *Roman ſans ryme*. Parce que tel ſe delitera el Roman qui del Latin n'ent cure; et par le Roman ſera mielx gardee. Maintes gens en ont ouy conter et chanter, mais n'eſt ce *menſonge* non ce qu'ils en diſent et chantent cil conteour ne cil jugleor. Nuz contes rymes n'en eſt vrais: tot menſonge ce qu'ils dient." Liv. quatr. [Sir F. Madden notes that this is the ſame as that of Turpin, and refers to M. Paris's Cat. of the MSS. in the national library at Paris, pp. 211-20. There is certainly no concluſive teſtimony in favour of the compoſition of the tranſlation between 1178 and 1205, though Sir F. M. poſitively declares, that it "muſt be limited between theſe dates." He mentions that it was Yoland Counteſs of St. Pol, who cauſed the metrical ſtory of Guillaume de Palerme to be tranſlated into French. This is our *William and the Werwolf*, edited by Sir F. M. 1832, and more recently by the Early Text Society.]

[3] MSS. Harl. 273, f. 86. There is a very old metrical romance on this ſubject, *ibid.* MSS. Harl. 527, l. f. 1. [*Ogier le Dannois duc de Dannemarche* was printed at Paris about 1498; and at Troyes in 1608, were printed, *Hiſtoire de Morgant le geant*, and *Hiſtoire des nobles Proveſſes et Vaillances de Gallien reſtauré.*—Park. See alſo M. Michel's edit. of *Charlemagne*, 1836, from Royal MS. 16 E. viii. 7, written in the twelfth century.]

MSS. in the Muſeum we have a poem, *Le Livre de Ogeir de Dannemarche*.[1] The French have likewiſe illuſtrated this champion in Leonine rhyme. And I cannot help mentioning that they have in verſe *Viſions of Oddegir the Dane in the kingdom of Fairy*, "Viſions d'Ogeir le Danois au Royaume de Faerie en vers François," printed at Paris in 1548.[2]

On the Trojan ſtory the French have an ancient poem, at leaſt not poſterior to the thirteenth century, entitled *Roman de Troye*, written by Benoit de Sainct More. As this author appears not to have been known to the accurate Fauchet, nor la Croix du Maine, I will cite the exordium, eſpecially as it records his name, and implies that the piece [was] tranſlated from the Latin, and that the ſubject was not then common in French:

Cette eſtoire n'eſt pas uſée,
N'en gaires livres n'eſt trouvée:
La retraite ne fut encore
Mais Beneoit de ſainte More,
L'a tranſlaté, et fait et dit,
Et a ſa main les mots ecrit.

He mentions his own name again in the body of the work, and at the end:—

Je n'en fait plus ne plus en dit;
Beneoit qui c'eſt Roman fit.[3]

Du Cange enumerates a metrical MS. romance on this ſubject by Jaques Millet, entitled *De la Deſtruction de Troie*.[4] Montfaucon, whoſe extenſive inquiries nothing could eſcape, mentions Dares Phrigius tranſlated into French verſe, at Milan, about the twelfth century.[5] We find alſo, among the royal MSS. at Paris, Dictys Cretenſis tranſlated into French verſe.[6] To this ſubject, although almoſt equally belonging to that of Charlemagne, we may alſo refer a French romance in verſe, written by Philipes Mouſques, canon and chancellor of the church of Tournay. It is, in fact, a chronicle of France: but the author, who does not chooſe to begin quite ſo high as Adam and Eve, nor yet later than the Trojan war, opens his hiſtory with the rape of Helen, paſſes on to an ample deſcription of the ſiege of

[1] 15 E. vi. 4.
[The title of Adenez' poem is *Les Enfances d'Ogier-le-Danois*, a copy of which is preſerved among the Harl. MSS. No. 4404. His other poem, noticed in the text, is called *Le Roman de Pepin et de Berthe*. See *Cat. Valliere*, No. 2734. The life of Ogier contained in the royal MS. embraces the whole career of this illuſtrious hero; and is evidently a diſtinct work from that of Adenez. Whether it be the ſame verſion alluded to in the French romance of *Alexander*, where the author is diſtinguiſhed from the "conteurs batards" of his day, is left to more competent judges.—*Price*. For an account of the modern printed edition of theſe and other romances of the ſame cycle, ſee Brunet, *dern.* edit. art. *Roman*.]

[2] There is alſo *L'Hiſtoire du preux Meurvin fils d'Ogier le Danois*, Paris, 1539 and 1540. [Of this there is an Engliſh verſion, Lond. 1612, 4to.]

[3] See Galland *ut ſupr.* p. 425. [For an account of Benoit de Saint More's poem, the reader is referred to the 12th vol. of the *Archæologia*, and to the modern edition of the original.]

[4] Gloſs. *Lat. Ind. Aut.* p. cxiii.

[5] *Monum. Fr.* i. 374.

[6] See Montf. *Catal. MSS.* ii. p. 1669.

Troy, and through an exact detail of all the great events which ſucceeded conducts his reader to the year 1240. This work comprehends all the fictions of Turpin's Charlemagne, with a variety of other extravagant ſtories diſperſed in many profeſſed romances. But it preſerves numberleſs curious particulars, which throw conſiderable light on hiſtorical facts. Du Cange has collected from it all that concerns the French emperors of Conſtantinople, which he has printed at the end of his entertaining hiſtory of that city.

It was indeed the faſhion for the hiſtorians of theſe times to form ſuch a general plan as would admit all the abſurdities of popular tradition. Connection of parts and uniformity of ſubject were as little ſtudied as truth. Ages of ignorance and ſuperſtition are more affected by the marvellous than by plain facts, and believe what they find written without diſcernment or examination. No man before the ſixteenth century preſumed to doubt that the Francs derived their origin from Francus, a ſon of Hector; that the Spaniards were deſcended from Japhet, the Britons from Brutus, and the Scots from Fergus. Vincent de Beauvais, who lived under Louis IX. of France, and who, on account of his extraordinary erudition, was appointed preceptor to that king's ſons, very gravely claſſes archbiſhop Turpin's Charlemagne among the real hiſtories, and places it on a level with Suetonius and Cæſar. He was himſelf an hiſtorian, and has left a large hiſtory of the world, fraught with a variety of reading, and of high repute in the middle ages; but edifying and entertaining as this work might have been to his cotemporaries, at preſent it ſerves only to record their prejudices, and to characteriſe their credulity.[1]

Hercules and Jaſon, as I have before hinted, were involved in the Trojan ſtory by Guido di Colonna, and hence became familiar to the romance writers.[2] The Hercules, the Theſeus, and the Amazons of Boccaccio, hereafter more particularly mentioned, came from this ſource. I do not at preſent recollect any old French metrical romances on theſe ſubjects, but preſume that there are many. Jaſon ſeems to have vied with Arthur and Charlemagne; and ſo popular was his expedition to Colchos, or rather ſo firmly believed, that in honour of ſo reſpectable an adventure a duke of Burgundy inſtituted the order of the Golden Fleece in the year 1468. At the ſame time his chaplain Raoul le Feure illuſtrated the ſtory which gave riſe to this magnificent inſtitution, in a prolix and elaborate hiſtory, afterwards tranſlated by Caxton.[3] But I muſt not forget, that

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[1] He flouriſhed about 1260.

[2] The Trojomanna Saga, a Scandic manuſcript at Stockholm, ſeems to be poſterior to Guido's publication. It begins with Jaſon and Hercules, and their voyage to Colchos: proceeds to the rape of Helen, and ends with the ſiege and deſtruction of Troy. It celebrates all the Grecian and Aſiatic heroes concerned in that war. Wanl. *Antiquit. Septentr.* p. 315, col. 1.

[3] See *Obſervat. on Spenſer's Fairy Queen*, i. § v. p. 176, *ſeq.* Montfaucon mentions *Medeæ et Jaſonis Hiſtoria a Guidone de Columna.* Catal. MSS. Bibl. Coiſlin. ii. 1109.—818.

among the royal manuſcripts in the Muſeum, the French romance of *Hercules* occurs in two books, enriched with numerous ancient paintings.[1] [It was, at a later date, reduced into a chap-book. *Parthenope* is, of courſe, the hero of the romance of that name, inſerted in Le Grand's collection, and of which the Engliſh verſions have been lately printed.][2] *Ypomedon* has alſo chriſtened a tale of chivalry, to be noticed hereafter.

The conqueſts of Alexander the Great were celebrated by one Simon, in old [French], about the twelfth century. This piece thus begins:

> Chanſon voil dis per ryme et per Leoin
> Del fil Filippe lo roy de Macedoin.

An Italian poem on Alexander, called *Trionfo Magno*, was preſented to Leo X. by Dominicho Falugi Anciſeno, in the year 1521. Creſcimbeni ſays it was copied from a Provençal romance.[3] But one of the moſt valuable pieces of the old French poetry is on the ſubject of this victorious monarch, entitled *Roman d' Alexandre*. It has been called the ſecond poem now remaining in the French language, and was written about the year 1200. It was confeſſedly tranſlated from the Latin; but it bears a nearer reſemblance to Simeon Seth's romance than to Quintus Curtius. It was the confederated performance of four writers who, as Fauchet expreſſes himſelf, were *aſſociez en leur* jouglerie.[4] Lambert li Cors, a learned

[1] 17 E. ii. [This romance of *Hercules* commences with an account of Uranus or Cælum, and terminates with the death of Ulyſſes by his ſon Telegonus. The mythological fables with which the firſt part abounds, are taken from Boccaccio's *Genealogia Deorum*; and the third part, embracing the deſtruction of Troy by the Greeks under Agamemnon, profeſſes to be a tranſlation from *Dictys of Greece and Dares of Troy*. The Pertonape of the text is evidently Partonepex de Blois (ſee Le Grand, *Fabliaux*, tom. iv. p. 261, and *Notices des Manuſcrits*, tom. ix.), and Ypomedon the hero whom Warton dignifies with the epithet of Childe Ippomedone.—*Price.*]

[2] [*The Old Engliſh Verſions of Partenope of Blois.* Edited by the Rev. W. E. Buckley. Roxburghe Club, 1862. There is a modern paraphaſe in verſe by Mr. W. S. Roſe.]

[3] *Iſtor. Volg. Poes.* i. iv. p. 332. In the royal manuſcripts there is a French poem entitled *La Vengeaunce du graunt Alexandre*, 19 D. i. 2, Brit. Mus. I am not ſure whether it is not a portion of the French *Alexander*, mentioned below, written by Jehan li Nivelois [Venelais].

[4] Fauchet, Rec. p. 83. [The order in which Fauchet has claſſed Lambert li Cors and Alexander of Paris, and which has alſo been adopted by M. Le Grand, is founded on the following paſſage of the original poem:

> "La verité d l'iſtoire ſi com li roys la fiſt
> Un clers de Chaſtiaudun Lambers li Cors li miſt
> Qui du Latin la trait et en roman la fiſt. . . .
> Alexandre nous dit qui de Bernay fu nez
> Et de Paris refu ſe ſurnoms appelles
> Qui or a les ſiens vers o les Lambert melles."

MM. de la Ravalliere and Roquefort have conſidered Alexander as the elder writer; apparently referring (*Alexandre nous dit*) to Lambert li Cors. But the laſt line in this extract clearly confirms M. Le Grand's arrangement. The date aſſigned by M. Roquefort for its publication is 1184. Jehan li Venelais wrote *Le Teſtament d'Alexandre;* and Perot de Saint Cloot, *La Vengeaunce d'Alexandre*. Mr. Douce has enumerated eleven French poets, who have written on the ſubject

civilian, began the poem; and it was continued and completed by Alexandre de Paris, Jean le [Venelais], and [Perot] de Saint [Cloot],[1] The poem is closed with Alexander's will. This is no imagination of any of our three poets, although one of them was a civil lawyer. Alexander's will, in which he nominates successors to his provinces and kingdoms, was a tradition commonly received, and is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus and Ammianus Marcellinus.[2] [This work has never been edited.][3] It is voluminous; and in the Bodleian library at Oxford is a vast folio MS. of it in vellum, which is of great antiquity, richly decorated, and in high preservation.[4] The margins and initials exhibit not only fantastic ornaments and illuminations exquisitely finished, but also pictures executed with singular elegance, expressing the incidents of the story, and displaying the fashion of buildings, armour, dress, musical instruments,[5] and other particulars appropriated to the times. At the end we read this hexameter, which points out the name of the scribe [of that portion, which contains a Scotish metrical romance of Alexander, an addition of the fifteenth century]:[6]

Nomen scriptoris est Thomas plenus amoris.

Then follows the date of the year in which the transcript was completed, viz. 1338. Afterwards there is the name and date of the illuminator, in the following colophon, written in golden letters: *Che livre fu perfais de la enluminiere an xviii°. jour davryl par Jehan de grise l'an de grace m.ccc.xliiii.*[7] Hence it may be concluded, that the illuminations and paintings of this superb manuscript, which were most probably begun as soon as the scribe had finished his part, took up six years: no long time, if we consider the attention of an artist to ornaments so numerous, so various, so minute, and so laboriously touched. It has been supposed that before the appearance

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of Alexander or his family: and Mr. Weber observes, that several others might be added to the list. See Weber's *Metrical Romances* (who notices various European versions), *Notices des Manuscrits du Roi*, t. v.; *Catalogue de la Valliere*, t. ii.—*Price.* Sir F. Madden refers us also to De la Rue, *Essais*, &c. ii. 341-56, and supplies us with the name of Thomas of Kent, an Anglo-Norman (not mentioned by Mr. Price or by Mr. Wright) as one of the continuators of the romance of *Alexander*.]

[1] Fauchet, *ibid.* Mons. Galland mentions a French romance in verse, unknown to Fauchet, and entitled *Roman d'Athys et de Prophylias*, written by one Alexander, whom he supposes to be this Alexander of Paris. *Mem. Lit.* iii. p. 429, edit. Amst. [This conjecture is confirmed by M. Roquefort, *ubi supr.* p. 118.—*Price.*] It is often cited by Carpentier, Suppl. Cang.

[2] See Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* c. iii. l. viii. p. 205.

[3] [Sir F. Madden's inform.]

[4] MSS. Bodl. B 264, fol.

[5] The most frequent of these are organs, bagpipes, lutes, and trumpets.

[6] [Sir F. Madden's inform. He adds, that another portion of the *Alexander* is in MS. Ashmole, 44. The Rev. J. S. Stevenson edited the Alliterative Romances of Alexander for the Roxburghe Club in 1849. In it he printed the alliterative fragments from Bodl. MS. 264, and Ashmole 44 (ab. 1450 A.D.) The far earlier alliterative fragment in MS. Greaves 60 was printed by Mr. Skeat in his edit. of *William of Palerne*, Early English Text Society, 1867.]

[7] [Bishop Warburton had] a most beautiful French manuscript on vellum or *Mort d'Arthur*, ornamented in the same manner. It was a present from Vertue the engraver.

of this poem, the *Romans*, or thoſe pieces which celebrated Geſts, were conſtantly compoſed in ſhort verſes of ſix or eight ſyllables; and that in this *Roman d' Alexandre* verſes of twelve ſyllables were firſt uſed. It has therefore been imagined, that the verſes called *Alexandrines*, the preſent French heroic meaſure, took their riſe from this poem; Alexander being the hero, and Alexander the chief of the four poets concerned in the work. That the name, ſome centuries afterwards, might take place in honour of this celebrated and early effort of French poetry, I think very probable; but that verſes of twelve ſyllables made their firſt appearance in this poem, is a doctrine which, to ſay no more, from examples already produced and examined is at leaſt ambiguous.[1] In this poem Gadifer, hereafter mentioned, of Arabian lineage, is a very conſpicuous champion:

Gadifer fu moult preus, d'un Arrabi lignage.

A rubric or title of one of the chapters is, "Comment Alexander fuit mys en un veſal de vooire pour veoir le merveiles," &c. This is a paſſage already quoted from Simeon Seth's romance, relating Alexander's expedition to the bottom of the ocean, in a veſſel of glaſs, for the purpoſe of inſpecting fiſhes and ſea monſters. In another place from the ſame romance, he turns aſtronomer, and ſoars to the moon by the help of four gryphons. The caliph is frequently mentioned in this piece; and Alexander, like Charlemagne, has his twelve peers.

Theſe were the four reigning ſtories of romance: on which perhaps Engliſh pieces, tranſlated from the French, exiſted before or about the year 1300. But there are ſome other Engliſh romances mentioned in the prologue of *Richard Cuer du Lyon*, which we likewiſe probably received from the French in that period, and on which I ſhall here alſo enlarge.

Beuves de Hanton, or *Sir Bevis de Southampton*, is a French romance of conſiderable antiquity, although the hero is not older than the Norman conqueſt. It is alluded to in our Engliſh romance on this ſtory, which will again be cited, and at large:

Forth thei yode, *ſo ſaith the boke*.[2]

And again more expreſsly,

Under the bridge wer ſixty belles,
Right as the *Romans* telles.[3]

The *Romans* is the French original. It is called the Romance of *Beuves de Hanton*, by Pere Labbe.[4] The very ingenious Monſieur de la Curne de ſainte Palaye mentions an ancient French romance in proſe, entitled *Beufres de Hanton*.[5] Chaucer mentions Bevis, with other famous romances, but whether in French or Engliſh is uncer-

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[1] See Pref. *Le Roman de la Roſe*, par Mons. L'Abbé Lenglet, i. p. xxxvi.

[2] Signat. P ii. [*Bevis of Hamton* was edited from the Auchinleck MS. for the Maitland Club, 1838, 4to.]

[3] Signat. E iv.

[4] *Nov. Bibl.* p. 334, edit. 1652.

[5] *Mem. Lit.* xv. 582, 4to.

tain.[1] *Beuves of Hantonne* was printed at [Troyes as early as 1489].[2] Aſcapart was one of his giants, a character[3] in very old French romances. Bevis lived at Downton in Wiltſhire. Near Southampton is an artificial hill called Bevis Mount, on which was probably a fortreſs; [and within the town there is a gate which ſtill retains his name].[4] It is pretended that he was Earl of Southampton. His ſword is ſhown in Arundel caſtle. This piece was evidently written after the Cruſades; as Bevis is knighted by the King of Armenia, and is one of the generals at the ſiege of Damaſcus.

Guy Earl of Warwick is recited as a French romance by Labbe.[5] In the Britiſh Muſeum a metrical hiſtory in very old French appears, in which Felicia, or Felice, is called the daughter of an earl of Warwick, and Guido, or Guy, of Warwick is the ſon of Seguart the earl's ſteward. The manuſcript is at preſent imperfect.[6] Montfaucon mentions among the royal manuſcripts at Paris, *Roman de Guy et Beuves de Hanton.* The latter is the romance laſt mentioned. Again, *Le Livre de Guy de Warwick et de Harold d'Ardenne.*[7] This Harold d'Arden is a diſtinguiſhed warrior of Guy's hiſtory, and therefore his achievements ſometimes form a ſeparate romance: as in the royal MSS. of the Britiſh Muſeum, where we find *Le Romant de Herolt Dardenne.*[8] In the Engliſh romance of Guy, mentioned

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[1] *Rim. Thop.* [Mr. Wright refers to a good MS. of Bevis, in Caius Coll. Camb.; but the editor does not obſerve any ſuch MS. in Smith's Cat. 1849.]

[2] [The earlieſt printed copy of this romance that I have met with, is in Italian, and printed at Venice, 1489, 4to. Other editions in the ſame language are, Venice, 1562, 1580, 12mo.; Milan, 1584, 4to.; Piacenza, 1599, 12mo.; French editions, Paris, folio, no date, by Verard; *Ibid.* 4to., no date, by Bonfons. I have been informed from reſpectable authority, that this romance is to be found in Provençal poetry, among the MSS. of Chriſtina, queen of Sweden, now in the Vatican library, and that it appears to have been written in 1380. See likewiſe *Bibl. de du Verdier*, tom. iii. p. 266.—*Douce.* For an account of the Engliſh editions, ſee *Handb. of E. E. Lit.*, art. Bevis and Additions, *ibid.*]

[3] Selden's Drayton, *Polyolb.* s. iii. p. 37.

[4] [*Bevis* ſeems long to have retained its popularity, ſince Wither thus complained of the ſale it had about the year 1627. "The ſtationers have ſo peſtered their printing houſes and ſhopps with fruitleſſe volumes, that the auncient and renowned authors are almoſt buried among them as forgotten; and at laſt you ſhall ſee nothing to be ſould amongſt us, but Currantos, Beavis of Hampton, or ſuch trumpery." *Scholler's Purgatory*, (*circa* 1625).—*Park.* Sir F. Madden and ſome other gentlemen, in the year 1833, opened the tumulus at the bottom of the vale of Pugh Dean, about a mile from Arundel caſtle, but found no remains of the hero. The tradition is, that Bevis threw his ſword, ſix feet long, from the walls of the caſtle into the valley, and there appointed to be buried.]

[5] *Ubi ſupr.*

[6] MSS. Harl. 3775, 2. [Other copies are in Corpus Chriſti Coll. Camb. and in the College of Arms.—*Madden.*]

[7] Catal. MSS. p. 792. Among the Benet manuſcripts there is *Romanz de Gui de Warwyk*, Num. l. It begins,

"Puis cel tems ke deus fu nez."

This book belonged to Saint Auguſtin's abbey at Canterbury. With regard to the preceding romance of Bevis, the Italians had *Buovo d'Antona*, undoubtedly from the French, before 1348. And Lhuyd recites in Welſh, *Yſtori Boun o Hamtun. Archæol.* p. 264.

[8] 15 E. vi. 8. [This romance might be called with more propriety an epiſode in

at large in its proper place, this champion is called, *Syr Heraude of Arderne*.[1] At length this favourite ſubject formed a large proſe romance, entitled *Guy de Warwick, Chevalier d' Angleterre, et de la belle fille Felix ſamie*, and printed at Paris [March 12, 1525-6]. Chaucer mentions Guy's ſtory among the *Romaunces of Pris*:[2] and it is alluded to in the Spaniſh romance of *Tirant lo Blanch*, or *Tirante the White*, ſuppoſed to have been written not long after the year 1430.[3] This romance was compoſed, or perhaps enlarged, after the Cruſades, as we find that Guy's redoubted encounters with Colbrond the Daniſh giant, with the monſter of Dunſmore-heath, and the dragon of Northumberland, are by no means equal to ſome of his achievements in the Holy Land, and the trophies which he won from the Soldan under the command of the Emperor Frederick.

The romance of *Sidrac*, entitled in the French verſion [*La fontaine de toutes ſciẽces du philoſophe Sydrach*], appears to have been very popular, from the preſent frequency of its MSS. [both in French and Engliſh.] But it is rather a romance of Arabian philoſophy than of chivalry. It is a ſyſtem of natural knowledge, and particularly treats of the virtues of plants. Sidrac, the philoſopher of this ſyſtem, was aſtronomer to an eaſtern king. He lived eight hundred and forty-ſeven years after Noah, of whoſe book of aſtronomy he was poſſeſſed.

He converts Bocchus, an idolatrous king of India, to the Chriſtian faith, by whom he is invited to build a mighty tower againſt the invaſions of a rival king of India. But the hiſtory, no leſs than the ſubject of this piece, diſplays the ſtate, nature and migrations of literature in the dark ages. After the death of Bocchus, Sidrac's book fell into the hands of a Chaldean renowned for piety. It then ſucceſſively becomes the property of King Madian, Naaman the Aſſyrian, and Grypho, archbiſhop of Samaria. The latter had a prieſt named Demetrius, who brought it into Spain, and here it was tranſlated from the Greek into Latin. This tranſlation is ſaid to be made at Toledo by Roger of Palermo, a minorite friar, in the 13th century. A king of Spain then commanded it to be tranſlated from Latin into Arabic, and ſent it as a moſt valuable preſent to Emir Elmomenim, lord of Tunis. It was next given to Frederick II., emperor of Germany, famous in the Cruſades. This work, which is of conſiderable length, was tranſlated into Engliſh verſe, and will be mentioned on that account again. Sidrac is recited as an eminent philoſopher, with Seneca and King Solomon, in the *Marchaunts Second tale*, aſcribed to Chaucer.[4]

It is natural to conclude that moſt of theſe French romances were

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the life of Raynbrun, Guy's ſon. It recounts the manner in which he releaſed Herolt d'Ardenne from priſon, and the return of both to their native country. It has the merit of being exceedingly ſhort, and ſtates, among other matter, that Herolt was born at Walmforth in England.—*Price*.]

[1] Sign. L ii. *vers*. [2] *Rim. Thop*. [3] Percy's *Ball*. iii. 100.

[4] v. 1932. There is an old tranſlation of *Sidrac* into Dutch, MSS. Marſhall, Bibl. Bodl. 31, fol. [King Bocchus or Boccus ſeems to have been rather a popular character in our own early literature. See *Handb. of E. E. Lit*. p. 43.]

current in England, either in the French originals, which were well underſtood at leaſt by the more polite readers, or elſe by tranſlation or imitation, as I have before hinted, when the romance of *Richard Cuer de Lyon*, in whoſe prologue they are recited, was tranſlated into Engliſh. That the latter was the caſe as to ſome of them, at leaſt, we ſhall ſoon produce actual proofs. A writer, who has conſidered theſe matters with much penetration and judgment, obſerves, that probably from the reign of our Richard I. we are to date that remarkable intercommunication and mutual exchange of compoſitions, which we diſcover to have taken place at ſome early period between the French and Engliſh minſtrels; the ſame ſet of phraſes, the ſame ſpecies of characters, incidents, and adventures, and often the identical ſtories, being found in the metrical romances of both nations.[1] From cloſe connection and conſtant intercourſe, the traditions and the champions of one kingdom were equally known in the other: and although Bevis and Guy were Engliſh heroes, yet on theſe principles this circumſtance by no means deſtroys the ſuppoſition, that their achievements, although perhaps already celebrated in rude Engliſh ſongs, might be firſt wrought into romance by the French;[2] and it ſeems probable, that we continued for ſome time this practice of borrowing from our neighbours. Even the titles of our oldeſt romances, ſuch as [*Sir Pleyndamour*, mentioned by Chaucer in the *Rime of Sir Thopas*, but not at preſent known under ſuch a title],[3] *Sir Triamour*,[4]

[1] Percy's *Eſs. on Anc. Eng. Minſtr.* p. 12, [attached to his edit. of the *Reliques*.]

[2] Dugdale relates, that in the reign of Henry IV., about the year 1410, a lord Beauchamp, travelling into the Eaſt, was hoſpitably received at Jeruſalem by the Soldan's lieutenant: "Who hearing that he was deſcended from the famous Guy of Warwick, *whoſe ſtory they had in books of their own language*, invited him to his palace and, royally feaſting him, preſented him with three precious ſtones of great value, beſides divers cloaths of ſilk and gold given to his ſervants." Baron. i. p. 243, col. 1. This ſtory is delivered on the credit of John Rouſe, the traveller's cotemporary. Yet it is not ſo very improbable that Guy's hiſtory ſhould be a book among the Saracens, if we conſider, that Conſtantinople was not only a central and connecting point between the eaſtern and weſtern world, but that the French in the thirteenth century had acquired an eſtabliſhment there under Baldwin earl of Flanders: that the French language muſt have been known in Sicily, Jeruſalem, Cyprus, and Antioch, in conſequence of the conqueſts of Robert Guiſcard, Hugo le Grand, and Godfrey of Bulloigne: and that pilgrimages into the Holy Land were exceſſively frequent. It is hence eaſy to ſuppoſe, that the French imported many of their ſtories or books of this ſort into the Eaſt; which being thus underſtood there, and ſuiting the genius of the Orientals, were at length tranſlated into their language. It is remarkable, that the Greeks at Conſtantinople, in the twelfth century and ſince, called all the Europeans by the name of Franks, as the Turks do to this day. See Seld. [Note on Drayton's] *Polyolb.* § viii. p. 130. [Buſbec, in the third letter of his Embaſſy into Turkey, mentions that the Georgians in their ſongs make frequent mention of Roland, whoſe name he ſuppoſes to have paſſed over with Godfrey of Bulloigne.—*Douce*.]

[3] [The editor merely throws out the ſuggeſtion that *Pleyndamour* is merely another form of *Plenus Amoris*, and that Thomas Plenus Amoris purports to have been the writer or tranſcriber of an early Scotiſh romance on the ſubject of Alexander, above mentioned. *Sir Blandamour* is one of the characters in the *Faerie Queene*.]

[4] [Edited by Mr. Halliwell for the Percy Society, 1846.]

Sir Eglamour of Artois,[1] *La Mort d'Arthur*, with many more, betray their French extraction. It is likewiſe a preſumptive argument in favour of this aſſertion, that we find no proſe romances in our language before Caxton tranſlated from the French the Hiſtory of Troy, the Life of Charlemagne, the Hiſtories of Jaſon, Paris and Vyenne,[2] [Morte d'Arthur,] and other proſe pieces of chivalry: by which, as the profeſſion of minſtrelſy decayed and gradually gave way to a change of manners and cuſtoms, romances in metre were at length imperceptibly ſuperſeded, or at leaſt grew leſs in uſe as a mode of entertainment at public feſtivities.

Various cauſes concurred, in the mean time, to multiply books of

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[1] In our Engliſh *Syr Eglamour of Artoys*, there is this reference to the French from which it was tranſlated. Sign. E. i.

"His own mother there he wedde,
In Romaunce as we rede."

Again, fol. ult.

"In Romaunce this cronycle ys."

The authors of theſe pieces often refer to their original. Juſt as Arioſto mentions Turpin for his voucher. [Halliwell's *Thornton Romances*, Camd. Soc. 1844.]

[2] [A ſhort proſe tale of chivalry, an Engliſh verſion of which was printed by Caxton in 1485. See Roxburghe Library reprint, 1868, Pref. But to what is there ſaid may now be added that in the French language there are no fewer than three independent verſions of this ſtory, all derived from an at preſent undiſcovered Provençal original. 1. The MS. No. 7534 in the Bibliothèque Imperiale, at Paris, printed in 1835. 2. A MS. in large 4to. on paper, with the prologue of Pierre de la Sippade dated, not 1459, as in the Paris copy, but 1432, a very important variation, ſince in the Paris MS. Sippade is made (as it would ſeem falſely) to repreſent that he did not tranſlate the work out of the Provençal till 1459. 3. An abridged verſion, of which there were ſeveral early-printed editions in 4to., of which one, now before me, has thirty-two leaves, with woodcuts, and is in two columns. This laſt was Caxton's original; and he has followed the French text very cloſely. There muſt have been impreſſions of the ſhorter ſtory in type before 1485, therefore; but the earlieſt editions cited by Brunet are without note of the year. The copy, mentioned above as having the date 1432 to the Prologue, differs likewiſe materially in the arrangement of the text, and, to a certain extent, in the conduct of the ſtory. In the old library of the Dukes of Burgundy,[1] according to an inventory taken about 1467, No. 2291 of the MSS. was *Le Roman de Paris et de la belle Vienne traduit de provençal en françois, par Pierre de la Ceppède Marſeillois*, ſur papier, avec miniatures.

Mr. Price obſerves: Its early and extenſive popularity is manifeſted by the prologue to the Swediſh verſion, made by order of Queen Euphemia, in the ſecond month of the year 1308. This refers to a German original, executed at the command of the Emperor Otho (1197-1208); but this again was taken from a foreign (Wälſche) ſource.]

But I muſt not omit here that Du Cange recites a metrical French romance in MS., *Le Roman de Girard de Vienne*, written by Bertrand le Clerc. *Gloſſ. Lat.* i. *Index Auct.* p. cxciii. Madox has printed the names of ſeveral French romances found in the reign of Edward III., among which one on this ſubject occurs. *Formul. Anglic.* p. 12. Compare *Obſervations on Spenſer's Fairy Queen*, vol. ii. § viii. p. 43. Among the royal MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum, there is in verſe *Hiſtoire de Gyrart de Vienne et de ſes freres*, 20 D. xi. 2. This MS. was perhaps written before the year 1300. [It is on vellum, in two columns. It appears to be the romance quoted by Du Cange.]

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[1] [Blades, *Life and Typogr. of W. Caxton*, i. 278.]

chivalry among the French, and to give them a ſuperiority over the Engliſh, not only in the number but in the excellence of thoſe compoſitions. Their barons lived in greater magnificence. Their feudal ſyſtem flouriſhed on a more ſumptuous, extenſive, and laſting eſtabliſhment. Schools were inſtituted in their caſtles for initiating the young nobility in the rules and practice of chivalry. Their tilts and tournaments were celebrated with a higher degree of pomp; and their ideas of honour and gallantry were more exaggerated and refined.

We may add, what indeed has been before incidentally remarked, that their troubadours were the firſt writers of metrical romances. But by what has been here advanced, I do not mean to inſinuate without any reſtrictions, that the French entirely led the way in theſe compoſitions. Undoubtedly the Provençal bards contributed much to the progreſs of Italian literature. Raimond IV. of Arragon, count of Provence, a lover and a judge of letters, about the year 1220, invited to his court the moſt celebrated of the ſongſters who profeſſed to poliſh and adorn the Provençal language by various ſorts of poetry.[1] Charles I., his ſon-in-law, and the inheritor of his virtues and dignities, conquered Naples, and carried into Italy a taſte for the Provençal literature. This taſte prevailed at Florence eſpecially, where Charles reigned many years with great ſplendour, and where his ſucceſſors reſided. Soon afterwards the Roman court was removed to Provence.[2] Hitherto the Latin language had only been in uſe. The Provençal writers eſtabliſhed a common dialect; and their example convinced other nations that the modern languages were no leſs adapted to compoſition than thoſe of antiquity.[3] They introduced a love of reading, and diffuſed a general and popular taſte for poetry, by writing in a language intelligible to the ladies and the people. Their verſes, being conveyed in a familiar tongue, became the chief amuſement of princes and feudal lords, whoſe courts had now begun to aſſume an air of greater brilliancy; a circumſtance which neceſſarily gave great encouragement to their profeſſion, and by rendering theſe arts of ingenious entertainment univerſally faſhionable, imper-

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[1] Giovan. Villani, *Iſtor.* l. vi. c. 92.

[2] Villani acquaints us, that Brunetti Latini, Dante's maſter, was the firſt who attempted to poliſh the Florentines by improving their taſte and ſtyle. He died in 1294. See Villan. *ibid.* l. ix. c. 135. [That Brunetti did not write his *Teſoro* in Provençal we have his own authority, and the evidence of the work itſelf:—Et ſe aucuns demandoit pourquoi chis livre eſt eſcrit en roumans ſelon la raiſon de France, pour chou que nous ſommes Ytalien je diroie que ch'eſt pour chou que nous ſommes en France; l'autre pour chou que la parleure en eſt plus delitable et plus commune a toutes gens. Notices des Manuſcripts, t. v. p. 270.—*Price.*]

[3] Dante deſigned at firſt that his *Inferno* ſhould appear in Latin. But finding that he could not ſo effectually in that language impreſs his ſatirical ſtrokes and political maxims on the laity or illiterate, he altered his mind, and publiſhed that piece in Italian. Had Petrarch written his *Africa*, his Eclogues, and his proſe compoſitions in Italian, the literature of his country would much ſooner have arrived at perfection. [Mr. R. Taylor refers to Roſſetti's *Spirito Antipapale*, 1832.]

ceptibly laid the foundation of polite literature. From theſe beginnings it were eaſy to trace the progreſs of poetry to its perfection, through John de Meun in France, Dante in Italy, and Chaucer in England.

This praiſe muſt undoubtedly be granted to the Provençal poets. But in the mean time, to recur to our original argument, we ſhould be cautious of aſſerting, in general and undiſcriminating terms, that the Provençal poets were the firſt writers of metrical romance: at leaſt we ſhould aſcertain, with rather more preciſion than has been commonly uſed on this ſubject, how far they may claim this merit. I am of opinion that there were two ſorts of French troubadours, who have not hitherto been ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed. If we diligently examine their hiſtory, we ſhall find that the poetry of the firſt troubadours conſiſted in ſatires, moral fables, allegories, and ſentimental ſonnets. So early as the year 1180, a tribunal, called the Court of Love, was inſtituted both in Provence and Picardy, at which queſtions in gallantry were decided. This inſtitution furniſhed eternal matter for the poets, who threw the claims and arguments of the different parties into verſe, in a ſtyle that afterwards led the way to the ſpiritual converſations of Cyrus and Clelia.[1] Fontenelle does not ſcruple to acknowledge, that gallantry was the parent of French poetry.[2] But to ſing romantic and chivalrous adventures was a very different taſk, and required very different talents. The troubadours, therefore, who compoſed metrical romances, form a different ſpecies, and ought always to be conſidered ſeparately. And this latter claſs ſeems to have commenced at a later period, not till after the Cruſades had effected a great change in the manners and ideas of the weſtern world. In the meantime I hazard a conjecture. Giraldi Cinthio ſuppoſes that the art of the troubadours, commonly called the Gay Science, was firſt communicated from France to the Italians, and afterwards to the Spaniards.[3] This, perhaps, may be true; but at the ſame time it is highly probable, as the Spaniards had their *Juglares* or convivial bards very early, as from long connection they were immediately and intimately acquainted with the fictions of the Arabians, and as they were naturally fond of chivalry, that the troubadours of Provence in great meaſure caught this turn of fabling from Spain. To mention no other obvious means of intercourſe in an affair of this nature, the communication was eaſy through the ports of Toulon and Marſeilles, by which the two nations carried on from early times a conſtant commerce. Even the French critics themſelves univerſally allow that the Spaniards, having learned rhyme from the Arabians, through this very channel conveyed it to Provence. Taſſo preferred *Amadis de Gaul*, a romance originally written in [Portugal] by Vaſco Lobeyra before the year 1300,[4] to

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[1] This part of their character will be inſiſted upon more at large when we come to ſpeak of Chaucer.

[2] *Theatr. Fr.* p. 13.

[3] *Apud* Huet. *Orig. Rom.* p. 108.

[4] Nic. Antonius, *Bibl. Hiſpan. Vet.* tom. ii. l. viii. c. 7, num. 291.

the moſt celebrated pieces of the Provençal poets.[1] But this ſubject [has received illuſtration from ſeveral writers to whom we may refer, Sainte Palaye,[2] Millot,[3] Fauriel,[4] Paulin Paris,[5] Paul Meyer, Gaſton Paris, &c.]

SECTION IV.

VARIOUS matters ſuggeſted by the Prologue of *Richard cuer de Lyon*, cited in the laſt ſection, have betrayed us into a long digreſſion, and interrupted the regularity of our annals. But I could not neglect ſo fair an opportunity of preparing the reader for thoſe metrical tales which, having acquired a new caſt of fiction from the Cruſades and a magnificence of manners from the increaſe of chivalry, now began to be greatly multiplied, and as it were profeſſedly to form a ſeparate ſpecies of poetry. I now therefore reſume the ſeries, and proceed to give ſome ſpecimens of the Engliſh metrical romances which appeared before or about the reign of Edward II.: and although moſt of theſe pieces continued to be ſung by the minſtrels in the halls of our magnificent anceſtors for ſome [time] afterwards, yet, as their firſt appearance may moſt probably be dated at this period, they properly coincide in this place with the tenor of our hiſtory. In the mean time, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that by frequent repetition and ſucceſſive changes of language during many generations, their original ſimplicity muſt have been in ſome degree corrupted. Yet ſome of the ſpecimens are extracted from manuſcripts written in the reign of Edward III. Others indeed from printed copies, where the editors took great liberties in accommodating the language to the times. However, in ſuch as may be ſuppoſed to have ſuffered moſt from depravations of this ſort, the ſubſtance of the ancient ſtyle ſtill remains, and at leaſt the ſtructure of the ſtory. On the whole, we mean to give the reader an idea of thoſe popular heroic tales in verſe, profeſſedly written for the harp, which began to be multiplied among us about the beginning of the fourteenth century. We will begin with the romance of *Richard cuer de Lyon*, already mentioned.

The poem opens with the marriage of Richard's father, Henry II. with the daughter of Carbarryne, a king of Antioch. But this s only a lady of romance. Henry married Eleanor, the divorced

[1] *Diſc. del Poem. Eroic.* l. ii. pp. 45, 46.

[2] [*Memoires ſur l'ancienne Chevalerie*, 1781, 3 vols. 12mo.]

[3] [*Hiſtoire Litteraire des Troubadours*, 1774, 3 vols. 12mo. An abridged Engliſh verſion appeared in 1807. See Brunet, *dern. edit.* v. 65.]

[4] [*Hiſtoire de la Poeſie Provençale*, 1847-8, 3 vols. 8vo.]

[5] *Li Romans de Garin le Loherain, publié pour la première fois, et precedé de l'examen du ſyſtème de M. Fauriel ſur les romans Carlovingiens*, 1833-5, 2 vols. 12mo. It may be worth while to add Biſhop Hurd's *Letters on Chivalry and Romance*, 1762, 8vo.]

queen of Louis of France. The minſtrels could not conceive any thing leſs than an Eaſtern princeſs to be the mother of this magnanimous hero:

His barons hym ſedde[1]
That he graunted a wyff to wedde.
Haſtely he ſente hys ſondes
Into many dyuerſe londes,
The feyreſte wyman that wore on liff
Men wolde[2] bringe hym to wyff[3]

The meſſengers or ambaſſadors, in their voyage, meet a ſhip adorned like Cleopatra's galley:

Swylk on ne ſeygh they never non;
All it was whyt of huel-bon,
And every nayl with gold begrave:
Off pure gold was the ſtave;[4]
Her maſt was [of] yvory;
Off ſamyte the ſayl wytterly.
Her ropes wer off tuely ſylk,
Al ſo whyt as ony mylk.
That noble ſchyp was al withoute
With clothys of golde ſprede aboute;
And her loof[5] and her wyndas[6]
Off aſure forſothe it was.
In that ſchyp ther wes i-dyght
Knyghts and ladyys of mekyll myght;
And a lady therinne was,
Bryght as the ſunne thorugh the glas.
Her men aborde gunne to ſtonde,
And ſeſyd that other with her honde,
And prayde hem for to dwelle
And her counſayl for to telle:
And they graunted with all ſkylle
For to telle al at her wylle:
"Swo wyde landes we have went[7]
For kyng Henry us has ſent,

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[1] [redde, *adviſed.*] [2] [ſholde.]

[3] [The preſent text has been taken from the edition of this romance by Mr. Weber, who followed a manuſcript of no very early date in Caius College library, Cambridge. The variations between this and the early printed editions conſiſt principally in the uſe of a more antiquated phraſeology, with ſome trifling changes of the ſenſe. The moſt important of theſe are given in the notes below. Mr. Ellis, who has analyſed this romance (vol. ii. p. 186), conceives the fable in its preſent form to have originated with the reign of Edward I.; and that the extravagant fictions it contains were grafted by ſome Norman minſtrel upon an earlier narrative, more in uniſon with Richard's real hiſtory. Of the ſtory in its uncorrupted ſtate, he conſiders a fragment occurring in the Auchinlech MS. to be an Engliſh tranſlation; and as this document was "tranſcribed in the minority of Edward III." the following declaration of Mr. Weber may not exceed the truth:—"There is no doubt that our romance exiſted before the year 1300, as it is referred to in the Chronicles of Robert of Glouceſter and Robert de Brunne; and as theſe rhymeſters wrote for mere Engliſh readers, it is not to be ſuppoſed that they would refer them to a French original."—*Price.*]

[4] [ſklave, *rudder: clavus.*]

[5] [loft, *deck.* Sir F. Madden refers for an explanation of this word to Michel's *Triſtan*, Gloſſ. under *Lof.* and to his own edit. of La3amon's *Brut*, 1847, i. 335, where the word is tranſlated *luff.*]

[6] [wyndlace.] [7] ["To dyverſe londes do we wende."]

For to ſeke hym a qwene
The fayreſte that myghte fonde bene."
Upros a kyng off a chayer
With that word they ſpoke ther.
The chayer was [of] charboncle ſton,
Swylk on ne ſawgh they never non:
And tuo dukes hym beſyde,
Noble men and mekyl off pryde,
And welcomed the meſſangers ylkone.
Into that ſchyp they gunne gone. . . .
They ſette treſteles and layde a borde;
Cloth of ſylk theron was ſprad,
And the kyng hymſelve bad,
That his doughter were forth ſette,
And in a chayer before hym ſette.
Trumpes begonne for to blowe;
Sche was ſette forth in a throwe[1]
With twenty knyghtes her aboute
And moo off ladyes that wer ſtoute. . .
Whenne they had nygh i-eete,
Adventures to ſpeke they nought forgeete.
The kyng ham tolde, in hys reſoun
It com hym thorugh a vyſyoun,
In his land that he cam froo,
Into Yngelond for to goo;
And his doughtyr that was ſo dere
For to wende bothe in fere,[2]
"In this manere we have us dyght
Into that lande to wende ryght."
Thenne aunſweryd a meſſanger,
Hys name was callyd Bernager,
"Forther wole we ſeke nought
To my lord ſhe ſchal be brought."

They ſoon arrive in England, and the lady is lodged in the Tower of London, one of the royal caſtles:

The meſſangers the kyng have tolde
Of that ladye fayr and bold,
Ther he lay in the Tour
Off that lady whyt ſo flour.
Kyng Henry gan hym ſon dyght,
With erls, barons, and manye a knyght,
Agayn the lady for to wende:
For he was curteys and hende.
The damyſele on lond was led,
And clothes of gold before her ſpred,
And her fadyr her beforn
With a coron off gold icorn;
The meſſangers be ylk a ſyde
And menſtralles with mekyl pryde
Kyng Henry lyght in hyyng
And grette fayr that uncouth kyng. . .

[1] immediately. [In an ancient Provençal poem, of which M. de Sainte Palaye has given ſome account in his *Mémoires ſur l'ancienne Chevalerie*, tom ii. p. 160, a maſter gives the following inſtructions to his pupil, "Ouvrez a votre cheval par des coupes redoublés, la route qu'il doit tenir, et que ſon portrail ſoit garni de beaux grelots ou ſonnettes bien rangées; car ces ſonnettes reveillent merveilleuſement le courage de celui qui le monte, et repandent devant lui la terreur."—*Douce.*]

[2] company.

To Weſtemenſtre they wente in fere
Lordyngs and ladys that ther were.
Trumpes begonne for to blowe,
To mete [1] they wente in a throwe, &c.[2]

The firſt of our hero's achievements in chivalry is at a ſplendid tournament held at Saliſbury. Clarendon, near Saliſbury, was one of the king's palaces: [3]

Kyng Rychard gan hym dyſguyſe
In a ful ſtrange queyntyſe.[4]
He cam out of a valaye
For to ſe of theyr playe,
As a knyght aventurous:
Hys atyre was orgolous:[5]
Al togyder cole black
Was hys horſe withoute lacke;
Upon hys creſt a raven ſtode,
That yaned[6] as he wer wode.
He bare a ſchafte that was grete and ſtrong,
It was fourtene foot long;
And it was grete and ſtout,
One and twenty ynches about.[7]
The fyrſt knyght that he there mette,
Ful egyrly he hym grette
With a dente amyd the ſchelde;
His hors he bar doun in the felde, &c.[8]

A battle-axe which Richard carried with him from England into the Holy Land is thus deſcribed:

King Richard, I underſtond,
Or he went out of Englond,

---

[1] to dinner. [2] line 135.

[3] In the pipe-rolls of this king's reign I find the following articles relating to this ancient palace, which has been already mentioned incidentally. *Rot. Pip.* 1 *Ric. I.* "Wiltes.—Et in cariagio vini Regis a Clarendon uſque Woodeſtoke, 34*s.* 4*d.* per Br. Reg. Et pro ducendis 200 m. [marcis] a Sareſburia uſque Briſtow, 7*s.* 4*d.* per Br. Reg. Et pro ducendis 2500 libris a Sareſburia uſque Gloceſtriam, 26*s.* 10*d.* per Br. Reg. Et pro tonellis et clavis ad eoſdem denarios. Et in cariagio de 4000 marcis a Sarum uſque Suthanton, et pro tonellis et aliis neceſſariis, 8*s.* et 1*d.* per Br. Reg." And again in *Rot. Pip.* 30 *Hen. III.* "Wilteſcire.—Et in una marcelſia ad opus regis et reginæ apud Clarendon cum duobus intercluſoriis et duabus çameris privatis, hoſtio veteris aulæ amovendo in porticu, et de eadem aula camera facienda cum camino et feneſtris, et camera privata, et quadam magna coquina quadrata, et aliis operationibus, contentis in Brevi, inceptis per eundem Nicolaum et non perfectis, 526*l.* 16*s.* 5*d.* ob. per Br. Reg." Again, *Rot. Pip.* 39 *Hen. III.* "Sudhamt.—*Comp. Novæ foreſtæ.* Et in triginta miliaribus ſcindularum [ſhingles] faciend. in eadem foreſta et cariand. eaſdem uſque Clarendon ad domum regis ibidem cooperiandam, 6*l.* et 1 marc. per Br. Reg. Et in 30 mill. ſcindularum faciend. in eadem, et cariand. uſque Clarendon, 11*l.* 10*s.*" And again, in the ſame reign, the canons of Ivy-church receive penſions for celebrating in the royal chapel there. *Rot. Pip.* 7 *Hen. III.* "Wiltes.—Et canonicis de monaſterio ederoſo miniſtrantibus in Capella de Clarendon. 35*l.* 7*d.* ob." Stukeley is miſtaken in ſaying this palace was built by King John.

[4] See Du Cange, *Gl. Lat.* Cointiſe.

[5] proud, pompous. [6] yawned.

[7] It is "One and twenti inches aboute." So Dr. Farmer's MS., purchaſed from Mr. Martin's library. See *ſupr.* This is in Engliſh.

[8] line 267.

Let him make an axe[1] for the nones,
To breke therwith the Saraſyns[2] bones.
The head was wrought right wele;
Therin was twenty pounde of ſtele;
And when he came into Cyprus lond,
The ax he tok in his hond.
All that he hit, he all to-frapped;
The griffons[3] away faſt rapped;
Natheles many he cleaved,
And their unthanks ther by-lived;
And the priſoun when he cam to,
With his ax he ſmot right tho,
Dores, barres, and iron chains, &c.[4]

This formidable axe is again mentioned at the ſiege of Acon or Acre, the ancient Ptolemais:

Kyng Rychard aftyr, anon ryght,
Toward Acres gan hym dyght;
And as he ſaylyd toward Surreye,[5]
He was warnyd off a ſpye,
Howe the folk off the hethene lawe
A gret cheyne hadden i-drawe
Over the havene of Acres fers,
And was feſtnyd to two pelèrs,
That nop ſchyp ne ſcholde in-wynne,[6]
Ne they nought out that wer withynne.
Therfore ſevene yer and more
Alle Cryſtene kynges leyen thore,
And with gret hongyr ſuffryd payne,
For lettyng off that ilke chayne.
Kyng Richard herd that tydyng;
For joye hys herte beganne to ſprynge,
And ſwor and ſayde in his thought,
That ylke chayne ſcholde helpe hem nought
A ſwythe ſtrong galeye he took,
And[7] Trenchemer,[8] ſo ſays the book,

---

[1] Richard's battle-axe is alſo mentioned by [de] Brunne, and on this occaſion, *Chron.* p. 159.

[2] The Cruſades imported the phraſe Jeu Sarrazionois, for any ſharp engagement, into the old French romances.—Thus in the *Roman d'Alexandre*, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. *ut ſupr.* P. 1.

"Tholomer le regrette et le plaint en Grijois,
Et diſt que s'il cuſſent o culz telz vingt et trois,
Il nous euſſent fet un Jeu Sarrazionois."

[3] The Byzantine Greeks are often called Griffones by the hiſtorians of the middle ages. See Du Cange *Gloſs. Ville-Hard.* p. 363. See alſo Rob. [de] Brun. *Chron.* pp. 151, 157, 159, 160, 165, 171, 173. Wanley ſuppoſes that the Griffin in heraldry was intended to ſignify a Greek or Saracen, whom they thus repreſented under the figure of an imaginary eaſtern monſter, which never exiſted but as an armorial badge.

[4] line 2196. [5] Syria.

[6] So Fabyan, of Roſamond's bower: "that no creature, man or woman, myght *wynne* to her," *i. e.* go in, by contraction, Win. *Chron.* vol. i. p. 320, col. i. edit. 1533. [þinnan A.-S. to labour, ſtrive at, and hence attain to by labour.—*Price.*]

[7] Rob. [de] Brun. *Chron.* p. 170.

"The kynge's owne galeie he cald it *Trencthemere*."

[8] ["*Trenchemere*, ſo ſaith the boke.—
The galey yede as ſwift
As ony fowle by the lyfte."]

Steryd the galey ryght ful evene,
Ryght in the myddes off the havene.
Wer the maryners ſaughte or wrothe,
He made hem ſayle and rowe bothe;
And kynge Rychard, that was ſo good,
With hys axe in foreſchyp ſtood.
And whenne he com the cheyne too,
With hys ax he ſmot it in two,[1]
That all the barouns, verrayment,
Sayde it was a noble dent;
And for joye off this dede
The cuppes faſt abouten yede,[2]
With good wyn, pyement and clarré;
And ſaylyd toward Acres cyté.
Kyng Richard, oute of hys galye,
Caſte wylde-fyr into the ſkeye,
And fyr Gregeys into the ſee,
And al on fyr wer thê.
Trumpes yede in hys galeye,
Men mighte it here into the ſkye,
Taboures and hornes Sarezyneys,[3]
The ſee brent all off fyr Gregeys.[4]

This *fyr Gregeys*, or Grecian fire, ſeems to be a compoſition belonging to the Arabian chemiſtry. It is frequently mentioned by the Byzantine hiſtorians, and was very much uſed in the wars of the middle ages, both by ſea and land. It was a ſort of wild-fire, ſaid to be inextinguiſhable by water, [but innocuous againſt vinegar prepared in a certain manner,] and chiefly uſed for burning ſhips, againſt which it was thrown in pots or phials by the hand. In land engagements it ſeems to have been diſcharged by machines conſtructed on purpoſe. The oriental Greeks pretended that this artificial fire was invented by Callinicus, an architect of Heliopolis, under Conſtantine; and that Conſtantine prohibited them from communicating the manner of making it to any foreign people. It was, however, in common uſe among the nations confederated with the Byzantines; and Anna Comnena has given an account of its ingredients,[5] which were bitumen, ſulphur, and naphtha. It is called *feu gregois* in the French chronicles and romances. Our minſtrel, I believe, is ſingular in ſaying that Richard ſcattered this fire on Saladin's ſhips: many monkiſh hiſtorians of the holy war, in deſcribing the ſiege of Acon, relate that it was employed on that occaſion and many others by the Saracens againſt the Chriſtians.[6] Procopius, in his hiſtory of the Goths, calls it *Medea's Oil*, as if it had been a preparation uſed in the ſorceries of that enchantreſs.[7]

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[1] Thus R. de Brunne ſays, "he fondred the Sarazyns otuynne." p. 574. [But *fondred* ſeems to be a miſ-reading for *fondred*, parted or clove.]
[2] went. [3] [ſhalmys, *ſhawms*.] [4] line 2593.
[5] See Du Cange, *Not. ad. Joinvil.* p. 71. And *Gl. Lat.*, V. *Ignis Græcus.*
[6] See more particularly *Chron.* Rob. [de] Brun. p. 170. And Benedict. Abb. p. 652. And Joinv. *Hiſt.* L. pp. 39, 46, 52, 53, 62, 70.
[7] iv. 11.

The quantity of huge battering rams and other military engines, now unknown, which Richard is ſaid to have tranſported into the Holy Land, was prodigious. The names of ſome of them are given in another part of this romance.[1] It is an hiſtorical fact, that Richard was killed by the French from the ſhot of an arcubaliſt, a machine which he often worked ſkilfully with his own hands: and Guillaume le Breton, a Frenchman, in his Latin poem called *Philippeis*, introduces Atropos making a decree that Richard ſhould die by no other means than by a wound from this deſtructive inſtrument, the uſe of which, after it had been interdicted by the Pope in the year 1139, he revived, and is ſuppoſed to have ſhown the French in the Cruſades:[2]

[Ginnes?] he hadde on wondyr wyſe;
Mang[o]neles[3] off gret queintyſe;[4]
Arwblaſt bowe, and[5] with gynne
The Holy Lond[e] for to wynne.
Ovyr al othyr wyttyrly,
A melle[6] he hadde off gret mayſtry;

---

[1] "Twenty grete gynnes for the nones
Kynge Richard ſent for to caſt ſtones," &c.

Among theſe were the Mategriffon and the Robynet. Sign. N. iii. The former of theſe is thus deſcribed. Sign. E. iiii.:

"I have a caſtell I underſtonde
Is made of tembre of Englonde
With ſyxe ſtages full of tourelles
Well flouryſhed with cornelles," &c.

See Du Cange *Not. Joinv.* p. 68, Mategryffon is the Terror or plague of the Greeks. Du Cange, in his [*Hiſtoire de Conſtantinople ſous les empereurs Français,*] mentions a caſtle of this name in Peloponeſus. Benedict ſays that Richard erected a ſtrong caſtle, which he called Mate-gryffon, on the brow of a ſteep mountain without the walls of the city of Meſſina in Sicily. Benedict. Abb. p. 621, ed. Hearn. ſub. ann. 1190. Robert de Brunne mentions this engine from our romance. *Chron.* p. 157:

"The romancer it ſais Richarde did make a pele,
On kaſtelle wiſe allwais wrought of tre ful wele.—
In ſchip he ded it lede, &c. . . . . .
His pele from that dai forward he cald it Mate-griffon."

Pele is a houſe [a caſtle, fortification]. Archbiſhop Turpin mentions Charlemagne's wooden caſtles at the ſiege of a city in France, cap. ix.

[2] See Carpentier's *Suppl. Du Cange*, Lat. Gl. tom. i. p. 434. And Du Cange, *ad Ann. Alex.* p. 357.

[3] See *ſupr.* It is obſervable that *Manganum*, Mangonell, was not known among the Roman military machines, but exiſted firſt in the Byzantine Greek Μαγγανον, a circumſtance which ſeems to point out its inventors, at leaſt to ſhew that it belonged to the oriental art of war. It occurs often in the Byzantine Tactics, although at the ſame time it was perhaps derived from the Latin *Machina:* yet the Romans do not appear to have uſed in their wars ſo formidable and complicated an engine, as this is deſcribed to have been in the writers of the dark ages. It was the capital machine of the wars of thoſe ages. Du Cange, in his [*Conſtantinople ſous les empereurs Français*] mentions a vaſt area at Conſtantinople in which the machines of war were kept. p. 155.

[4] See *ſupr.* [5] [made.] [6] mill.

In myddys a ſchyp for to ſtand;
Swylke on ſawgh nevyr man in land:
Four[e] ſayles wer theretoo,
Yelew and grene, red and bloo.
With canevas layd wel al about,
Ful ſchyr withinne and eke without;
Al withinne ful off feer,
Of torches maad with wex ful cleer;
Ovyrtwart and endelang,
With ſtrenges of wyr the ſtones hang;[1]
Stones that deden never note,
Grounde they never whete, no grote,
But rubbyd as they wer wood.
Out of the eye ran red blood.[2]
Beffore the trowgh there ſtood on;
Al in blood he was begon,
And hornes grete upon his hede;
Sarezynes theroff hadde gret drede.[3]

The laſt circumſtance recalls a fiend-like appearance drawn by Shakeſpeare; in which, excluſive of the application, he has converted ideas of deformity into the true ſublime, and rendered an image terrible, which in other hands would have probably been ridiculous:—

Methought his eyes
Were two full moons; he had a thouſand noſes,
Horns whelk'd and wav'd like the enridged ſea,
It was ſome fiend——[4]

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[1] [With ſpryngelles of fyre they dyde honde.]—Eſpringalles, Fr. Engines. See Du Cange, *Gl. Lat.* Spingarda, Quadrellus. And Not. Joinv. p. 78. Perhaps he means pellets of tow dipped in the Grecian fire, which ſometimes were thrown from a ſort of mortar. Joinville ſays, that the Greek fire thrown from a mortar looked like a huge dragon flying through the air, and that at midnight the flaſhes of it illuminated the Chriſtian camp, as if it had been broad day. When Louis's army was encamped on the banks of the Thanis in Ægypt, ſays the ſame curious hiſtorian, about the year 1249, they erected two *chats chateils*, or covered galleries, to ſhelter their workmen, and at the end of them two *befrois*, or vaſt moveable wooden towers, full of croſsbow men, who kept a continual diſcharge on the oppoſite ſhore. Beſides eighteen other new-invented engines for throwing ſtones and bolts. But in one night, the deluge of Greek fire ejected from the Saracen camp utterly deſtroyed theſe enormous machines. This was a common diſaſter; but Joinville ſays, that his pious monarch ſometimes averted the danger, by proſtrating himſelf on the ground, and invoking our Saviour with the appellation of *Beau Sire*, pp. 37, 39.

[2] This device is thus related by Robert of Brunne, *Chron.* pp. 175-176:

"Richard als ſuithe did raiſe his engyns
The Inglis wer than blythe, Normans and Petevyns:
In bargeis and galeis he ſet mylnes to go,
The ſailes, as men ſais, ſom were blak and blo,
Som were rede and grene, the wynde about them blewe.
The ſtones were of Rynes, the noyſe dreadfull and grete;
It affraied the Sarazins; as leven the fyre out ſchete.
The noyſe was unride," &c.

Rynes is the river Rhine, whoſe ſhores or bottom ſupplied the ſtones ſhot from their military engines. The Normans, a barbarous people, appear to have uſed machines of immenſe and very artificial conſtruction at the ſiege of Paris in 885. See the laſt note. And *Vit. Saladin.* per Schultens, pp. 135, 141, 167, &c.

[3] Line 2631. [4] King Lear, iv. vi. [Dyce's edit. 1868, vii. 324.]

At the touch of this powerful magician, to ſpeak in Milton's language, "The grieſly terror grows tenfold more dreadful and deform."

The moving caſtles deſcribed by our minſtrel, which ſeem to be ſo many fabrics of romance, but are founded in real hiſtory, afforded ſuitable materials for poets who deal in the marvellous. Accordingly they could not eſcape the fabling genius of Taſſo, who has made them inſtruments of enchantment, and accommodated them with great propriety to the operations of infernal ſpirits.

At the ſiege of Babylon, the ſoldan Saladin ſends King Richard a horſe. The meſſenger ſays:

Thou ſayeſt thy God is ful of myght:
Wylt thou graunt, with ſpere and ſcheeld,
Derayè the ryghtè in the feeld,
With helm, hawberk and brondes bryght
On ſtrong[e] ſtedes, good and lyght,
Whether is off more powèr
Jeſu or Jubyter?
And he ſente thé to ſay this,
Yiff thou wilt have an hors [of] hys?
In alle the landes ther thou haſt gon,
Swylk on ſay thou nevyr non!
Favel off Cypre, ne Lyard off Prys,[1]
Are nought at nede as that he is;
And, yiff thou wylt, this ſelve day
It ſhall be brought thè to aſay.'
Quoth kyng Richard: "Thou ſayeſt wel;
Swylke an hors, by Seynt Mychel,

---

[1] Horſes belonging to Richard, "Favel of Cyprus and Lyard of Paris." Robert le Brunne mentions one of theſe horſes, which he calls [Fauuel]. *Chron.* p. 175:

"Sithen at Japhet was ſlayn [Fauuel] his ſtede,
The Romans telles gret pas ther of his douhty dede."

This is our romance, viz. Sign. Q. iii.:

"To hym gadered every chone
And ſlewe Favell under hym,
Tho was Richard wroth and grym."

This was at the ſiege of Jaffa, as it is here called. Favell of Cyprus is again mentioned, Sign. O. ii.:

"Favell of Cyprus is forth fet
And in the ſadell he hym ſett."

Robert of Brunne ſays that Saladin's brother ſent King Richard a horſe. *Chron.* p. 194:

"He ſent to King Richard a ſtede for curteiſie
On of the beſt reward that was in paemie."

In the wardrobe-roll of Prince Edward, afterwards Edward II., under the year 1272, the maſters of the horſe render their accounts for horſes purchaſed, ſpecifying the colours and prices with the greateſt accuracy. One of them is called "Unus equus *favellus* cum ſtella in fronte," &c. Hearne's *Joann. de Trokelowe.* Præf. p. xvi. Here *favellus* is interpreted by Hearne to be *honeycomb*. I ſuppoſe he underſtands a dappled or roan horſe. But *favellus*, evidently an adjective, is barbarous Latin for *falvus* or *fulvus*, a dun or light yellow, a word often uſed to expreſs the colour of horſes and hawks. See Carpentier, Suppl. Du Cange, *Lat. Glos.* V. *favellus*, tom. ii. p. 370. It is hence that King Richard's horſe is called Favel. From which word [Fauvel] in Robert de Brunne is a corruption.

I wolde have to ryde upon.
Bydde hym ſende that hors to me;
I ſchal aſaye, what that he be.
Yiff he be truſty, withoute fayle
I kepe non othir in batayle."
The meſſanger thenne home wente,
And tolde the Sawdon in presènte,
Hou kyng Richard wolde hym mete.
The rych[e] Sawdon, al ſo ſkete,
A noble clerk he ſente for thenne
A maſtyr negromacien,[1]
That conjuryd as [I] you telle,
Thorwgh the feendes craft off helle,
Twoo ſtrongè feendes off the eyr
In lykneſſe off twoo ſtedes feyr,
Lykè bothe of hewe and here;
As they ſaydè that wer there,
Never was ther ſeen non ſlyke.
That on was a merè lyke,
That other a colt, a noble ſtede,
Wher he wer in ony nede,
Was nevyr kyng ne knyght[2] ſo bolde,
That, whenne the damè neyghè[3] wolde,
Scholde hym holde agayn hys wylle,
That he ne woldè renne her tylle,[4]
And knele adoun, and ſouke[5] hys dame:
That whyle, the Sawdon [thought] with ſchame,
Scholde Kyng Richard ſoone aquelle.
All thus an aungyl gan hym telle,
That cam to hym aftyr mydnyght;
And ſayd "Awake, thou Goddes knyght!
My lord[6] dos thè to undyrſtande,
Thè ſchal com an hors to hande;
Fayr he is off body pyght;
Betraye thè yiff the Sawdon myght.
On hym to ryde have thou no drede,
He ſchal thè help[en] at thy nede."

The angel then gives King Richard ſeveral directions about managing this infernal horſe, and a general engagement enſuing, between the Chriſtian and Saracen armies:—[7]

To lepe to hors thenne was he dyght;
Into the ſadyl or he leep,
Off many thynge he took keep.
Hys men him brought al that he badde.
A quarry tree off fourty foote
Before hys ſadyl anon dyd hote

---

[1] necromancer. [2] his rider. [3] neigh.
[4] go to her. [5] ſuck. [6] God.

[7] In which the Saracen line extended twelve miles in length, and

"The grounde myght unnethe be ſene
For bryght armure and ſperes kene."

Again

"Lyke as ſnowe lyeth on the mountaynes
So were fulfylled hylles and playnes
With hauberkes bryght and harneys clere
Of trompettes, and tabourere."

Faſte that men ſcholde it brace, &c.
Hymſelf was rychely begoo
From the creſt unto the too.[1]
He was armyd wondyr weel,
And al with plates off good ſteel;
And ther aboven, an hawberk;
A ſchafft wrought off truſty werk;
On his ſchuldre a ſcheeld off ſteel,
With three lupardes[2] wrought ful weel.
An helme he hadde off ryche entayle;
Truſty and trewè hys ventayle;
On hys creſt a douvè whyte
Sygnyfycacioun off the Holy Spryte:
Upon a croys the douvè ſtood,
Off goldè wrought ryche and good.
God[3] hymſelf, Mary and Jhon,
As he was naylyd the roode upon,[4]
In ſygne off hym for whom he faught,
The ſperè-hed forgatt he naught:
Upon hys ſpere he wolde it have,
Goddes hygh name theron was grave.
Now herkenes what oth they ſwore,
Ar they to the batayle wore:
Yiff it were ſoo, that Richard myght
Sloo the Sawdon in feeld with fyght,
Hee and alle hys ſcholde gon,
At her wylle everilkon,
Into the cytè off Babylone;
And the kyngdom of Maſſidoyne
He ſcholde have undyr his hand:
And yiff the Sawdon off that land
Myghte ſloo Richard in that feeld
With ſwerd or ſpere undyr ſcheeld,
That Criſtene men ſcholde goo
Out off that land for ever moo,
And Sarezynes have her wylle in wolde.
Quod kyng Richard: "Thertoo I holde!
Thertoo my glove, as I am knyght!"
They ben armyd and wel i-dyght.
Kyng Richard into the ſadyl leep;
Who that wolde, theroff took keep.
To ſee, that fyght was ful fayr.
The ſtede[s] ran ryght with gret ayr,[5]
Al ſo harde as they myght dure,
Aftyr her feet ſprong the fure,
Tabours beten, and trumpes blowe;
Ther myghte men ſee in a throwe,
How kyng Richard, the noble man,
Encounteryd with the Sawdan,
That cheef was told off Damas.[6]
Hys truſt upon hys merè was.
Therfoore, as the booke[7] telles,

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[1] from head to foot. [2] leopards. [3] Our Saviour.
[4] "As he died upon the cross." So in [the fragmentary verſion of the *Brut.*] cited by Hearne, *Gloſſ. Rob. Br.* p. 634.

"Pyned under Ponce Pilat,
Don on the rod after that."

[5] ire. [6] See Du Cange, *Joinv.* p. 87. [7] The French romance.

Hys crouper heeng al ful off belles,[1]
And his peytrel[2] and his arſoun[3]
Three myle myghte men here the ſoun.
The mere gan nygh, her belles to ryng
For grete pryde, withoute leſyng,
A brod fawchoun to hym he bar,
For he thought that he wolde thar
Have ſlayn kyng Richard with treſoun,
Whenne hys hors had knelyd doun,
As a colt that ſcholde ſouke.
And he was war off that pouke:[4]
Hys[5] eeres with wax wer ſtoppyd faſt,
Therfore was he nought agaſt.
He ſtrook the feend that undyr hym yede,
And gaff the Sawdon a dynt off dede.
In his blaſoun, verrayment,
Was i-paynted a ſerpent.
With the ſpere, that Richard heeld,
He beor him thorwgh and undyr the ſcheeld,
None off hys armes myghtè laſte;
Brydyl and peytrel al to-braſt;
Hys gerth and hys ſteropes alſoo;
The merè to the grounde gan goo.
Mawgry him, he garte hym ſtaupe[6]
Bakward ovyr hys meres croupe;
The feet toward the fyrmament.
Behynd the Sawdon the ſpere out went.
He leet hym lye upon the grene;[7]
He prekyd the feend with ſpores[8] kene;
In the name off the Holy Goſt,
He dryves into the hethene hooſt,

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[1] Anciently no perſon ſeems to have been gallantly equipped on horſeback unleſs the horſe's bridle or ſome other part of the furniture was ſtuck full of ſmal bells. Vincent of Beauvais, who wrote about 1264, cenſures this piece of pride in the knights-templars. They have, he ſays, bridles embroidered, or gilded, o adorned with ſilver, "Atque in pectoralibus campanulas infixas magnum emittente ſonitum, ad gloriam eorum et decorem." Hiſt. lib. xxx. cap. 85. Wicliffe, in his *Trialoge*, inveighs againſt the prieſts for their "fair hors, and jolly and gay ſadeles and bridles ringing by the way," &c. Lewis's *Wickliffe*, p. 121. Hence Chaucer may be illuſtrated, who thus deſcribes the ſtate of a monk on horſeback. *Prol. Cant. Tales*, v. 170:

"And when he rode, men might his bridell here
Gingling in a whiſtling wind as clere,
And eke as lowde, as doth the chapell bell."

That is, becauſe his horſe's bridle or trappings were ſtrung with bells.

[2] The breaſt-plate, or breaſt-band of a horſe. *Poitral*, Fr. *Pectorale*, Lat. Thus Chaucer, of the Chanones Yemans horſe. *Chan. Yem. Prol.* v. 575:

"About the paytrell ſtoode the fome ful hie."

[3] The ſaddle-bow. "Arcenarium extencellatum cum argento," occurs in the wardrobe rolls, ab an. 21 ad an. 23 Edw. III. Membr. xi. This word is not in Du Cange or his *Supplement*.

[4] [And he was ware of that ſhame.]

[5] The colt's ears.

[6] [Maugre her heed, he made her ſeche
The grounde, withoute more ſpeche.]

[7] [Ther he fell dede on the grene.]

[8] ſpurs.

And al ſo ſoone as he was come,
He brak aſunder the ſcheltrome ;[1]
For al that ever before hym ſtode
Hors and man to erthe yode,
Twenty foot on every ſyde, &c.
Whenne they of Fraunce wyſte,
That the mayſtry hadde the Chryſte,
They wer bolde, her herte they tooke ;
Stedes prekyd, ſchaufftes ſchooke.[2]

Richard arming himſelf is a curious Gothic picture. It is certainly a genuine picture, and drawn with ſome ſpirit : as is the ſhock of the two necromantic ſteeds, and other parts of this deſcription. The combat of Richard and the Soldan, on the event of which the Chriſtian army got poſſeſſion of the city of Babylon, is probably the Duel of King Richard, painted on the walls of a chamber in the royal palace of Clarendon. The ſoldan is repreſented as meeting Richard with ["A faucon brode," or a broad falchion,] in his hand. Tabour, a drum, a common accompaniment of war, is mentioned as one of the inſtruments of martial muſic in this battle with characteriſtical propriety. It was imported into the European armies from the Saracens in the holy war. The word is conſtantly written tabour, not tambour, in Joinville's *Hiſtory of Saint Louis*, and all the elder French romances. Joinville deſcribes a ſuperb bark or galley belonging to a Saracen chief, which he ſays was filled with ſymbols, tabours, and Saracen horns.[3] Jean d'Orronville, an old French chronicler of the life of Louis, duke of Bourbon, relates that the king of France, the king of Thraſimere, and the king of Bugie, landed in Africa according to their cuſtom with cymbals, kettle-drums, tabours,[4] and whiſtles.[5] Babylon, here ſaid to be beſieged by King Richard, and ſo frequently mentioned by the romance writers and the chroniclers of the Cruſades, is Cairo or Bagdat. Cairo and Bagdat, cities of recent foundation, were perpetually confounded with Babylon, which had been deſtroyed many centuries before, and was ſituated at a conſiderable diſtance from either. Not the leaſt enquiry was made in the dark ages concerning the true ſituation of places, or the diſpoſition of the country in Paleſtine,

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[1] *Schiltron.* I believe, ſoldiers drawn up in a circle. Rob. de Brunne uſes it in deſcribing the battle of Fowkirke, *Chron.* p. 305 :

"Ther Scheltron ſone was ſhad with Inglis that wer gode."

Shad is *ſeparated.* [Scheltron, *turma clipeata*, a troop armed with ſhields. See Jamieſon's *Etymol. Scott. Dict.—Price.*]

[2] Line 5642.

[3] *Hiſtoire de S. Loys*, p. 30. The original has "Cors Sarazinois." See alſo pp. 52, 56. And Du Cange's Notes, p. 61.

[4] [Roquefort, who cites the ſame paſſage, calls Glais a muſical inſtrument, without defining its peculiar nature.—*Price.*]

[5] Cap. 76. Nacaires is here the word for kettle-drums. See Du Cange, *ubi ſupr.* p. 59. Who alſo from an old roll "de la chambre des Comptes de Paris" recites, among the houſehold muſicians of a French nobleman, "Meneſtrel du Cor Sarazinois," *ib.* p. 60. This inſtrument is not uncommon in the French romances.

although the theatre of ſo important a war; and to this neglect were owing, in a great meaſure, the ſignal defeats and calamitous diſtreſſes of the Chriſtian adventurers, whoſe numerous armies deſtitute of information, and cut off from every reſource, periſhed amidſt unknown mountains and impracticable waſtes. Geography at this time had been but little cultivated. It had been ſtudied only from the ancients: as if the face of the earth and the political ſtate of nations had not, ſince the time of thoſe writers, undergone any changes or revolutions.

So formidable a champion was King Richard againſt the infidels, and ſo terrible the remembrance of his valour in the holy war, that the Saracens and Turks uſed to quiet their froward children only by repeating his name. Joinville is the only writer who records this anecdote. He adds another of the ſame ſort. When the Saracens were riding, and their horſes ſtarted at any unuſual object, "ils diſoient a leurs chevaulx en les picquant de l'eſperon: et cuides tu que ce ſoit le Roy Richart?"[1] It is extraordinary that theſe circumſtances ſhould have eſcaped Malmeſbury, Matthew Paris, [Benedictus Abbas], Langtoft, and the reſt of our old hiſtorians, who have exaggerated the character of this redoubted hero by relating many particulars more likely to be fabulous, and certainly leſs expreſſive of his proweſs.

SECTION V.

THE romance of *Sir Guy* which [probably in one of its earlier caſts, as exhibited in the Auchinleck MS.] is enumerated by Chaucer among the "Romances of pris," affords a ſeries of fictions cuſtomary in pieces of this ſort, concerning the [adventures of the hero both in England and abroad.[2] The following is the deſcription of the firſt meeting of Guy and Felice, his future wife:[3]

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[1] *Hiſt. de S. Loys*, pp. 16, 104. Who had it from a French MS. chronicle of the holy war. See Du Cange's Notes, p. 45.

[2] [See *The Romances of Sir Guy of Warwick, and Rembrun his Son. Now firſt edited from the Auchinleck MS.* (by W. B. D. D. Turnbull). Edinburgh: Printed for the Abbotsford Club. MDCCCXL. In the Preface the Editor has given an account of the various MSS. and printed editions of the romance, and has printed at length a fragment of an otherwiſe unknown Engliſh verſion in the poſſeſſion of Sir Thomas Philipps.] The [old printed] copy of Sir Guy is a conſiderable volume in quarto. My edition is without date, "Imprynted at London in Lothbury by Wylliam Copland," with rude wooden cuts. It runs to Sign. Ll. iii. [An imperfect copy is in Garrick's Collection, vol. K. 9, and a perfect one was in Heber's library, Cat. pt. iv. 961. A fragment of this romance belonged to Dr. Farmer, and afterwards to Mr. Douce, which Ritſon in his MS. Cat. of Engl. Romances, ſtates to have been printed by W. de Worde, about 1495. In the poſſeſſion of Mr. Staunton of Longbridge Houſe, co. Warw. is a larger fragment of thirty-ſix leaves, printed in a thinner letter than W. de Worde's, with wood-cuts, which I

" It was opon a Pentecoſt day y-teld
Therl a gret feſt held
At Warwike in that cite
That than was y-won to be
Thider cam men of miche might
Erls and barouns bothe aplight
Leuedis and maidens of gret mounde
That in the lond wer y-founde
Eueriche maiden ches hir loue
Of knightes that wer thider y-come
And euerich knight his leman
Of that gentil maiden wiman
When thai were fro chirche y-come
Ther alight mani a noble gome
Therl to the mete was ſett
Gij ſtode forn him in that flett
That was the ſteward ſone
Therl to ſerue it was his wone
To him he cleped Gij
And him hete and comandi
That he in to chaumber went

ſhould feel inclined to aſcribe to Pynſon. Ritſon mentions alſo an edition by John Cawood.—*Madden.*

It ſeems to be older than the *Squyr of lowe degree*, in which it is quoted. Sign. a. iii.:

" Or els ſo bolde in chivalrie
As was ſyr Gawayne or ſyr Gie."

The two beſt MSS. are at Cambridge, MSS. Bibl. Publ. Mor. 690, 33, and MSS. Coll. Caii, A 8, from which text it has now been given.

An analyſis of this romance will be found in the " Specimens " of Mr. Ellis, who is of opinion that " the tale in its preſent ſtate has been compoſed from the materials of at leaſt two or three if not more romances. The firſt is a moſt tireſome love ſtory which, it may be preſumed, originally ended with the marriage of the fond couple. To this it ſhould ſeem was afterwards tacked on a ſeries of freſh adventures, invented or compiled by ſome pilgrim from the Holy Land; and the hero of this legend was then brought home for the defence of Athelſtan and the deſtruction of Colbrand." Mr. Ritſon, in oppoſition to Dugdale, who regarded Guy as an undeniably hiſtorical perſonage, has laboured to prove that " no hero of this name is to be found in real hiſtory," and that he was " no more an Engliſh hero than Amadis de Gaul or Perceforeſt." Mr. Ellis, on the other hand, conceives the tale " may poſſibly be founded on ſome Saxon tradition," and that though the name in its preſent form be undoubtedly French, yet as it bears ſome reſemblance to Egil, the name of an Icelandic warrior, who " contributed very materially to the important victory gained by Athelſtan over the Danes and their allies at Brunanburgh," he thinks " it is not impoſſible that this warlike foreigner may have been transformed by ſome Norman monk into the pious and amorous Guy of Warwick." This at beſt is but conjecture, nor can it be conſidered a very happy one. Egil himſelf (or his nameleſs biographer) makes no mention of a ſingle combat on the occaſion in which he had been engaged; and the fact, had it occurred, would have been far too intereſting, and too much in uniſon with the ſpirit of the times, to have been paſſed over in ſilence. In addition to this, the ſubſtitution of Guy for Egil is againſt all analogy, on the transformation of a Northern into a French appellation. The initial letters in Guy, Guyon, and Guido, are the repreſentatives of the Teutonic W, and clearly point to ſome cognomen beginning with the Saxon Wig, *bellum.—Price.*]

[3] [In the preſent edition extracts from the Auchinleck MS., as printed in 1840, have been ſubſtituted for Warton's quotations from Copland's modernized and altered text.]

And grete wele that maiden gent
And that he ſchuld that ich day
Serue wele that feir may
Gij him anſwerd freliche
Sir Ichil wel bletheliche
In a kirtel of ſilk he gan him ſchrede
Into chaumber wel ſone he zede
The kirtel bicom him ſwithe wel
To amenden theron was neuer a del
The maidens biheld him feir an wel
For that he was ſo gentil
Gij on his knes ſone him ſett
And on hir fader half he hir grett
And ſeyd he was thider ſent
To ſerue hir to hir talent
Felice anſwerd than to Gij
Bieus amis molt gramerci
And ſeththe ſche aſked him in the plas
Whennes he cam and what he was
Mi fader he ſeyd hat Suward
That is thi fader ſteward
That with him me hath y-held
And forth y-brought God him foryeld
Artow ſche ſeyd Suward ſone
That of al godenes hath the wone
Gij ſtode ſtille and ſeyd nought
With that was the water forth brought
Thai ſett hem to mete anon
Erl baroun ſweyn and grom[1]

We ſhall next give the account of the knighthood of our hero:[2]

It was at the holy Trinite
Therl dubbed Sir Gij the fre
And with him tventi god gomis
Knightes and riche baroun ſonis
Of cloth of Tars and riche cendel
Was he dobbeing euerich adel
The pauis al of ſow and griis
The mantels weren of michel priis
With riche armour and gode ſtedes
The beſt that wer in lond at nedis
Alder beſt was Gij y-dight
Thei he wer an emperour ſone aplight
So richeliche dubbed was he
Nas no ſwiche in this cuntre
With riche ſtedes wel erninde
Palfreys courſours wele bereinde
No was ther noither ſweyn no knaue
That ought failed that he ſchuld haue
How is Sir Gij dobbed to knight
Feir he was and michel of might
To Felice went Sir Gij
And gret her wel curteyſlie
And ſeyd Ichaue don aſtow ſeydeſt me to
For the Ichaue ſuffred miche wo
Arme for the Ichaue vnderfong
The to ſe me thought long

[1] [Ed. 1840, pp. 3-5.]

[2] [*Ibid.* p. 22.]

Thou art me bothe leue and dere
Ich am y-comen thi wille to here.

A knight, who goes under the name of Amis of the Mountain, is introduced into this romance, and in the ſequel, where the later adventures of Guy's ſon, Rembrun, are related, the ſame character is deſcribed as ſuffering a captivity in a myſterious and inacceſſible caſtle, from which, however, Rembrun ſucceeds in delivering him. Here is a picture of Rembrun's journey in ſearch of the caſtle:

Amorwe Rembroun aros erly
And armede him ful haſtely
For to winne pris
A gode ſtede he beſtrod
And forth a wente withoute abod
To the foreſt Y wis

Heraud with him go wolde
Ac he ſeide that he ne ſcholde
For non ſkines nede
And he dradde of him ſtrangliche
And betaughte him God in heuen riche
And in is wey a yede
Heraud bleſte and he gan gon
The merkes ſtake a paſed anon
That was wel vnrede
Al the dai a tok the pas
Til it noun apaſed was
Ridand vpon is ſtede

An hille he ſegh before him there
Gates theron maked were
Forth right he rod in
The gate agen anon was ſpered
Tho was Rembroun ſore afered
And faſte bleſſede him
Nought he ne ſegh boute the ſterneſſe
Half a mile a rod Y wiſſe
The wai was therk and dim
He rod aſe faſte aſe a mighte
Thanne he ſegh more lighte
Be a water is brim

To the water he com ſone thas
A riuer be a launde ther was
Thar he gan to lighte
Faire hit was y-growe with gras
A fairer place neuer nas
That he ſegh with ſighte
On that place was a paleis on
Swich ne ſegh he neuer non
Ne of ſo meche mighte
The walles were of criſtal
The heling was of fin ruwal
That ſchon ſwithe brighte

The reſtes al cipres be
That ſwote ſmal caſten he
Ouer al aboute
The reſins wer of fin coral
Togedre iuned with metal
Withinne and ek withoute
On the front ſtod a charbokel ſton

Ouer al the contre it ſchon
Withouten eni doute
Poſtes and laces that ther were
Of iaſpe gentil that was dere
Al of one ſoute

The paleis was beloken al
Aboute with a marbel wal
Of noble entaile
Upon eueriche kernal
Was ful of ſperes and of ſpringal
And ſtoutliche enbataile
Withoute the gate ſtod a tre
With foules of mani kines gle
Singande withoute faile
The water was ſo ſterne and grim
Mighte no man come therin
Boute he hadde ſchip to ſaile

Rembroun dorſte nought paſy
With is ſpere a gan it prouy
How dep hit was beſide
He thoughte on is fader fot hot
The ſtede in the ſide a ſmot
And in he gan to ride
Ouer is helm the water is gon
He nolde haue be ther for eighte non
Swich aunter him gan betide
Er he vp of the water ferde
A fond it was thretti mete yerde
Se dep he gan doun glide

Thanne he thoughte on Iheſu Criſt
His hors was wel ſwithe triſt
And quikliche ſwam to londe
His fet faſtnede on the grounde
Rembroun was glad in that ſtounde
And thankede Gode ſonde
In to the pales he him dede
He helde the eſtes of that ſtede
For no man a nolde wonde
Ac wimman ne man fand he non there
That with him ſpeke or confort bere
Naither ſitte ne ſtonde

And tharof war a is
Into a chaumber a goth Y wis
A knight a ſe alone
A-grette him with wordes fre
And ſeide ſire God with the be
That ſit an hegh in trone
Sire a ſede tel thow me
Gif this pales thin owen be
Ich bidde the a bone
And gif thow ert her in priſoun dight
Tel hit me ſo wel thow might
To me now make the mone]

Afterwards, the knight of the mountain directs Raynburne to find a wonderful ſword which hung in the hall of the palace. With this weapon Raynburne attacks and conquers the Elviſh knight; who buys his life, on condition of conducting his conqueror over the

perilous ford, or lake, above deſcribed, and of delivering all the captives confined in his ſecret and impregnable dungeon.

[A] romance of the *Squire of Low Degree*[1] is alluded to by Chaucer in the *Rime of Sir Topas*;[2] [and it is probably the ſame as that which was inſerted by Ritſon in his *Ancient Romancees*, and more recently in a new collection of a ſomewhat ſimilar character. What ſeems to be the original edition, and from the appearance of the types, was printed by W. de Worde, is entitled oddly enough: "Here begynneth Undo your Dore," which correſponds exactly with the reading in the colophon of a later impreſſion by W. Copland: "Thus endeth vndo your doore; otherwiſe called the ſquyer of lowe degre." But only a fragment of the former has yet been found.] The princeſs is thus repreſented, in her cloſet adorned with painted glaſs, liſtening to the ſquire's complaint.[3]

> That lady herde his mournyng alle,
> Ryght vnder the chambre wall:
> In her oryall[4] there ſhe was,
> Cloſed well with royall glas,

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[1] [Printed twice, firſt, as it is ſuppoſed, by W. de Worde, under a different title (ſee *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* art. SQUYR OF LOWE DEGRE), and ſecondly by W. Copland. Warton's extracts were, in all the preceding editions, moſt inaccurate. See the romance in *Remains of E. Pop. Poetr. of England*, 1864-6, ii.] I have never ſeen it in MS. [Ritſon characterizes it as a "ſtrange and whimſical but genuine Engliſh performance." On Warton's opinion, "that it is alluded to by Chaucer in the *Rime of Sir Topas*," he remarks: "as Lybeaus Diſconus [Le Bel Inconnu] one of the romancëes enumeratëed by Chaucer, is alluded to in the Squyr of lowe degre, it is not probablely, allſo, of his age." But the Lybeaus Diſconus, referred to in this romance, is evidently a different verſion of the ſtory from that printed by Mr. Ritſon [and from a different text by the Early Engliſh Text Society]; and the quotation, if it prove anything, would rather ſpeak for the exiſtence of a more ancient tranſlation now unknown. Beſides, Mr. Ritſon himſelf has ſupplied us with an argument ſtrongly favouring Warton's conjecture. For if, as he obſerves, the Squyr of lowe degre be the only inſtance of a romance containing any ſuch impertinent digreſſions or affected enumerations of trees, birds, &c. as are manifeſtly the object of Chaucer's ſatire, the natural inference would be—in the abſence of any evidence for its more recent compoſition—that this identical romance was intended to be expoſed and ridiculed by the poet. At all events, Copland's editions with their modern phraſeology are no ſtandard for determining the age of any compoſition; and until ſome better arguments can be adduced than thoſe already noticed, the ingenious ſuppoſition of Dr. Percy—for by him it was communicated to Warton—may be permitted to remain in full force.—*Price.*]

[2] See *Obſervations on the Fairy Queen*, i. § iv. p. 139.

[3] Sign. a. iii.

[4] An Oriel ſeems to have been a receſs in a chamber or hall, formed by the projection of a ſpacious bow-window from top to bottom. *Rot. Pip.* an. 18. Hen. III. [A.D. 1234.] "Et in quadam capella pulchra et decenti facienda ad caput Orioli camere regis in caſtro Herefordie, de longitudine xx. pedum." This Oriel was at the end of the king's chamber, from which the new chapel was to begin. Again, in the caſtle of Kenilworth. *Rot. Pip.* an. 19. Hen. III. [A.D. 1235.] "Et in uno magno Oriollo pulchro et competenti, ante oſtium magne camere regis in caſtro de Kenilworth faciendo, vi*l.* xvi*s.* iv*d.* per Brev. regis."

The etymologiſts have been puzzled to find the derivation of an oriel-window. A learned correſpondent ſuggeſts, that Oriel is Hebrew for Lux mea, or Dominus illuminatio mea. [See a note to the *Squyr of Low Degre* (*R. of the E. P. Poetry of England* ii. 27, *ad finem*).]

Fulfylled it was with ymagery,
Euery wyndowe by and by
On eche ſyde had there a gynne,
Sperde[1] with many a dyuers pynne.
A none that lady fayre and fre
Undyd a pynne of yueré,
And wyd the windowes ſhe open ſet,
The ſunne ſhone in at her cloſet.
In that arber fayre and gaye
She ſaw where that ſqyre lay, &c.

I am perſuaded to tranſcribe the following paſſage, becauſe it delineates in lively colours the faſhionable diverſions and uſages of ancient times. The king of Hungary endeavours to comfort his daughter with theſe promiſes, after ſhe had fallen into a deep and incurable melancholy from the ſuppoſed loſs of her paramour:

To morowe ye ſhall on hunting fare;
And ryde, my doughter, in a chare,
It ſhalbe couered with veluet reede
And clothes of fyne golde al about your heid,
With damſke, white and aſure blewe
Well dyapred[2] with lyllyes newe;

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[1] Cloſed, ſhut. In *P. Plowman*, of a blind man, "unſparryd his eine, *i. e.* opened his eyes.

[2] Embroidered, diverſified. So Chaucer, of a bow, *Rom. R.* v. 934.

"And it was painted wel and thwitten
And ore all diapred, and written," &c.

Thwitten is twiſted, wreathed. The following inſtance from Chaucer is more to our purpoſe. *Knight's Tale*, v. 2160:

"Upon a ſtede bay, trappid in ſtele,
Coverid with cloth of gold diaprid wele."

This term, which is partly heraldic, occurs in the Proviſor's rolls of the Great-wardrobe, containing deliveries for furniſhing rich habiliments at tilts and tournaments, and other ceremonies. "Et ad faciendum tria harneſia pro Rege, quorum duo de velvetto albo operato cum garteriis de blu et diaſprez per totam campedinem cum wodehouſes." *Ex comp. J. Coke Clerici, Proviſor Magn. Garderob.* ab ann. xxi. Edw. III. de 23 membranis. ad ann. xxiii. memb. x. I believe it properly ſignifies embroidering on a rich ground, as tiſſue, cloth of gold, &c. This is confirmed by Peacham. "Diapering is a term in drawing.—It chiefly ſerveth to counterfeit cloth of gold, ſilver, damaſk, brancht velvet, camblet, &c." *Compl. Gent.* p. 345. Anderſon, in his *Hiſtory of Commerce*, conjectures that Diaper, a ſpecies of printed linen, took its name from the city of Ypres in Flanders, where it was firſt made, being originally called *d'ipre*. But that city and others in Flanders were no leſs famous for rich manufactures of ſtuff; and the word in queſtion has better pretenſions to ſuch a derivation. Thus, "rich cloth embroidered with raiſed work" we called *d'ipre*, and from thence Diaper; and to do this, or any work like it, was called to diaper, whence the participle. Satin of Bruges, another city of Flanders, often occurs in inventories of monaſtic veſtments, in the reign of Henry VIII: and the cities of Arras and Tours are celebrated for their tapeſtry in Spenſer. All theſe cities, and others in their neighbourhood, became famous for this ſort of workmanſhip before 1200. The Armator of Edward III., who finiſhes all the coſtly apparatus for the ſhows above mentioned, conſiſting among other things, of a variety of the moſt ſumptuous and ornamented embroideries on velvet, ſatin, tiſſue, &c. is John of Cologn. Unleſs it be Colonia in Italy. *Rotul. prædict.* memb. viii. memb. xiii. "Quæ omnia ordinata fuerunt per gar-

Your pomelles ſhalbe ended with gold,
Your chaynes enameled many a folde;
Your mantel of ryche degre,
Purpyl palle and armyne fre;
Jennettes of ſpayne that ben ſo wyght
Trapped to the ground with veluet bright;
Ye ſhall have harp, ſautry, and ſonge,
And other myrthés you amonge;
Ye ſhal haue rumney and malmeſyne,
Both ypocraſſe and vernage wyne,
Mountroſe and wyne of greke,
Both algrade and reſpice eke,
Antioche and baſtarde,
Pyment[1] alſo and garnarde;

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derobarium competentem, de precepto ipſius Regis: et facta et parata per manus Johīs de Colonia, Armatoris ipſius domini noſtri Regis." Johannes de Straweſburgh [Straſburgh] is mentioned as *broudator regis*, i.e. of Richard II. in Anſtis, *Ord. Gart.* i. 55. See alſo ii. 42. I will add a paſſage from Chaucer's *Wife of Bath*, v. 450:

"Of cloth-making ſhe had ſuch a haunt,
She paſſid them of *Ipre* and of *Gaunt*."

"Cloth of Gaunt," *i.e.* Ghent, is mentioned in the *Romaunt of the Roſe*, v. 574. Bruges was the chief mart for Italian commodities, about the thirteenth century. In the year 1318, five Venetian galeaſſes, laden with Indian goods, arrived at this city in order to diſpoſe of their cargoes at the fair. L. Guic. *Deſcr. di Paeſi Baſs.* p. 174. Silk manufactures were introduced from the Eaſt into Italy, before 1130. Giannon. *Hiſt. Napl.* xi. 7. The cruſades much improved the commerce of the Italian ſtates with the Eaſt in this article, and produced new artificers of their own. But to recur to the ſubject of this note. Diaper occurs among the rich ſilks and ſtuffs in the French *Roman de la Roſe*, where it ſeems to ſignify Damaſk, v. 21867:

"Samites, *dyaprés*, camelots."

I find it likewiſe in the *Roman d'Alexandre*, written about 1200. MSS. Bodl. fol. i. b. col. 2:

"*Dyapres* d'Antioch, ſamis de Romanie."

Here is alſo a proof that the Aſiatic ſtuffs were at that time famous; and probably Romanie is Romania. The word often occurs in old accounts of rich eccleſiaſtical veſtments. Du Cange derives this word from the Italian *diaſpro*, a jaſper, a precious ſtone which ſhifts its colours. V. Diaſprus. In Dugdale's *Monaſticon* we have *diaſperatus*, diapered. "Sandalia cum caligis de rubeo ſameto *diaſperato* breudata cum imaginibus regum," tom. iii. 314 and 321.

[1] Sometimes written *pimeate*. In the romance of *Syr Bevys*, a knight juſt going to repoſe takes the uſual draught of *pimeate;* which mixed with ſpices is what the French romances call *vin du coucher*, and for which an officer, called Eſpicier, was appointed in the old royal houſehold of France. Sig. m. iii.:

"The knight and ſhe to chamber went:
With *pimeate* and with ſpiſery,
When they had dronken the wyne."

See Carpentier, *Suppl. Gloſs. Lat. du Cange*, tom. iii. p. 842. So Chaucer, *Leg. Dido.* v. 185:

"The ſpicis parted, and the wine agon,
Unto his chamber he is lad anon."

Froiſſart ſays, among the delights of his youth, that he was happy to taſte:

"Au couchier, pour mieulx dormir,
Eſpeces, clairet, et rocelle."

Mem. Lit. x. 665. Lidgate, of Tideus and Polimite in the palace of Adraſtus at Thebes. *Stor. Theb.* p. 634, edit. Chauc. 1687:

Wyne of Greke and muſcadell,
Both claré, pyment, and rochell,
The reed your ſtomake to defye
And pottes of oſey ſett you by.
You ſhall haue veniſon ybake,[1]
The beſt wylde foule y^t^ may be take.
A leſe of grehound[2] with you to ſtreke,
And hert and hynde and other lyke,
Ye ſhalbe ſet at ſuch a tryſt
That hert and hynde ſhall come to your fyſt.
Your dyſeaſe to dryue you fro,
To here the bugles there yblow.
Homward thus ſhall ye ryde,
On haukyng by the ryuers ſyde,
With Goſhauke and with gentyll fawcon,
With Egle horne and merlyon.
Whan you come home your men amonge,
Ye ſhall haue reuell, daunces and ſonge:
Lytle chyldren, great and ſmale,
Shall ſyng, as doth the nyghtyngale,
Than ſhal ye go to your euenſong
With tenours and trebles a mong,
Threſcore of copes of damaſke bryght
Full of perles th[e]y ſhalbe pyght:—

"gan anon repaire
To her lodging in a ful ſtately toure;
Aſſigned to hem by the herbeiour.
And aftir ſpicis plenty and the wine
In cuppis grete wrought of gold ful fyne,
Without tarrying to bedde ſtraightes they gone," &c.

Chaucer has it again, *Squ. T.* v. 311, p. 62, and *Mill. T.* v. 270, p. 26:

"He ſent her *piment*, methe, and ſpicid ale."

Some orders of monks are enjoined to abſtain from drinking *pigmentum*, or *piment* Yet it was a common refection in the monaſteries. It is a drink made of wine honey, and ſpices. "Thei ne could not medell the gefte of Bacchus to the cler honie; that is to ſay, they could not make ne *piment* ne clarè." Chaucer's *Boeth* p. 371, a. Urr. *Clarre* is clarified wine. In French *Clarey*. Perhaps the ſam as piment, or hypocraſs. See *Mem. Lit.* viii. p. 674, 4to. Compare Chauc. *Sh. T* v. 2579. Du Cange, *Gloſs. Lat.* v. Pigmentum. Species. and *Suppl. Carp* and *Mem. ſur l'anc. Chevalerie*, i. pp. 19, 48. I muſt add, that πιγμεντάριος, o πιμεντάριος, ſignified an Apothecary among the middle and lower Greeks. See D Cange, *Gl. Gr.* in voc. i. 1167, and ii. *Append. Etymolog. Vocab. Ling. Gall.* p. 301 col. 1. In the regiſter of the Biſhop of Nivernois, under the year 1287, it is cove nanted, that whenever the biſhop ſhall celebrate maſs in St. Mary's abbey, th abbeſs ſhall preſent him with a peacock and a cup of piment. Carpentier, *ub ſupr.* vol. iii. p. 277. [Sir F. Madden refers us alſo to Weber's *Met. Rom.* not on Aliſaunder, l. 4178, and Roquefort, *Hiſtoire de la vie privèe des François*, iii pp. 65-8.]

[1] Chaucer ſays of the Frankelein, *Prol.* v. 345:

"Withoutin *bake mete* never was his houſe."

And in this poem, ſignat. B. iii:

"With birds in *bread ybake*,
The tele, the duck and drake."

[2] In a MS. of Froiſſart full of paintings and illuminations, there is a repreſen tation of the grand entrance of Queen Iſabel of England into Paris, in the yea 1324. She is attended by a greyhound who has a flag, powdered with fleurs d lys, bound to his neck. Montf. *Monum. Fr.* ii. p. 234.

Your ſenſours ſhalbe of Golde,
Endent with aſure many a folde:
Your quere nor organ ſonge ſhall wante
With countre note and dyſcant.
The other halfe on orgayns playeng,
With yonge chyldren full fayre ſyngyng.
Then ſhall ye go to your ſuppere,
And ſytte in tentes in grene arbere,
With clothes of aras pyght to the grounde,
With ſaphyres ſet and dyamonde.—
An hundreth knyghtes truly tolde
Shall play with bowles in alayes colde,
Your diſeaſe to driue awaie:
To ſe the fiſshes in poles plaie;—
To a draw brydge than ſhall ye,
The one halfe of ſtone, the other of tre,
A barge ſhall mete you full ryght,
With xxiiii ores full bryght,
With trompettes and with claryowne,
The freſshe water to rowe vp and downe.—
Than ſhal ye, doughter, aſke the wyne,
With ſpices that be good and fyne:
Gentyll pottes, with genger grene,
With dates and deynties you betwene.
Forty torches brenynge bryght
At your brydges to brynge you lyght.
Into your chambre they ſhall you brynge
With muche myrthe and more lykyng.—
Your blankettes ſhall be of fuſtyane,
Your ſhetes ſhall be of clothe of rayne:[1]
Your head ſhete ſhall be of pery pyght,[2]
With dyamondes ſet and rubyes bryght.

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[1] cloth, or linen, of Rennes, a city in Brittany. Chaucer, *Dr.* v. 255.

"And many a pilowe, and every bere
Of clothe of raynes to ſlepe on ſofte,
Him thare not nede to turnin ofte."

Tela de Raynes is mentioned among habits delivered to knights of the garter, 2 Rich. ii. Anſtis, *Ord. Gart.* i. 55.

Cloth of Rennes ſeems to have been the fineſt ſort of linen. In [one of the *Coventry Myſteries*, edited by Mr. Halliwell, 1841, there is a paſſage, ſuppoſed by Mr. Collier to have been interpolated towards the cloſe of the 15th century, in which] Galant, one of the retainers to the group of the Seven Deadly Sins, is introduced with the following ſpeech:

"Hof, Hof, Hof, a fryſch new galaunt!
Ware of thryft, ley that a doune:
What mene ye, ſyrrys, that I were a marchaunt,
Becauſe that I am new com to toun?
With praty . . . . wold I fayne round,
I have a *ſhert* of *reyns* with ſleves peneaunt,
A laſe of ſylke for my lady Conſtant—
I woll, or even, be ſhaven for to ſeme yong," &c.

So alſo in Skelton's *Magnificence*, a Morality written [about 1500], f. xx. b:

"Your ſkynne, that was wrapped in *ſhertes of raynes*,
Nowe muſt be ſtorm ybeten."

[2] "Inlaid with jewels." Chaucer, *Kn. T.* v. 2938:

"And then with cloth of gold and with *perie*."

And in numberleſs other places.

Whan you are layde in bedde ſo ſofte,
A cage of Golde ſhal hange a lofte
With longe peper fayre burnning,
And cloues that be ſwete ſmellyng,
Frankenſence and olibanum,
That whan ye ſlepe the taſte may come,
And yf ye no reſt may take,
All night minſtrelles for you ſhall wake.[1]

Syr Degoré, [or *L'Egaré*, *the Strayed One*,] is a romance perhap belonging to the ſame period.[2] After his education under a hermi Sir Degore's firſt adventure is againſt a dragon. This horrible mor ſter is marked with the hand of a maſter:"[3]

Degore went furth his waye,
Through a foreſt halfe a daye:
He herd no man, nor ſawe none,
Tyll yt paſt the hygh none,
Then herde he grete ſtrokes falle,
That yt made grete noyſe with alle,
Full ſone he thoght that to ſe,
To wete what the ſtrokes myght be:
There was an erle, both ſtout and gaye,
He was com ther that ſame daye,
For to hunt for a dere or a do,
But hys houndes were gone hym fro.
Then was ther a dragon grete and grymme,
Full of fyre and alſo venymme,
Wyth a wyde throte and tuſkes grete,
Uppon that knygte faſt gan he bete.
And as a lyon then was hys feete,
Hys tayle was long, and full unmeete:
Betwene hys head and hys tayle
Was xxii fote withouten fayle;
Hys body was lyke a wyne tonne,
He ſhone ful bryght agaynſt the ſunne:
Hys eyen were bright as any glaſſe,

[1] Sign. D ii. *ſeq.* [In Warton's original text, ſcarcely a line, which he quote was without ſeveral blunders in orthography and ſenſe, and the obſervation appli equally to the editions of 1824 and 1840.] At the cloſe of the romance it is ſa that the king, in the midſt of a great feaſt which laſted forty days, created the ſqui king in his room; in the preſence of his twelve lords. See what I have obſerv concerning the number twelve, Introd. Diſs. i.

[2] [There are three old printed editions; See *Handb. of E. E. Lit. Art.* Degor The Auchinleck copy, noticed below by Mr. Price, has been printed three time once in 1817, by Mr. Utterſon; for the Abbotsford Club, with the cuts from I Worde's ed. 1849; and in Mr. Laing's *Antient Engliſh Poetry*, 1857.] There is manuſcript of it among Biſhop More's at Cambridge, Bibl. Publ. 690, 36.

[This romance is analyſed by Mr. Ellis in his "Specimens." From a fragme of it preſerved in the Auchinleck MS. it is clear that the poem in its preſent form an unſkilful *rifacimento* of an earlier verſion, ſince the writer was even ignorant the true mode of pronouncing the hero's name. Throughout Copland's edition with one exception—it is a word of two ſyllables, rhyming with "before;" but p. 135 of the reprint we obtain its true accentuation as exhibited in the Auchinle MS.:

"As was the yonge knyght Syr Degoré,
But none wyſt what man was he."

The name is intended to expreſs, as the author tells us (line 230), "a thing (or pe ſon) almoſt loſt," *Dégaré* or *Légaré*.—Price.]

[3] Sign. B. ii.

His ſcales were hard as any braſſe;
And therto he was necked lyke a horſe,
He bare hys hed up wyth grete force:
The breth of hys mouth that did out blow
As yt had been a fyre on lowe.
He was to loke on, as I you telle,
As yt had bene a fiende of helle.
Many a man he had ſhent,
And many a horſe he had rente.

As the minſtrel profeſſion became a ſcience, and the audience rew more civilized, refinements began to be ſtudied, and the romanic poet ſought to gain new attention, and to recommend his ſtory, y giving it the advantage of a plan. Moſt of the old metrical omances are, from their nature, ſuppoſed to be incoherent rhapſoies. Yet many of them have a regular integrity, in which every art contributes to produce an intended end. Through various obtacles and difficulties one point is kept in view, till the final and eneral cataſtrophe is brought about by a pleaſing and unexpected urpriſe. As a ſpecimen of the reſt, and as it lies in a narrow ompaſs, I will develop the plan of the fable now before us, which reſerves at leaſt a coincidence of events, and an uniformity of eſign.

[A king of England has a beautiful daughter, who is wooed by ıany ſuitors; but none can win her, becauſe none can perform ıe neceſſary condition by unhorſing her father in a jouſt. At laſt, /hen ſhe has accompanied her father to an abbey near a foreſt to ttend maſs, on the anniverſary of his wife's death, ſhe ſeparates herelf unintentionally from her companions, loſes her way in the foreſt, nd is met by a knight, who deflowers her. He leaves in her charge, s a token, his ſword. The princeſs has a ſon, who is ſecretly carried y one of her attendants to a hermit's cottage, and left at the door ı a cradle with £30 under his head, a pair of gloves,[1] which muſt t the girl whom he marries, and a requeſt that whoever finds him, /ill have him chriſtened. The foundling is chriſtened Sir Degoré L'Egaré] by the hermit, and educated by him. When he is wenty years of age he is allowed to return to his mother, and takes ıe gloves, which were diſcovered in his cradle. Having reſcued an arl from a dragon, armed with nothing but an oak-ſapling, he is inited to his deliverer's houſe. The earl offers him his daughter in ıarriage, but Degoré, mindful of the gloves, aſks to ſee all the ıdies. The gloves fit none of them.

His next adventure is with a king, who has offered his daughter ıd half his lands to any knight who can unhorſe him at the tourna-ıent. Degoré ſucceeds, and marries the princeſs, without calling to ıind the gloves, which ought to have been tried firſt. His wife

[1] Gloves were anciently a coſtly article of dreſs, and richly decorated. They ere ſometimes adorned with precious ſtones. *Rot. Pip. an.* 53. *Henr.* iii. [A. D. 267.] "Et de i. pectine auri cum lapidibus pretioſis ponderant. xliiis. et iiid. ob. t de ii. paribus chirothecarum cum lapidibus." This golden comb, ſet with wels, realiſes the wonders of romance.

turns out to be his own mother; but neither is aware of the fact until it is time to retire, when Degoré mentions his case, and insists on trying the gloves as a preliminary.[1] The princess puts on the gloves and then declares herself to be his mother. There is hereupon great rejoicing. Degoré is made known to the king as his daughter's son and when the knight demands who and where his father is, she can only give him the pointless sword she had received as a token from her seducer. He swears that he will not sleep till he has found the person. He meets with an extraordinary adventure at a castle, and afterwards sallying forth, he encounters a knight richly armed, with whom he fights, till the knight, seeing that his sword has no point, discovers Degoré to be his son by that sign, and the contest ceases. His father and mother are married, and Degoré espouses the lady whom he had met at the castle, and whom he had delivered from a giant. The incident of the mother marrying her son also occurs in *Sir Eglamore of Artois*.]

The romance of *King Robert of Sicily* begins and proceeds thus:[2]

Pryncis, that be prowde in prese,
I wylle [telle] that that ys no lees.
Yn Cysylle was a nobulle kynge,
Fayre and stronge, and some dele ȝinge;
He had a brodur in grete Rome,
That was pope of alle Crystendome;
Of Almayne hys odur brodur was emperowre,
Thorow Crystendome he had honowre.
The kynge was calde kynge Roberd,
Never man in hys tyme wyste hym aferde.
He was kynge of grete valowre,
And also callyd conquerowre;
Nowhere in no lande was hys pere,
Kynge nor dewke, ferre nor nere,
And also he was of chevalrye the flowre:
And hys odur brodur was emperowre.
Hys own brodur in ȝorthe Godes generalle vykere,
Pope of Rome, as ye may here;
Thys pope was callyd pope Urbane:
For hym lovyd bothe God and man;
The emperowre was callyd Valamownde,
A strawnger warreowre was none founde
After hys brodur, the kyng of Cysyle,
Of whome y thynke to speke a whyle.
The kynge thoght he had no pere
For to acownte, nodur far nor nere,
And thorow hys thoght he had a pryde,
For he had no pere, he thoȝt, on no syde.

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[1] All the romances have such an obstacle as this. They have all an enchantress, who detains the knight from his quest by objects of pleasure; and who is nothing more than the Calypso of Homer, the Dido of Virgil, and the Armida of Tasso.

[2] MS. Vernon, *ut supr.* Bibl. Bodl. f. 299. It is also in Caius College Camb. MSS. Class. E 174. 4. and Bibl. Publ. Cambr. MSS. More, 690. 35. [printed in Halliwell's *Nugæ Poeticæ*, 1844, 8vo.] and Brit. Mus. MSS. Harl. 525. 2. f. 35. [Printed privately by Utterson, 1839, 8vo. The extracts in this edition have been copied from the text given from a collation of the Publ. Lib. Camb. and Harl. MSS. in *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, 1864-6, i.]

And on a nyght of ſeynt Johan,
Thys kynge to the churche come,
For to here hys evynſonge;
Hys dwellynge thoȝt he there to longe,
He thoght more of worldys honowre,
Then of Cryſte hys ſaveowre.
In *magnificat* he harde a vers,
He made a clerke hym hyt reherſe
In the langage of hys owne tonge:
For in Laten wyte he not what they ſonge.
The verſe was thys, as y telle the,
Depoſuit potentes de ſede,
Et exaltavit humiles.
Thys was the verſe withowten lees:
The clerke ſeyde anon ryght:
Syr, ſoche ys Godys myght,
That he make may hye lowe,
And lowe hye in a lytylle throwe.
God may do, withowten lye,
Hys wylle in the twynkelyng of an ye,
The kyng ſeyde than with thoȝt unſtabulle:
Ye ſynge thys ofte, and alle ys a fabulle,
What man hath that powere
To make me lowear and in dawngere?
I am flowre of chevalrye;
Alle myn enmyes y may dyſtroye.
Ther levyth no man in no lande,
That my myght may withſtande;
Then ys yowre ſonge a ſonge of noght.
Thys arrowre had he in hys thoght,
And in hys thoght a ſlepe hym toke
In hys cloſet, ſo ſeyth the boke.
When evynſonge was alle done,
A kynge, hym lyke, owte can come,
And alle men with hym can wende,
And kynge Roberd lefte behynde.
The newe kynge was, y yow telle,
Godys aungelle, hys pryde to felle;
The aungelle in the halle yoye made,
And alle men of hym were glade.
Kynge Roberd wakenyd that was in the kyrke:
Hys men he thoȝt now for to wyrke,
For he was lefte there allone,
And merke nyght felle hym upon.
He began to crye upon hys men,
But there was none that anſweryd then,
But the ſexten at the ende
Of the kyrke, and to hym can wende,
And ſeyde: lurden, what doyſt thou here?
Thou art a thefe or thefeys fere;
Thou art here ſykerlye
Thys churche to robbe with felonye.
He ſeyde: fals thefe and fowle gadlyng,
Thou lyeſt falſely; y am thy Kynge.
Opyn the churche dore anon,
That y may to my pales gone.
The ſexten went welle than,
That he had be a wode man,
And of hym he had farlye,
And wolde delyver the churche in hye,

And openyd the dore ry3t ſone in haſte.
The kyng began to reaue owte faſte,
As a man that was nere wode,
And at hys pales 3ate he ſtode,
And callyd the porter: gadlyng, begone,
And bad hym come faſte, and hye hym ſoone.

When admitted, he is brought into the hall, where the angel, who had aſſumed his place, makes him *the fool of the hall*, and clothes him in a fool's coat. He is then ſent out to lie with the dogs; in which ſituation he envies the condition of thoſe dogs, which in great multitudes were permitted to remain in the royal hall. At length the Emperor Valemounde ſends letters to his brother King Robert inviting him to viſit, with himſelf, their brother the pope at Rome. The angel, who perſonates King Robert, welcomes the meſſengers and clothes them in the richeſt apparel, ſuch as could not be made in the world:

The aungelle welcomyd the meſſengerys,
And clad them alle in clothys of pryſe,
And furryd them with armyne;
Ther was never 3yt pellere half ſo fyne;
And alle was ſet with perrye,
Ther was never no better in cryſtyante';
Soche clothyng and hyt were to dyght,
Alle cryſten men hyt make ne myght,
Where ſoche clothys were to ſelle,
Nor who them made, no man can telle.
On that wondyrd alle that bande,
Who wro3t thoſe clothys with any hande.
The meſſengerys went with the kynge
To grete Rome, withowte leſynge;
The fole Roberd with hym went
Clad in a fulle ſympulle garmente,
With foxe tayles riven alle abowte;
Men myght hym knowe in alle the rowte.
A babulle he bare agenſte hys wylle,
The aungelles heſte to fulfylle.

Afterwards they return in the ſame pomp to Sicily, where the angel, after ſo long and ignominious a penance, reſtores King Robert to his royalty.

Sicily was conquered by the French in the eleventh century,[1] and

[1] There is an old French romance, *Robert le Diable*, often quoted by Carpentier in his *Supplement to Du Cange*, and a French Morality, without date or name of the author: ["Cy commence un miracle de Noſtre dame, de Robert le dyable, fil du duc de Normandie, a qui il fut enjoint pour ſes mesfaiz quil feiſt le fol ſans parler et depuis or Noſtre Seignor mercy de li, et eſpouſa la fille de lempereur."] Beauchamp's *Rech. Theat. Fr.* p. 109. [Printed at Rouen, 1836, 8vo.

The French proſe romance of *Robert le Diable*, printed in 1496, is extant in the collection called *Bibliothèque Bleue*. It has been tranſlated into other languages among the reſt into Engliſh. The Engliſh verſion was [twice] printed by Wynkyn de Worde, [and is reprinted in Thom's *Early Proſe Romances*, 1828 and 1858] The title of one of the chapters is, "How God ſent an aungell to the hermyte to ſhewe him the penaunce that he ſholde gyve to Robert for his ſynnes."—"Yf thā Robert wyll be ſhryven of his ſynnes, he muſt kepe and counterfeite the wayes of a fole and be as he were dombe," &c. There is an old Engliſh Morality on this tale

this tale might have been originally got or written during their poſſeſſion of that iſland, which continued through many monarchies.[1] But Sicily, from its ſituation, became a familiar country to all the weſtern continent at the time of the Cruſades, and conſequently ſoon found its way into romance, as did many others of the Mediterranean iſlands and coaſts, for the ſame reaſon. Another of them, Cilicia, has accordingly given title to an ancient tale called *The King of Tars*, touched with a rude but expreſſive pencil, from which I ſhall give ſome extracts: "Her bigenneth of the Kyng of Tars, and of the

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under the very corrupt title of *Robert Cicyll*, which was repreſented at the High-Croſs in Cheſter in 1529. There is a MS. of the poem on vellum in Trinity College library at Oxford (MSS. Num. lvii.).

[*Robert of Cicyle* and *Robert the Devil*, though not identical, are clearly members of the ſame family, and this poetic embodiment of their lives is evidently the offſpring of that tortuous opinion ſo prevalent in the middle ages, and which time has mellowed into a vulgar adage, that "the greater the ſinner the greater the ſaint." The ſubject of the latter poem was doubtleſsly Robert the ſixth duke of Normandy, who became an early object of legendary ſcandal; and the tranſition to the ſame line of potentates in Sicily was an eaſy effort when thus ſupported. The romantic legend of "Sir Gowther" publiſhed in the *Select Pieces of Early Popular Poetry*, [1817], is only a different verſion of Robert the Devil with a change of ſcene, names, &c.—*Price.*

That the ſubject of the legend of Robert the Devil was Robert the ſixth duke of Normandy, is treated by ſome writers as a matter of much uncertainty, although Mr. Price appears to have entertained no doubt of it. In the *Revue de Rouen* for March, 1836, M. Pothier obſerves: "Setting out with the ſcarcely plauſible opinion, that all the perſonages of ſemi-hiſtoric romance muſt have their type and repreſentative in hiſtory, they have ſet themſelves to inveſtigate what real pattern the fabulous Robert the Devil could have been modelled after. As the chronicle [of Normandy], the drama, and the romance agree in making him the ſon of a duke of Normandy, it has been thence concluded that he muſt himſelf have been duke of Normandy; and compariſons have been inſtituted of his legend with the hiſtory of the two or three Roberts that the whole ducal lineage furniſhes. Yet neither chroniclers nor poets had ever dreamt of creating, of their own mere authority, Robert the Devil duke of Normandy: the chronicle makes him die at Jeruſalem; the romance, in a hermitage near Rome; and the miracle makes him marry the emperor's daughter, and then of courſe ſucceed his father-in-law, agreeably to the external law of all ſeekers of adventures, from the paladins of the round table down to the renowned Knight of the Sorrowful Countenance." According to the later verſion of the Bibliotheque Bleue, Robert brings his wife into Normandy, aſcends the ducal throne, and having lived a good prince, dies laden with honours and with years, leaving the duchy to *his ſon Richard-ſans-Peur*, whoſe marvellous hiſtory has alſo been recounted by the writers of romance."—*Taylor.*

See alſo remarks on this ſubject in *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, 1864-6, i. 264-9.]

[1] A paſſage in Fauchet, ſpeaking of rhyme, may perhaps deſerve attention here. "Pour le regard de *Siciliens*, je me tiens preſque aſſeure, que Guillaume Ferrabrach frère de Robert Guiſchard et autres ſeigneurs de Calabre et Pouille enfans de Tancred François-Normand, l'ont portee aux pais de leur conqueſte, eſtant une couſtume des gens de deça chanter, avant que combattre, les beaux faits de leurs anceſtres, compoſez en vers." *Rec.* p. 70. Boccaccio's *Tancred*, in his beautiful tale of *Tancred and Sigiſmunda*, was one of theſe Franco-Norman kings of Sicily. Compare *Nouv. Abreg. Chronol. Hiſt. Fr.* pag. 102, edit. 1752. [Alſo Gibbon, ch. lvi.—*Anon.*]

Soudan of Dammias,[1] how the Soudan of Dammias was criſtened thoru Godis gras:"[2]

Herkeneth now, bothe olde and ȝyng,
For Maries love, that ſwete thyng:
How a werre bigan
Bitwene a god Criſtene kyng,
And an hethene heyȝe lordyng,
Of Damas the Soudan.
The kyng of Taars hedde a wyf,
The feireſte that mighte bere lyf,
That eny mon telle can:
A doughter thei hadde hem bitween,
That heore[3] riȝte heir ſcholde ben;
White ſo[4] fether of ſwan:
Chaaſt heo[5] was, and feir of chere,
With rode[6] red ſo bloſme on brere,
Eyyen[7] ſtepe and gray,
With lowe ſchuldres and whyte ſwere;[8]
Hire to ſeo[9] was gret preyere
Of princes pert in play.
The word[10] of hire ſprong ful wyde
Feor and ner, bi vche a ſyde:
The Soudan herde ſay;
Him thoughte his herte wolde breke on five
Bot he mihte have hire to wyve,
That was ſo ſeir a may;
The Soudan ther he ſat in halle;
He ſente his meſſagers faſte withalle,
To hire fader the kyng.
And ſeide, hou ſo hit ever bifalle,
That mayde he wolde clothe in palle
And ſpouſen hire with his ryng.
"And elles[11] I ſwere withouten fayle
I ſchull[12] hire winnen in pleyn battayle
With mony an heiȝ lordyng," &c.

The Soldan, on application to the King of Tarſus for his daughter, is refuſed; and the meſſengers return without ſucceſs. The Soldan's anger is painted with great characteriſtical ſpirit:

The Soudan ſat at his des,
I-ſerved of his furſte mes;
Thei comen into the halle
To fore the prince proud in pres:
Heore tale thei tolden withouten lees,
And on heore knees gunne falle:

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[1] Damaſcus.

[2] MS. Vernon. Bibl. Bodl. f. 304. It is alſo in Bibl. Adv. Edinb. W 4, 1 Num. iv. In five leaves and a half.

[This romance will be found in Mr. Ritſon's Collection, vol. ii. from whoſe tranſcript the preſent text has been corrected. On the authority of Douglas's verſion of the *Æneid* and Ruddiman's Gloſſary, he interprets "Tars" to mean Thrace but as the ſtory is one of pure invention, and at beſt but a romantic legend, why not refer the Damas and Tars of the text to the Damaſcus and Tarſus of Scripture —*Price.*]

[3] their. [4] as. [5] ſhe. [6] [complexion.]
[7] eyes. [8] neck. [9] ſee. [10] The report of her
[11] [elſe.] [12] ſhall.

And ſeide, "Sire, the king of Tars
Of wikked wordes nis not ſcars,
Hethene hound [1] he doth the [2] calle;
And er his doughtur he give the tille,[3]
Thyn herte blode he wol ſpille
And thi barouns alle."
Whon the Soudan this iherde,
As a wod man he ferde:
His robe he rente adoun;
He tar the her [4] of hed and berd,
And ſeide he wold her wiue with ſwerd,
Beo his lord ſeynt Mahoun.
The table adoon riȝt he ſmot,
In to the floore foot hot,[5]
He lokede as a wylde lyoun;
Al that he hitte he ſmot doun riȝt,
Bothe ſergaunt and kniȝt,
Erl and eke baroun.
So he ferde forſothe a pliȝt,
Al a day and al a niȝt,
That no man miȝte him chaſte: [6]
A morwen whon hit was day liȝt,
He ſent his meſſagers ful riȝt,
After his barouns in haſte:
[That thai com to his parlement,
For to heren his jugement
Bothe left and maſt.
When the parlement was pleyner,
Tho biſpac the Soudan fer,
And ſeyd to hem in haſt.][7]
"Lordynges," he ſeith, "what to rede?" [8]
Me is don a grete myſdede,
Of Taars the Criſten kyng;
I bed him bothe lond and lede
To have his douhter in worthli wede,
And ſpouſe hire with my ryng.
And he ſeide withouten fayle:
Arſt he wolde me ſle in batayle
And mony a gret lordynge.
Ac ſertes [9] he ſchal be forſwore,
Or to wrothe hele [10] that he was bore,

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[1] A phraſe often applied to the Saracens. So, in *Syr Bevys*, ſig. C ii b:

"To ſpeke with an *hethene hounde*."

[2] thee. [3] "Before his daughter is given to thee."

[4] "tore the hair."

[5] ſtruck, ſtamped. [Sir F. Madden ſays, that this is ſtill in uſe in Ireland to denote *anger* or *haſte*.]

[6] check.

[7] [The lines within brackets were inſerted by Mr. Ritſon from the Auchinleck MS.—*Price*.]

[8] "what counſel ſhall we take?"

[9] But certainly.

[10] Loſs of health or ſafety. Malediction. So R. of Brunne, *Chron.* apud Hearne's *Rob. Glouc.* pp. 737, 738:

"Morgan did after conſeile,
And wrought him ſelfe to *wrotherheile*."

Again:

"To zow al was a wikke conſeile,
That ze ſelle ſe full *wrotherheile*."

Bote he hit therto[1] bryng.
Therefore, lordynges, I have after ow ſent
For to come to my parliment,
To wite of ȝow counſayle.
And alle onſwerde with gode entent
Thei wolde be at his comaundement
Withouten eny fayle.
And whon thei were alle at his heſte,
The Soudan made a wel gret feſte
For love of his batayle;
The Soudan gedred an oſte unryde[2]
With Sarazyns of muchel pryde,
The kyng of Taars to aſſayle.
Whon the kyng hit herde that tyde,
He ſent about on vche a ſyde,
Alle that he miȝte of ſeende;
Gret werre tho bigan to wrake
For the mariage ne moſt be take
Of that mayden heende.[3]
Batayle thei ſette uppon a day,
Withinne the thridde day of May,[4]
Ne longer nolde thei leende.[5]
The Soudan com with gret power,
With helm briȝt and feir baneer,
Uppon that kyng to wende.
The Soudan ladde an huge oſt,
And com with much pruyde and coſt,
With the kyng of Tars to fiȝte.
With him mony a Sarazyn feer:[6]
Alle the feldes feor and neer,
Of helmes leomede[7] liȝte.
The kyng of Tars com alſo
The Soudan batayle for to do
With mony a Criſtene kniȝe;
Either oſt gon othur aſſayle:
Ther bigon a ſtrong batayle,
That griſlych was of fiȝt.
Threo hethene ayein twey Criſtene men,
And falde hem doun in the fen,
With wepnes ſtif and goode:
The ſteorne Sarazyns in that fiȝt,
Slowe vr Criſten men doun rigȝt,
Thei fouhte as heo weore woode.
The Soudan oſt in that ſtounde
Feolde the Criſtene to the grounde,
Mony a freoly foode;
The Sarazyns withouten fayle
The Criſtens culde[8] in that battayle,
Nas non that hem withſtoode.
Whon the king of Tars ſauȝ that fiȝt
Wodde he was for wrathe[9] apliȝt;
In honde he hent a ſpere,

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[1] to that iſſue. [2] [numerous.]
[3] [courteous. A general term expreſſive of perſonal and mental accompliſhments. —*Price.*]
[4] [Reſpecting the ſelection of this period for a conteſt, ſee a ſuggeſtion in *Rem. of the E. P. Poetr. of Engl.* 1864-6, ii. 109.]
[5] tarry. [6] companion. [7] ſhone.
[8] killed. [9] wraþþe. *Orig.*

And to the Soudan he rode ful riȝt
With a dunt[1] of much miȝt,
Adoun he gon him bere:
The Soudan neigh he hedde i-lawe,
But thritti thouſent of hethene lawe
Coomen him for to were;
And broughten him ayeyn upon his ſtede,
And holpe him wel in that nede,
That no mon miȝt him dere.[2]
Whon he was brouȝt uppon his ſtede,
He sprong, as ſparkle doth of glede,[3]
For wrathe and for envye.
Alle that he hutte he made hem blede,
He ferde as he wolde a wede,[4]
Mahoun help, he gan crye.
Mony an helm ther was unweved,
And mony a bacinet[5] to-cleved,
And ſadeles mony emptye;
Men miȝte ſe uppon the feld
Moni a kniȝt ded under ſcheld
Of the Criſten cumpagnie.
Whon the kyng of Taars ſaugh hem ſo ryde,
No lengor there he nolde abyde,
Bote fley[6] to his oune citè:
The Sarazyns that ilke tyde
Slough adoun bi vche ſyde
Vr Criſtene folk ſo fre.
The Sarazyns that tyme ſauns fayle
Slowe vre Criſtene in battayle,
That reuthe hit was to ſe;
And on the morwe for heore[7] ſake
Truwes thei gunne togidere take,[8]
A moneth and dayes thre.
As the kyng of Tars ſat in his halle,
He made ful gret deol[9] withalle,
For the folk that he hedde i-lore:[10]
His douȝter com in riche palle.
On kneos heo[11] gon biforen him falle,
And ſeide with ſyking ſore:
Fader, heo ſeide, let me beo his wyf,
That ther be no more ſtryf, &c.

To prevent future bloodſhed, the princeſs voluntarily declares ſhe is willing to be married to the Soldan, although a Pagan: and notwithſtanding the king her father peremptorily refuſes his conſent, and reſolves to continue the war, with much difficulty ſhe finds means to fly to the Soldan's court, in order to produce a ſpeedy and laſting reconciliation by marrying him:

To the Soudan heo[11] is i-fare;
He com with mony an heiȝ lordyng,
For to welcom that ſwete thyng,
Ther heo com in hire chare:[12]
He cuſte[13] hire wel mony a ſithe,
His joye couthe no man kithe,[14]

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[1] *dint*, wound, ſtroke. [2] hurt. [3] coal, fire-brand.
[4] as if he was mad. [5] helmet. [6] flew.
[7] their. [8] They began to make a truce together.
[9] dole, grief. [10] loſt. [11] ſhe. [12] chariot. [13] kiſt. [14] know.

Awei was al hire care.
Into chambre heo was led,
With riche clothes heo was cled,
Hethene as thauȝ heo were.[1]
The Soudan ther he ſat in halle,
He comaundede his kniȝtes alle
That mayden for to fette,
In cloth of riche purpil palle,
And on hire hed a comeli calle:
Bi the Soudan heo was ſette.
Unſemli was hit for to ſe
Heo that was ſo bright of ble,
To habbe[2] ſo foule a mette,[3] &c.

They are then married, and the wedding is ſolemnized with a grand tournament, which they both view from a high tower. She is afterwards delivered of a ſon, which is ſo deformed as to be almoſt a monſter. But at length ſhe perſuades the Soldan to turn Chriſtian; and the young prince is baptized, after which ceremony he ſuddenly becomes a child of moſt extraordinary beauty. The Soldan next proceeds to deſtroy his Saracen idols:

He hente a ſtaf with herte grete,
And al his goddes he gan to bete,
And drouȝ hem alle adoun;
And leyde on, til that he con ſwete,
With ſterne ſtrokes and with grete,
On Jovyn[4] and Plotoun,
On Aſtrot and ſire Jovin,
On Tirmagaunt and Apollin,
He brak hem ſcolle and croun;
On Tirmagaunt, that was heore brother,
He lafte no lym hole with other,
Ne on his lord ſeynt Mahoun, &c.

The Soldan then releaſes thirty thouſand Chriſtians, whom he had long detained priſoners. As an apoſtate from the pagan religion, he is powerfully attacked by ſeveral neighbouring Saracen nations: but he ſolicits the aſſiſtance of his father-in-law, the king of Tars; and they, joining their armies, in a pitched battle defeat five Saracen kings, Kenedoch, Leſyas, king of Taborie, Merkel, Cleomadas, and Membrok. There is a warmth of deſcription in ſome paſſages of this poem, not unlike the manner of Chaucer. The reader muſt have already obſerved that the ſtanza reſembles that of Chaucer's *Rime of Sir Topas*.[5]

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[1] as if ſhe had been a heathen, one of that country. [2] have. [3] mate.

[4] I know not if by *ſire Jovyn* he means Jupiter, or the Roman emperor called Jovinian, againſt whom Saint Jerom wrote, and whoſe hiſtory is in the *Geſta Romanorum*, c. 59. He is mentioned by Chaucer as an example of pride, luxury, and luſt. *Somp. T.* v. 7511. Verdier (in v.) recites a *Moralité* on Jovinian, with nineteen characters, printed at Lyons, from an ancient copy in 1584, 8vo, with the title *L'Orgueil et preſomption de l'Empereur Jovinian.* [Compare *ſupra*, vol. i. p. 255, and ſee Brunet, *dern.* edit. iii. 1885.] But Jovyn being mentioned here with Plotoun and Apollin, ſeems to mean Jove or Jupiter; and the appellation *ſire* perhaps implies father, or chief, of the heathen gods.

[5] The romance of *Sir Libeaux* or *Lybius Diſconius* [printed by Ritſon], is in this

[Of the romance of *Ypotis*,[1] mentioned by Chaucer, there are four copies preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum,[2] and three at Oxford.[3]

Though mentioned by Chaucer along with *Horn Child*, *Sir Bevis*, and *Sir Guy*, it has but little in common with thoſe romances of Price. It profeſſes to be "a tale of holy writ," and the work of St. John the Evangeliſt. The ſcene is Rome. A child, named Ypotis, appears before the Emperor Adrian, ſaying that he is come to teach men God's law; whereupon the emperor proceeds to interrogate him as to what is God's law, and then of many other matters, not in any captious ſpirit, but with the utmoſt reverence and faith. He aſks queſtions about heaven, Adam's ſin, the Trinity, the creation, Sins, why men ſhould faſt on Friday, and other ſubjects; and at laſt he aſks the wondrous child who has ſolved all his queries whether he is a wicked angel or a good:

> Þe child onſwerde with milde mood:
> "I am he þat þe wrouhte
> And alſo þat þe deore abougte."
> Þe child wente to heuene þo
> To þe ſtude þat he com fro.
> Þe Emperour kneled on þe grounde
> And þonked God, þat bliſsful ſtounde
> He bi com good. In alle wyſe
> Lyuede & diyede in Godes ſeruiſe.

And ſo, with a ſecond aſcription of itſelf to Saint John as its author, the work ends. There is a little tract in proſe on the ſame legend from the preſs of Wynkyn de Worde.

The editor of the *Catalogue of the Aſhmolean MSS.* ſuggeſts that the origin of this curious dialogue is to be found in thoſe ſpurious pieces relating to the philoſopher Secundus, &c., which are deſcribed by Fabricius.[4] What little is known of Secundus is given by Philoſtratus, in his *Vitæ Sophiſtarum*. He was an Armenian ſophiſt, who flouriſhed about A.D. 100. Suidas confounds him with the younger Pliny; his words are, ὃς ἐχρημάτισε πλήνιος. Vincent of Beauvais made him known to the Middle Ages, or at leaſt extended the knowledge of him, by recording the wonderful taciturnity he was ſaid to have preſerved, and alſo certain anſwers in writing given to the Emperor Hadrian.[5] Beſides this converſation between the Emperor Hadrian and Secundus, Fabricius gives a ſimilar altercation

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ſtanza. MSS. Cott. Cal. A 2, f. 40. [The *Beau Diſconu*, *Bel Inconnu*, or rather *Li Biaus Deſconneus* was written by Renals de Biauju, and a MS. of the original French is in the poſſeſſion of the Duc d'Aumale. But the Engliſh verſions are not a literal tranſlation of the Duc d'Aumale's French copy, and therefore there muſt have been formerly a ſomewhat different text, or the Engliſh author took unacknowledged liberties with the poem. The title of the original French is: "Le Bel Inconnu, ou Giglain fils de Meſſire Gauvain et de la Fee aux Blanches Mains, Poeme de la Table Ronde, par Renauld de Beaujeu, Poete du XIII^e. ſiecle. Publié d'après le MS. unique, par C. Hippeau. Paris, 1860, 8vo.]

[1] [Communicated by Mr. J. W. Hales.]

[2] Arundel MSS. No. 140, addit. MSS. No. 22283; Cott. MSS. Calig. A. ii. and Titus A. xxvi.

[3] Vernon MS. 140; Aſhm. Nos. 61 and 750.

[4] *Bibl. Græc.* tom. xiii.

[5] See *Spec. Hiſt.* x. 70, 71.

between that ſame emperor and Epictetus. But indeed between theſe pieces and *Ypotis* there is no likeneſs whatever, except that the form is catechetical, and that the queſtions are put in the mouth of the ſame imperial figure. Secundus's anſwers are not anſwers, but mere accumulations of epigrams, mere rhetorical bouquets. He is aſked what are κόσμος, ὠκεανος, θεός, ἡμέρα, ἥλιος, &c., and replies in each caſe with a ſeries of elaborate metaphors. Thus, to the queſtion, τί ἐστι γυνη; the reſponſe of the oracle is, ἀνδρὸς ἐπιθύμιον, συνεστιώμενον θηρίον, συγκοιμω μένη λέαινα . . . . . ἀνθρωπόποιον ὑπούργημα, ζῶον πονηρον, ἀναγκαῖον κακόν. Whereas in *Ypotis* the queſtions are all anſwered with the wiſh, not to air tropes and ſimiles, but to convey information. In fact, *Ypotis* is a very curious medieval catechiſm. It is evidently the work of ſome ſober-minded eccleſiaſtical inſtructor—of ſome monaſtic Pinnock of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The ſtatements contained in it concerning the ſeven elements of which Adam was compoſed, the liſt of the ſins committed by him, the deſcription of the ſeven heavens and the nine celeſtial orders, the thirteen reaſons for faſting on Friday—all theſe things formed part of what was once held to be highly important knowledge, to impart which in a form eaſy to remember, and to inveſt with a certain perſonal intereſt, was the object of the verſifier, who produced *Ypotis*.

For the name I venture to ſuggeſt that it is a corruption of the Greek Ὑποστασις, or rather, perhaps, Ὑποστατης. The former was a common word with the Greek eccleſiaſtical writers for a perſon of the Trinity; the latter is uſed by them for a creator.]

Ipomydon is mentioned among the romances in the Prologue of *Richard Cuer de Lyon;* in an ancient copy of the Britiſh Muſeum, it is called *Syr Ipomydon*, a name borrowed from the Theban war, and transferred here to a tale of the feudal times.[1] This piece is derived from a French original. Our hero Ippomedon is ſon of Ermones king of Apulia, and his miſtreſs is the fair heireſs of Calabria. About the year 1230, William Ferrabras[2] and his brethren, ſons of Tancred the Norman, and well known in the hiſtory of the Paladins, acquired the ſignories of Apulia and Calabria. But our Engliſh romance ſeems to be immediately tranſlated from the French; for Ermones is called king of *Poyle* or Apulia, which in French is *Pouille*. I have tranſcribed ſome of the moſt intereſting paſſages.[3]

Ipomydon, although the ſon of a king, is introduced waiting in his father's hall, at a grand feſtival. This ſervitude was ſo far from being diſhonourable, that it was always required as a preparatory ſtep to knighthood:

Every yere the kyng wold
At Whytſontyde a feſt hold

MSS. Harl. 2252, 44, f. 54. [In Heber's library was a printed copy deficient of ſheet A, which had been part of the collection bequeathed to Lincoln Cathedral by Dean Honeywood. It was from the preſs of W. de Worde.]

[Printed in Mr. Weber's collection of Metrical Romances, whoſe text has been ſubſtituted for Warton's. It has alſo been analyſed by Mr. Ellis.—*Price.*]

[2] *Bras de fer.* Iron arm.

[3] MSS. f. 55.

Off dukis, erlis, and barons,
Many there come frome dyvers townes,
Ladyes, maydens, gentill and fre,
Come thedyr from ferre contrè:
And grette lordis of ferre lond
Thedyr were prayd by fore the hond.[1]
When all were come togedyr than
There was joy of mani a man;
Full riche I wote were hyr ſeruice,
For better might no man devyſe.
Ipomydon that day ſervyd in halle,
All ſpake of hym bothe grete and ſmalle,
Ladies and maydens by helde hym on,
So godely a man they had ſene none:
Hys feyre chere in halle theym ſmert
That mony a lady ſmote throw the hert.
And in there hertis they made mone
That there lordis ne were ſuche one.
After mete they went to pley,
All the peple, as I you ſey;
Some to chambre, and ſome to boure,
And ſome to the hye towre;[2]
And ſome in the halle ſtode
And ſpake what hem thought gode:
Men that were of that cite[3]
Enquered of men of other cuntrè, &c.

Here a converſation commences concerning the heireſs of Calabria: and the young Prince Ipomydon immediately forms a reſolution to viſit and to win her. He ſets out in diſguiſe:

Now they go furth on her way,
Ipomydon to hys men gan ſay,
That ther be none of hem alle,
So hardy by his name hym calle,
Whereſo thei wend ferre or nere,
Or over the ſtrange ryvere;
"Ne man telle what I am,
What I ſchall be, ne whens I cam."
All they granted hys commandement,
And forthe they went with one aſſent.
Ipomydon and Tholomew
Robys had on and mantillis new,
Of the richeſt that myght bee,
Ther nas ne ſuche in that cuntrèe:
For many was the ryche ſtone
That the mantillis were uppon.
So longe there weys they have nome[4]
That to Calabre they ar come:
They come to the caſtelle yate
The porter was redy there at,
The porter to theme they can calle
And prayd hym go into the halle

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[1] before-hand.

[2] In the feudal caſtles, where many perſons of both ſexes were aſſembled, who did not know how to ſpend the time, it is natural to ſuppoſe that different parties were formed, and different ſchemes of amuſement invented. One of theſe was to mount to the top of one of the higheſt towers in the caſtle.

[3] The Apulians. [4] [taken.]

And ſay thy lady[1] gent and fre,
That come ar men of ferre contrèe,
And if it pleſe hyr we wold hyr prey,
That we might ete with hyr to day.
The porter ſeyd full corteſsly
" Your errand to do I am redy."
The lady to hyr mete was ſette,
The porter come and feyre hyr grette,
" Madame," he ſayd, " God you ſave,"
Atte your gate geſtis ye have,
Strange men all for to ſee
Thei aſke mete for charytè."
The lady comaundith ſone anon
That the gates were undone,
" And bryng theym all byfore me
For wele at eſe ſhall they bee."
They toke hyr pagis hors and alle,
Theſe two men went into the halle.
Ipomydon on knees hym ſette,
And the lady feyre he grette:
" I am a man of ſtrange contrè
And pray you yff your will to [ſo] be
That I myght dwelle with you to-yere
Of your norture for to lere,[2]
I am come frome ferre lond;
For ſpeche I here bi fore the hand
That your norture and your ſervyſe
Ys holden of ſo grete empryſe.
I pray you that I may dwelle here
Some of your ſervyſe to lere."
The lady by held Ipomydon,
Hym ſemyd wele a gentilmon,
She knew non ſuche in hyr lande,
So goodly a man and wele farand;[3]
She ſaw alſo by his norture
He was a man of grete valure:
She caſt full ſone in hyr thoght
That for no ſervyſe come he noght;
But it was worſhip hyr unto
In feir ſervyſe hym to do.
She ſayd, Syr, welcome ye be,
And all that comyn be with the;
Sithe ye have had ſo grete travayle,
Of a ſerviſe ye ſhall not fayle:

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[1] She was lady, by inheritance, of the ſignory. The female feudatories exerciſed all the duties and honours of their feudal juriſdiction in perſon. In Spenſer, where we read of the *Lady of the Caſtle*, we are to underſtand ſuch a character. See a ſtory of a *Comteſſe*, who entertains a knight in her caſtle with much gallantry. *Mem. ſur l'Anc. Chev.* ii. 69. It is well known that anciently in England ladies were ſheriffs of counties. [Margaret, counteſs of Richmond, was a juſtice of peace. Sir W. Dugdale tells us that Ela, widow of William, earl of Saliſbury, executed the ſheriff's office for the county of Wilts in different parts of the reign of Henry III. (See *Baronage*, vol. i. 177.) From Fuller's *Worthies* we find that Elizabeth, widow of Thomas Lord Clifford, was ſheriffeſs of Weſtmoreland for many years, and from Pennant's *Scottiſh Tour* we learn that for the ſame county Anne, the celebrated Counteſs of Dorſet, Pembroke and Montgomery, often ſat in perſon as ſheriffeſs.—*Park.*]

[2] learn. [3] handſome.

In thys contre ye may dwelle here
And at your will for to lere,
Of the cuppe ye ſhall ſerve me
And all your men with you ſhal be,
Ye may dwelle here at youre wille,
But[1] your beryng be full ylle.
Madame, he ſayd, grantmercy,
He thankid the lady corteſly.
She comandyth hym to the mete,
But or he ſatte in ony ſete,
He ſaluted theym grete and ſmalle,
As a gentillman ſhuld in halle;
All they ſayd ſone anone,
They ſaw nevyr ſo goodli a mon,
Ne ſo light, ne ſo glad,
Ne non that ſo ryche atyre had:
There was non that ſat nor yede,[2]
But they had marvelle of hys dede,[3]
And ſayd, he was no lytell ſyre,
That myght ſhew ſuche atyre.
Whan they had ete, and grace ſayd,
And the tabyll away was leyd;
Upp than aroos Ipomydon,
And to the botery he went anon,
Ant [dyde] hys mantille hym aboute;
On hym lokyd all the route,
Ant every man ſayd to other there,
"Will ye ſe the proude ſqueer
Shall ſerve[4] my ladye of the wyne,
In hys mantell that is ſo fyne?"
That they hym ſcornyd wiſt he nogh t:
On othyr thyng he had his thoght.
He toke the cuppe of the botelere,
And drewe a lace of ſylke ful clere,
Adowne than felle hys mantylle by,
He prayd hym for hys curteſſy,
That lytelle yifte[5] that he wolde nome
Tille efte ſone a better come;
Up it toke the botelere.
Byfore the lady he gan it bere,
And prayd the lady hertely
To thanke hym of his corteſſye;
All that was tho in the halle
Grete honowre they ſpake hym alle.
And ſayd he was no lytelle man
That ſuch yiftys yiffe kan.
There he dwellyd many a day,
And ſervid the lady wele to pay.
He bare hym on ſo feyre manere
To knyghtes, ladyes, and ſquyere,
All lovyd hym that com hym by,
For he bare hym ſo corteſly.
The lady had a coſyne that hight Jaſon,
Full well he lovyd Ipomydon;
Where that he yede in or oute,
Jaſon went with hym aboute.

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[1] unleſs. [2] walked. [3] behaviour.
[4] "who is to ſerve." [5] *i. e.* his mantle.

The lady lay, but ſhe ſlept noght,
For of the ſquyere ſhe had grete thoght;
How he was feyre and ſhapè wele,
Body and armes, and every dele:
Ther was non in al hir land
So wel beſemyd dougty of hand.
But ſhe kowde wete for no caſe,
Whens he come ne what he was,
Ne of no man cowde enquere
Other than the ſtrange ſquyere.
She hyr bythought on a quentyſe,
If ſhe myght know in ony wyſe,
To wete whereof he were come.
Thys was hyr thoght all and ſome:
She thought to wode hyr men to tame[1]
That ſhe myght knowe hym by his game.
On the morow, whan it was day,
To hyr men than gan ſhe ſay,
"To morrow whan it is day lyght,
Loke ye be all redy dight,
With youre houndis more and leſſe,
In the forreſt to take my greſe,
And there I will myſelf be
Youre game to byhold and ſee."
Ipomydon had houndis thre
That he broght frome his contrè;
When they were to the wode gone,
This lady and hyr men ichone,
And with hem her houndis ladde,
All that ever any howndis hadde.
Sir Tholomew foryate he noght,
His maiſtres howndis thedyr he broght,
That many a day ne had ronne ere,
Full wele he thoght to note hem there.
Whan they come to the laund on hight,
The quenys pavylon there was pight,
That ſhe myght ſe of the beſt
All the game of the forèſt,
The wandleſſours went throw the forèſt,
And to the lady broght many a beſt,[2]
Herte and hynde, buk and doo,
And othir beſtis many moo.
The howndis that were of gret priſe
Pluckid downe dere all at a tryſe;
Ipomydon with his houndis thoo
Drew downe bothe buk and doo;
More he tok with houndis thre
Than all that othyr compaigne.
There ſquyres undyd hyr dere,
Iche man on his owne manere:
Ipomydon a dere yede unto,
Full konnyngly gan he it undo;
So feyre that venyſon he gan to dight,
That bothe hym byheld ſquyer and knight:
The lady lokyd oute of her pavyloun,
And ſaw hym dight the venyſon.
There ſhe had grete deyntè
And ſo had all that dyd hym ſee:

[1] [tane or tan, A.-S. to *lure* or *entice*.]

[2] beaſt.

She ſaw all that he downe droughe
Of huntyng ſhe wiſt he cowde ynoughe
And thoght in hyr herte then
That he was come of gentillmen:
She bad Jaſon hyr men to calle:
Home they paſſyd grete and ſmalle:
Home they come ſone anone,
This lady to hyr mete gan gone,
And of venery[1] had hyr fille
For they had take game at wille.

He is afterwards knighted with great ſolemnity:

The heraudes gaff the child[2] the gree,
A m. pownde he had to fee,
Mynſtrellys had yiftes of golde
And fourty dayes thys feſt was holde.[3]

The metrical romance entitled *La Mort Arthure*, preſerved in the ſame repoſitory, is ſuppoſed by the learned and accurate Wanley to be a tranſlation from the French: he adds, that it is not perhaps older than the times of Henry VII.[4] But as it abounds with many Saxon words, and ſeems to be quoted in *Syr Bevys*, I have given it a place here.[5] Notwithſtanding the title and the exordium which promiſe the hiſtory of Arthur and the Sangreal, the exploits of Sir Lancelot du Lak, king of Benwike, his intrigues with Arthur's queen Geneura, and his refuſal of the beautiful daughter of the Earl of Aſcalot, form the greateſt part of the poem. At the cloſe, the repentance of Lancelot and Geneura, who both aſſume the habit of religion, is introduced. The writer mentions the Tower of London. The following is a deſcription of a tournament performed by ſome of the knights of the Round Table:[6]

Tho to the caſtelle gon they fare,
To the ladye fayre and bryht:
Blithe was the ladye thare,
That they wold dwelle with hyr that nyght.
Haſtely was there ſoper yare[7]
Off mete and drinke rychely dight;
On the morow gon they dine and fare
Both Launcelott and that other knight.

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[1] [hunting, game.] [2] Ipomydon. [3] MS. f. 61. b.

[4] MSS. Harl. 2252. 49. f. 86. Pr. "Lordinges that are leffe and deare." Edited by F. J. Furnivall for the Roxburghe Club, 1864. The late Mr. Ritſon was of opinion that [this romance] was verſified from the proſe work of the ſame name written by Malory and printed by Caxton; in proof of which he contended that the ſtyle is marked by an evident affectation of antiquity. But in truth it differs moſt eſſentially from Malory's work, which was a mere compilation, whilſt this follows with tolerable exactneſs the French romance of *Lancelot*; and its phraſeology, which perfectly reſembles that of Cheſtre and other authors of the fifteenth century, betrays no marks of affectation.—*Ellis.* A new edition of Caxton's *Morte Arthur* has ſince been publiſhed by Mr. Southey.—*Price.* The Early Engliſh Text Society alſo propoſes to republiſh Caxton's edit. Southey's ſo-called edition, 1817, was a mere bookſeller's ſpeculation, with a very elaborate, but ſomewhat diſcurſive introduction by the nominal editor. An imperfect copy ſeems to have been employed, and the deficiencies ſupplied from a later text.]

[5] Signat. K ii b. [6] MS. f. 89. b. [7] ready.

Whan they come in to the feld
Myche there was of game and play,
Awhile they hovid[1] and byheld
How Arthurs knightis rode that day,
Galehodis[2] party bygan to held[3]
On fote his knightis ar led away.
Launcelott ſtiff was undyr ſcheld,
Thinkis to helpe yif that he may.
Beſyde hym come than ſir Ewayne,
Breme[4] as eny wilde bore;
Launcellott ſpringis hym ageyne,[5]
In rede armys that he bore:
A dynte he yaff with mekill mayne,
Sir Ewayne was unhorſid thare,
That alle men wente[6] he had ben ſlayne
So was he woundyd wondyr ſare.[7]
Sir Boerte thoughte no thinge good,
When Syr Ewaine unhorſid was;
Forthe he ſpringis, as he were wode,
To Launcelot withouten lees:
Launcellot hyte hym on the hode,
The nexte way to grounde he cheſe:
Was none ſo ſtiff agayne hym ſtode
Ffule thynne he made the thikkeſt prees.[8]
Sir Lyonelle beganne to tene,[9]
And haſtely he made hym bowne,[10]
To Launcellott, with herte kene,
He rode with helme and ſword browne;
Launcellott hitte hym as I wene,
Throughe the helme in to the crowne:
That evyr after it was ſene
Bothe hors and man there yod adoune.
The knightis gadrid to gedir thare
And gan with crafte, &c.

I could give many more ample ſpecimens of the romantic poem of theſe nameleſs minſtrels, who probably flouriſhed before or abou the reign of Edward II.[11] But it is neither my inclination nor inten

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[1] tarried.—Sir F. Madden's corr.] [2] Sir Galahad's.
[3] [heel, *i. e.* give way.—Sir F. Madden's note.] [4] fierce.
[5] againſt. [6] weened. [7] ſore. [8] crowd.
[9] be troubled. [10] ready.

[11] *Octavian* is one of the romances mentioned in the Prologue to *Richard Cuer d Lyon*, above cited. [An imperfect copy of an early printed edition, ſuppoſed to b from W. Copland's preſs, was ſold amongſt Mr. Heber's books.] In the Cotto MSS. there is the metrical romance of *Octavian imperator*, but it has nothing c the hiſtory of the Roman emperors. Pr. "Jheſu pat was with ſpere yſtonge. Calig. A. 12. f. 20. It is a very ſingular ſtanza. In Biſhop More's manuſcripts a Cambridge, there is a poem with the ſame title, but a very different beginning, vi "Lytyll and mykyll olde and younge." Bibl. Publ. 690. 30.—[This romance ha been edited by Mr. Halliwell for the Percy Society.] The Emperor *Octavyen*, pe haps the ſame, is mentioned in Chaucer's *Dreme*, v. 368. Among Hatton's MS in Bibl. Bodl. we have a French poem, *Romaunce de Otheuien Empereur de Rom* Hyper. Bodl. 4046. 21. [Of which Conybeare printed an Engliſh epitomized verſion 1809, 8vo.]

In the ſame line of the aforeſaid Prologue, we have the romance of *Ury*. Th is probably the father of the celebrated Sir Ewaine or Yvain, mentioned in th *Court Mantel.* (*Mem. Anc. Cheval.* ii. p. 62).

tion to write a catalogue, or compile a miſcellany. It is not to be expected that this work ſhould be a general repoſitory of our ancient poetry. I cannot however help obſerving, that Engliſh literature and Engliſh poetry ſuffer[ed], while ſo many pieces of this kind ſtill remain[ed] concealed and forgotten in our manuſcript libraries. They contain in common with the proſe-romances, to moſt of which indeed

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" Li rois pris par la deſtre main
L'amiz monſeignor Yvain
Qui au roi Urien fu filz,
Et bons chevaliers et hardiz,
Qui tant ama chiens et oiſiaux."

Specimens of the Engliſh *Syr Bevys* may be ſeen in Percy's *Reliques*, iii. 216, 217, 297, edit. 1767, and *Obſervations on the Fairy Queen*, § ii. p. 50. It is in manuſcript at Cambridge, Bibl. Publ. 690. 30, and Coll. Caii. A 9. 5. And MSS. Bibl. Adv. Edinb. W 4. 1. Num. xxii.

It is in this romance of *Syr Bevys*, that the knight paſſes over a bridge, the arches of which are hung round with ſmall bells. Signat. E iv. This is an oriental idea. In the *Alcoran* it is ſaid, that one of the felicities in Mahomet's paradiſe will be to liſten to the raviſhing muſic of an infinite number of bells, hanging on the trees, which will be put in motion by the wind proceeding from the throne of God. Sale's *Koran*, Prelim. Diſc. p. 100. In the enchanted horn, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, in *le Lai du Corn*, the rim of the horn is hung round with a hundred bells of a moſt muſical ſound.

We ſhall have occaſion, in the progreſs of our poetry, to bring other ſpecimens of theſe compoſitions. See *Obs. on Spenſer's Fairy Queen*, ii. 42, 43.

I muſt not forget here, that Sir Gawaine, one of Arthur's champions, is celebrated in a ſeparate romance. [In MS. Rawlinſon, C. 86, is *The Wedding of Sir Gawayne*, a later copy of which, mutilated, occurs in the Percy MS. Sir F. Madden, who included the Rawlinſon copy in his *Sir Gawayne*, 1839, obſerves: " It is, unqueſtionably, the original of the mutilated poem in the Percy folio, and is ſufficiently curious to render its inſertion in the Appendix an object of intereſt." It is called *The weddynge of Sr Gawen & Dame Ragnell*, and begins:

" Lythe and liſtenyth the lif of a lord riche
The while that he lyvid was none hym̃ liche."]

Dr. Percy has printed the *Marriage of Sir Gawayne*, which he believes to have furniſhed Chaucer with his *Wife of Bath*, *Reliques*, i. 11. It begins, " Kinge Arthur liues in merry Carliele." [This is printed in Sir F. Madden's *Sir Gawayne*, 1839.] I think I have ſomewhere ſeen a romance in verſe entitled, *The Turke and Gawaine*. [This romance occurs in the recently edited *Percy MS.* Many important romances altogether omitted and probably unſeen by Warton and his editors, might be mentioned here, ſuch as *Blonde of Oxford and Jehan of Dammartin*, edited for the Camden Society, 1858; *Sir Generides*, recently edited for the Roxburghe Club by Mr. Furnivall (a ballad-poem on the ſame ſubject is in a MS. in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge; and of the longer narrative fragments printed with the types of W. de Worde are extant); *The Romans of Partenay or Meluſine*, Early Engliſh Text Society, 1866; and *Torrent of Portugal*, printed from the Chetham MS. 1842, 8vo. *Torrent of Portugal*, which, from a ſmall fragment with his types remaining, ſeems to have been printed by Pynſon in the early part of the ſixteenth century, is a very dull and puerile performance. It appears to be in heroic fiction what *Jack the Giant Killer* is in the romance of the nurſery. How far Jack may have owed his exiſtence to his grander and more impoſing prototype, it is not eaſy to ſay. We ſee in *Torrent of Portugal* a curiouſly vague uſe of geographical terms connected with America; poſſibly the ſtory, in its preſent ſhape, was not compoſed long before it came from Pynſon's preſs.]

they gave riſe, amuſing images of ancient cuſtoms and inſtitutions not elſewhere to be found, or at leaſt not otherwiſe ſo ſtrikingly delineated: and they preſerve, pure and unmixed, thoſe fables of chivalry which formed the taſte, and awakened the imagination, of our elder Engliſh claſſics. The antiquaries of former times overlooked or rejected theſe valuable remains, which they deſpiſed as falſe and frivolous, and employed their induſtry in reviving obſcure fragments of uninſtructive morality or unintereſting hiſtory. But in the preſent age we are beginning to make ample amends: in which the curioſity of the antiquarian is connected with taſte and genius, and his reſearches tend to diſplay the progreſs of human manners, and to illuſtrate the hiſtory of ſociety.

As a further illuſtration of the general ſubject and many particulars of this ſection and the three laſt, I will add a new proof of the reverence in which ſuch ſtories were held, and of the familiarity with which they muſt have been known, by our anceſtors. Theſe fables were not only perpetually repeated at their feſtivals, but were the conſtant objects of their eyes. The very walls of their apartments were clothed with romantic hiſtory. Tapeſtry was anciently the faſhionable furniture of our houſes, and it was chiefly filled with lively repreſentations of this ſort. The ſtories are ſtill preſerved of the tapeſtry in the royal palaces of Henry VIII.;[1] which I will here give without reſerve, including other ſubjects, as they happen to occur, equally deſcriptive of the times. In the tapeſtry of the Tower of London, the original and moſt ancient ſeat of our monarchs, there are recited "Godfrey of Bulloign, the three kings of Cologne, the emperor Conſtantine, ſaint George, king Erkenwald,[2] the hiſtory of Hercules, Fame and Honour, the Triumph of Divinity, Eſther and Ahaſuerus, Jupiter and Juno, ſaint George, the eight Kings, the ten Kings of France, the Birth of our Lord, Duke Joſhua, the rich hiſtory of king David, the ſeven Deadly Sins, the rich hiſtory of the Paſſion, the Stem of Jeſſe,[3] our Lady and Son, king Solomon, the

[1] "The ſeconde part of the Inventorye of our late ſovereigne lord kyng Henry the Eighth, conteynynge his guardrobes, houſhold ſtuff," &c. &c. MSS. Harl. 1419, fol. The original. [The account which followed here in all the former edits. of the furniture in Henry VIII.'s palace at Greenwich, did not ſeem to be any part of the ſubject; but at any rate it is to be found much more full and accurate in the *Retroſpective Review*, ſecond ſeries, i. 132-6.]

[2] So in the record. But he was the third biſhop of St. Paul's, London, ſon of King Offa, and a great benefactor to St. Paul's church, in which he had a moſt ſuperb ſhrine. He was canoniſed. Dugdale, among many other curious particulars relating to his ſhrine, ſays that in the year 1339 it was decorated anew, when three goldſmiths, two at the wages of five ſhillings by the week, and one at eight, worked upon it for a whole year. *Hiſt. St. Paul's*, p. 21. See alſo p. 233.

[3] This was a favourite ſubject for a large gothic window. This ſubject alſo compoſed a branch of candleſtics thence called a *jeſſe*, not unuſual in the ancient churches. In the year 1097, Hugo de Flori, abbot of St. Auſt. Canterb., bought for the choir of his church a great branch-candleſtick. "Candelabrum magnum in choroæneum quod *jeſſe* vocatur in partibus emit tranſmarinis." Thorn, *Dec. Script.* col. 1796. About the year 1330, Adam de Sodbury, abbot of Glaſtonbury,

Woman of Canony, Meleager, and the Dance of Maccabre."[1] At Durham-place we find the "Citie of Ladies,[2] the tapeſtrie of Thebes and of Troy, the City of Peace, the Prodigal Son,[3] Eſther, and other pieces of Scripture." At Windſor caſtle the "ſiege of Jeruſalem, Ahaſuerus, Charlemagne, the ſiege of Troy, and *hawking and hunting*."[4] At Nottingham caſtle, "Amys and Amelion."[5] At Woodſtock manor, the "tapeſtrie of Charlemagne."[6] At the More, a palace in Hertfordſhire, "king Arthur, Hercules, Aſtyages, and Cyrus." At Richmond, the "arras of Sir Bevis, and Virtue and Vice fighting."[7] Many of theſe ſubjects are repeated at Weſtminſter, Greenwich, Oatlands, Bedington in Surrey, and other royal ſeats, ſome of which are now unknown as ſuch.[8] Among the reſt we have alſo Hannibal, Holofernes, Romulus and Remus, Æneas, and Suſannah.[9] I have mentioned romances written on many of theſe

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gave to his convent "Unum dorſale laneum *le Jeſſe*." Joan. Glaſton, edit. Hearne, p. 265. That is, a piece of tapeſtry embroidered with the *ſtem of Jeſſe*, to be hung round the choir, or other parts of the church, on high feſtivals. He alſo gave a tapeſtry of this ſubject for the abbot's hall. *Ibid.* And I cannot help adding, what indeed is not immediately connected with the ſubject of this note, that he gave his monaſtery, among other coſtly preſents, a great clock, "proceſſionibus et ſpectaculis inſignitum," an organ of prodigious ſize, and eleven bells, ſix for the tower of the church, and five for the clock tower. He alſo new-vaulted the nave of the church, and adorned the new roof with beautiful paintings. *Ibid.*

[1] f. 6. In many churches of France there was an ancient ſhew of mimicry, in which all ranks of life were perſonated by the eccleſiaſtics, who all danced together, and diſappeared one after another. It was called *Dance Maccabre*, and ſeems to have been often performed in St. Innocent's at Paris, where was a famous painting on this ſubject, which gave riſe to Lydgate's poem under the ſame title. See Carpent. *Suppl. du Cange*, Lat. Gl. ii. p. 1103. More will be ſaid of it when we come to Lydgate.

[2] A famous French allegorical romance [by Chriſtine de Piſe. An Engliſh tranſlation appeared in 1521].

[3] A picture on this favourite ſubject is mentioned in Shakeſpeare. And in Randolph's *Muſes Looking-glaſs*. "In painted cloth the ſtory of the Prodigal." *Dodſl. Old Pl.* vi. 260.

[4] f. 298. [5] f. 364. [6] f. 318. [7] f. 346.

[8] Some of the tapeſtry at Hampton-court, deſcribed in this inventory, is to be ſeen ſtill in a fine old room, now remaining in its original ſtate, called the Exchequer. [In an inventory of the effects of King Henry V. ſeveral pieces of tapeſtry are mentioned, with the ſubjects of the following romances, viz. Bevis of Hampton, Octavian, Gyngebras (?) Hawkyn namtelet, l'arbre de jeoneſſe, Farman (*i. e.* Pharamond), Charlemayn, Duke Glorian, Elkanus le noble, Renaut, Trovis roys de Coleyn, &c. See Rolls of Parl. *ſub anno* 1423.—*Douce*. Theſe *Rolls* are not very correctly printed, and the editor ſuſpects ſome errors in the preceding liſt.]

[9] Montfaucon, among the tapeſtry of Charles V. king of France, in the year 1370, mentions, *Le tappis de la vie du ſaint Theſeus*. Here the officer who made the entry calls Theſeus a ſaint. *The ſeven Deadly Sins*, *Le ſaint Graal*, *Le graunt tappis de Neuf Preux*, *Reyne d'Ireland*, and *Godfrey of Bulloign. Monum. Fr.* iii. 64. The *neuf preux* are the Nine Worthies. Among the ſtores of Henry VIII. we have, "two old ſtayned clothes of the ix worthies for the greate chamber," at Newhall in Eſſex, f. 362. Theſe were pictures. Again, at the palace of Weſtminſter in "the little ſtudy called the Newe Librarye," which I believe was in Holbein's elegant Gothic gatehouſe, there is, "Item, xii pictures of men on horſebacke of enamelled ſtuffe of the Nyne Worthies, and others upon ſquare tables." f. 188. MSS. Harl. 1419, *ut ſupr.*

ſubjects, and ſhall mention others. In the romance of Syr Guy, that hero's combat with the dragon in Northumberland is ſaid to be repreſented in tapeſtry in Warwick caſtle:

> In Warwike the truth ſhall ye ſee
> In arras wrought ful craftely.[1]

This piece of tapeſtry appears to have been in Warwick caſtle before the year 1398. It was then ſo diſtinguiſhed and valued a piece of furniture, that a ſpecial grant was made of it by Richard II. in that year, conveying "that ſuit of arras hangings in Warwick caſtle, which contained the ſtory of the famous Guy earl of Warwick," together with the caſtle of Warwick, and other poſſeſſions, to Thomas Holland, earl of Kent;[2] and in the reſtoration of forfeited property to this lord after his impriſonment, theſe hangings are particularly ſpecified in the patent of Henry IV., dated 1399. When Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., was married to James IV. of Scotland in 1503, Holyrood Houſe at Edinburgh was ſplendidly decorated on that occaſion; and we are told in an ancient record, that the "hanginge of the queenes grett chammer repreſented the yſtory of Troye toune." Again, "the king's grett chammer had one table, wer was ſatt hys chammerlayn, the grett ſqyer, and many others, well ſerved; the which chammer was haunged about with the ſtory of Hercules, together with other yſtorys."[3] And at the ſame ſolemnity, "in the hall wher the qwenes company wer ſatt in lyke as in the other, an wich was haunged of the hiſtory of Hercules," &c.[4] A ſtately chamber in the caſtle of Heſdin in Artois was furniſhed by a duke of Burgundy with the ſtory of Jaſon and the Golden Fleece, about the year 1468.[5] The affecting ſtory of Coucy's Heart, which [may have given] riſe to an old metrical Engliſh romance entitled, the *Knight of Courteſy and the Lady of Faguel*, was woven in tapeſtry in Coucy caſtle in France.[6] I have ſeen an ancient ſuite of arras, containing Arioſto's Orlando and Angelica, where at every group the ſtory was all along illuſtrated with ſhort rhymes in romance or old French. Spenſer ſometimes dreſſes the ſuperb bowers of his fairy caſtles with this ſort of hiſtorical drapery.

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[1] Signat. Ca 1. Some, perhaps, may think this circumſtance an innovation or addition of later minſtrels. A practice not uncommon.

[2] Dugd. *Bar.* i. p. 237.

[3] Leland. *Coll.* vol. iii. p. 295, 296. *Opuſcul.* edit. 1770. [4] *Ibid.*

[5] See *Obs. Fair. Qu.* i. p. 177.

[6] Howell's *Letters*, xx. § vi. B. i. This is a true ſtory, about the year 1180. Fauchet relates it at large from an old authentic French chronicle; and then adds, "Ainſi finerint les amours du Chaſtelain du Couci et de la dame de Faiel." Our Caſtellan, whoſe name is [Raoul] de Couci, was famous for his *chanſons* and chivalry, but more ſo for his unfortunate love, which became proverbial in the old French romances. See Fauch. *Rec.* pp. 124, 128. [The Knight of Curteſy and the Fair Lady of Faguel has been reprinted by Mr. Ritſon, vol. iii. p. 193. See *Memoires Hiſtoriques ſur Raoul de Courcy.* Paris, 1781.—*Price.* See *Remains of the E. P. Poetry of Engl.* ii. 65-6; the romance is alſo included in that collection. Ritſon's text is not accurate. The French ſtory of *Le Chatelain de Coucy et la dame de Fayel* was printed at Paris, 1829, 8vo.; but it has very little in common with the Engliſh romance.]

In Hawes's *Paſtime of Pleaſure* [1517,] the hero of the piece ſees all his future adventures diſplayed at large in the ſumptuous tapeſtry of the hall of a caſtle. I have before mentioned the moſt valuable and perhaps the moſt ancient work of this ſort now exiſting, the entire ſeries of Duke William's deſcent on England, preſerved in the church of Bayeux in Normandy, and intended as an ornament of the choir on high feſtivals. Bartholinus relates that it was an art much cultivated among the ancient Iſlanders, to weave the hiſtories of their giants and champions in tapeſtry.[1] The ſame thing is recorded of the old Perſians; and this furniture is ſtill in high requeſt among many Oriental nations, particularly in Japan and China.[2] It is well known, that to frame pictures of heroic adventures in needle-work was a favourite practice of claſſical antiquity.

[The following liſt compriſes all the known Engliſh Romances relating to Charlemagne.[3]

1. *Roland.* All that remains of this is a fragment[4] of a poem, probably written in the thirteenth century. It is not ſtrictly alliterative, but abounds with alliteration. An analyſis and ſome extracts furniſhed by Mr. Thos. Wright are printed at the end of M. Michel's edition of *La Chanſon de Roland.* The whole of the fragment will probably be publiſhed by the Early Engliſh Text Society. It relates the treachery of Gwynylon (the French *Ganelon* or *Guenelon*), and the beginning of the fight at Roncevaux. In deſcribing Gwynylon's treachery the poet has derived one remarkable circumſtance, not from the French *Roland*, but from the Chronicle of the pſeudo-Turpin. M. Paris is miſtaken, however, in ſuppoſing that he does not include Turpin in the number of the combatants at Roncevaux.[5] He ſays expreſſly (leaf 384):

> vnto Roulond then went the princ*is* xij
> Olyu*er* and Rog*er* and Aubry hym-ſelue
> Richard and Rayn*er* that redy was eu*er*
> tirry and turpyn all redy wer.

The following deſcription of the "ſtrange weather" that happened in France while the battle was going on may ſerve as a ſpecimen of the ſtyle of the poem, which is remarkably vigorous:

> — while our folk fought to-gedur
> ther fell in Fraunce A ſtrau*n*g wedur
> A gret derk myſt in the myd-day-tym
> thik and clowdy and euyll wedur thene
> and thiknes of ſterris and thond*er* light
> the erthe dynnyd doillfully to wet

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[1] *Antiquit. Dan.* lib. i. 9, p. 51.

[2] In the royal palace of Jeddo, which overflows with a profuſion of the moſt exquiſite and ſuperb eaſtern embelliſhments, the tapeſtry of the emperor's audience-hall is of the fineſt ſilk, wrought by the moſt ſkilful artificers of that country, and adorned with pearls, gold, and ſilver. *Mod. Univ. Hiſt.* B. xiii. c. ii. vol. ix. p. 83. (Not. G.) edit. 1759.

[3] [Communicated by Mr. Shelly, of Plymouth.]

[4] [Lanſd. MS. 388, leaf 381 to 395.]

[5] [*Hiſt. Poét de Charlemagne*, p 155, note.]

Foulis fled for fere it was gret wonder
bowes of trees then breſtyn aſonder
beſt ran to bankis And cried full ſore
they durſt not abid in the mor
ther was no man but he hid his hed
And thought not but to dy in that ſted
the wekid wedur laſtid full long
from the mornying to the euynſong
then Roſe a clowd euyn in the weſt
as red as blod with-outon reſt
It ſhewid doun on the erthe & ther did ſhyn
So many doughty men as died that tym.

2. *Otuwel.* This is alſo incomplete. Ellis has given an analyſis of it;[1] and the poem was printed from the Auchinleck MS. for the Abbotsford Club in 1836. Its date is ſuppoſed to be not later than 1330. Ellis has completed the ſtory, as he ſays, from another MS. then in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Fillingham, in which, however, M. Gaſton Paris has recognized a portion of a cyclic poem, to which he gives the title of *Charlemagne and Roland*, and which I will next deſcribe. Our Otuwel is the French *Otinel*.[2] Otuwel or Otinel, the hero of the poem, comes as the ambaſſador of the Saracen king Garſie (Garſile), to ſummon Charles to pay homage to his maſter, and to abjure the Chriſtian faith; but by a miracle he is himſelf converted, and "forſakes all his gods." He is then betrothed to Belecent, the daughter of Charles, and marches with Charles and his "duzze peres" (douze pairs) to fight againſt Garſie in Lombardy. Garſie is taken priſoner, and led to Charles by Otuwel, who is rewarded—according to the French Romances, for here our fragment ends—with the hand of Belecent and the crown of Lombardy.

3. *Charlemagne and Roland.* This is the title which, according to M. Paris,[3] ought to be given to a poem which we poſſeſs only in ſcattered fragments. The poem belongs probably to the beginning of the fourteenth century. M. Paris divides it into four parts. 1ſt. Charlemagne's Journey to the Holy Land according to the Latin legend. 2nd. The beginning of the war in Spain after the firſt chapters of Turpin's *Chronicle*. 3rd. Otuwel, but a different verſion from that deſcribed above. 4th. The end of Turpin's hiſtory. The firſt and ſecond parts conſiſt of the poem in the Auchinleck MS., printed for the Abbotsford Club under the title of *Roland and Vernagu*, and analyſed by Ellis as *Roland and Ferragus*.[4] The ſtory of the firſt part, as related in this poem, ſhould rather be deſcribed as Charles's viſit to the emperor "Conſtanſious," and that of the ſecond part, which begins on page 15 of the Abbotsford [Club] edition, as the combat of Roland and Vernagu. The concluding lines of this ſecond part connect it with the third:

To Otuel alſo yern
That was a ſarrazin ſtern
Ful ſone this word ſprong.

[1 *Specimens of Early Engl. Metr. Romances* (ed. 1811), vol. ii. p. 324.]
[2 *Les Anciens Poetes de la France*, tom. i.]
[3 *Hiſt. Poét. de Charlem.* liv. 1, ch. viii.] [4 Vol. ii. 302.]

This third and the fourth part are compriſed in Mr. Fillingham's MS., which we know only from Ellis's analyſis. It contains, according to Ellis, about 11,000 lines, and relates not only the ſtory of Otuwel (the third part of the poem), but alſo the conqueſt of Spain, the deceit of Ganelon, the fight at Roncevaux, the defeat of the Saracens by Charles,[1] and the puniſhment of Ganelon, which form the fourth part. The poem concludes as follows:—

> Here endeth Otuel, Roland, and Olyuere,
> And of the twelve duſſypere.

It is worth while remarking how entirely the meaning of the title given to the peers has been loſt by the Engliſh poets. Here we read of "the *twelve duſſy*pere" (les douze pairs), and in other places we find each ſingle knight called "a dozeper," while in the Aſhmole MS. of Sir Ferumbras the word becomes "do*thth*eper."

4. *Ferumbras.* We have two verſions of this romance; one of them the Farmer MS. analyzed by Ellis,[2] and now in the library

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[1] [*La Conqueſte que fit le grand roi Charlemaigne es Eſpaignes* ne doit pas être confondue avec la compilation de David Aubert. Ce livre eſt le même que celui qui porte le nom de *Fierabras* . . . . . Sous le nom de *Fierabras* M. Brunet indique une édition de 1478; ſous le titre de la *Conquête de Charlemagne* il n'en connaît pas avant 1501, mais la Bibliothèque Impériale en poſsède une de 1486. Cy finiſt Fierabras. Imprimée a Lyon par Pierre de Saincte Lucye dict le Prince. Lan de grace MCCCCLXXXVI. Le vii jour de Septembre. Toutefois le titre au moins et les trois feuillets qui ſuivent cet explicit ſont poſtérieurs. Au reſte l'ouvrage eſt diviſé en trois livres, et la traduction en proſe de *Fierabras* ne forme que le ſecond; l'enſemble a la prétention d'être une hiſtoire de Charlemagne. Elle y eſt même précedée d'un abrégé de l'hiſtoire de France depuis Clovis, groſſièrement conforme aux chroniques. Puis vient l'éloge de Charlemagne et un ſommaire de ſon règne; on raconte enſuite le voyage à Jéruſalem d'après la légende latine—tel eſt le contenu du premier livre. Le troiſième comprend le récit de la guerre d'Eſpagne d'après Turpin. L'auteur nous a donné lui-même des renſeignements ſur ſes ſources. Il nous apprend d'abord qu'il a écrit ſur la demande de meſſire Henry Bolomier, chanoine de Lauſanne, grand admirateur de Charlemagne. "Selon les matières que j'ay peu amaſſer, j'ay ordonné ceſtuy livre; car je n'ay eu intencion de déduyre la matière que je ne aye eſté informé par pluſieurs livres et principallement par ung qui eſt intitulé le *Mirouer hyſtorial*, et auſſi par les cronicques qui font mention de l'oeuvre ſuyvante." Il eſt ſort probable que ces *cronicques*, vaguement déſignées, n'ont jamais été conſultées par notre auteur, qui trouvait dans le *Speculum hiſtoriale* de Vincent de Beauvais tout ce dont il parle, ſauf le *Fierabras;* auſſi dit-il au début du ſecond livre: "Ce que j'ay deſſus eſcript, je l'ay prins en ung moult autentique livre, lequel ſe nomme le Mirouer hyſtorial, et auſſi es croniques anciennes, et l'ay tranſlaté de latin en françoys; et la matière ſuyvante que fera le ſecond livre eſt d'ung romant faict en l'ancienne façon, ſans grande ordonnance, dont j'ay eſté incité à le réduyre en proſe par chapitres ordonnez. Et eſt appellé celluy livre ſelon aulcuns *Fierabras*." On voit que le travail auquel le compilateur s'eſt livré, "ſelon la capacité de ſon petict engin," n'etait pas fort difficile: il a ſimplement mis en mauvaiſe proſe françaiſe le latin de Vincent de Beauvais et les vers de *Fierabras*. Son ouvrage n'en a pas moins eu dès ſon apparition un ſuccès immenſe, qui d'ailleurs n'eſt pas épuiſé; car on le réimprime encore à Epinal et à Montbéliard, de plus en plus défiguré dans chaque édition ſucceſſive, et de temps à autre un peu rajeuni.—Gaſton Paris (*Hiſt. Poét de Charlemagne*, livre i. chap. iv. § iv. pp. 97-8-9).]

[2] [Vol. ii. p. 369.]

of Sir Thomas Phillipps; the other a fragment[1] of great length, which will ſhortly be printed by the Early Engliſh Text Society. They both belong probably to the end of the fourteenth century. The original of the romance is the French Fierabras.[2] I give parallel extracts from the French and the two Engliſh verſions. There is a Provençal as well as a French verſion of the romance, and I would ſuggeſt the enquiry whether the poem analyzed by Ellis does not follow this Provençal verſion, or rather perhaps the loſt French original of which the French editors have ſhown the Provençal verſion to be a tranſlation. They agree at any rate in brevity, though they both give a long introduction, which the exiſting French verſion omits. The Aſhmole MS. is imperfect at the beginning and at the end; but it appears generally to follow very nearly the ſtory of the exiſting French verſion, though it is much more diffuſe, the remaining fragment containing about 10,450 lines, while the entire French poem contains only 6219. Both the Engliſh verſions agree, however, in ſome little particulars which the French omits; *e. g.* the mention of Richard bleſſing himſelf in the extracts I give. Our fragment begins, like the French poem, with the relation of a long combat between Oliver and Ferumbras (Fierabras, *ferri brachium*), the ſon of the admiral (anirans, *Arab.* amir) Balan, who in the Farmer MS. is ſtrangely called Laban. Ferumbras is vanquiſhed, and embraces the Chriſtian faith; but Oliver is ſurpriſed by the Saracens, and made priſoner, with four other peers. The reſt of the peers are ſent by Charles to demand the ſurrender of their companions, but are thrown into the ſame dungeon. They are, however, protected by Florippe, the daughter of Balan, and after many battles are at length delivered by Charlemagne. Balan refuſes baptiſm, but Florippe is baptized, and here the Aſhmole MS. ends, being imperfect; but the other verſions relate the marriage of Florippe to Guy de Bourgoyne, and the diviſion of the kingdom of Spain between him and Ferumbras.

With the Aſhmole MS. is preſerved its ancient vellum cover, made out of portions of two Latin documents, one relating to the Vicarage of Columpton, and the other to the chapel of Holne and pariſh of "Bukfaſtleghe." This cover, however, is chiefly remarkable, becauſe it contains what is evidently part of the firſt draft of the poem, written in the ſame hand as the MS. itſelf. The following extracts from both will ſhow how the poet corrected his verſes:

DRAFT.

So ſturne ſtrokes thay araȝte
eyther til other the whyle
That al the erthe about quaȝte
men miȝt hure a myle
They wer ſo fers on hure mod
And eger on hure fiȝte
That eyther of hem thoȝte god
to ſlen other if he miȝt.

[1] [Aſhm. MS. 33.]

[2] [*Les Anciens Poetes de la France*, tom. iv.]

MS.

So ſterne ſtrokes thay arauȝte
eyther til other with ſtrenghthe
That al the erthe ther ofte quaȝte
a myle and more on lenghthe
They weren ſo eger bothe of mod
And eke ſo fers to fiȝte
That eyther of hem than thoȝte god
to ſle other if he miȝte.[1]

The poem is written in the Southern dialect, but it contains a remarkably large admixture of Northern forms, words occurring ſometimes in two forms in lines cloſe together, if not in the ſame line. Thus we find *ich* and *I*, *a* and *he*, *heo* and *ſche*, *hy* and *thay* (the latter moſt frequently), and *thilke* and *this*, *to* and *til*, *prykyng* and *prykande*, *vaſte* and *faſte*, and ſo forth, the former being the Southern, the latter the Northern form. The Southern infinitive in *y* (ſtill uſed occaſionally in Devonſhire) continually occurs: *e. g. maky*, *aſky*, *graunty*, *robby*, *wivy* (to wed), &c. On the whole one would be inclined to ſuppoſe that the poem was written in the South (perhaps in the dioceſe of Exeter) by a ſouthern man, who had, however, lived in the North ſufficiently long to become familiar with northern forms. But a more careful examination (in preparation for the Early Engliſh Text Society's edition) will very likely lead to our being better informed concerning the character and hiſtory of this moſt intereſting MS.

From *Fierabras*, *Chanſon de Geſte*, edited from MSS. of the xiv. and xv. centuries by MM. A. Krœber and G. Servois (Paris, 1860). The extract begins with line 4354, p. 132 of this edition:

Richars reſgarde l'yaue, qui moult fait à douter;
Se eſt grande et hideuſe que il n'i oſſe entrer.
Plus toſt cuert que ſajete, quaint on le lait aler;
Ne barge ne galie n'i puent abiter;
La rive en eſt moult haute, bien fait à redouter.
Richars de Normendie ſe prinſt à reſgarder,
Eſcortrement commence Jheſu à reclamer:
"Glorieus fire pere, qui te laiſas pener

[1] [Reſpecting the early Engliſh proſe life of Charles the Great, from the preſs of Caxton, M. Gaſton Paris remarks: "Au quinzième ſiècle, le célèbre imprimeur Caxton publia un livre intitulé, 'The lyf of Charles the Great,' &c. Cette *Vie de Charles le Grand*, qui eſt à préſent d'une rareté exceſſive, a été généralement regardée comme une compilation faite par Caxton; on a loué le diſcernement qu'il avait montré dans la choix de ſes ſources, et on a remarqué qu'il avait donné un beau rôle au duc de Normandie, Richard ſans peur, évidemment par patriotiſme. Voy. *Revue britannique* [Britiſh Review?] Mars, 1844. On lui a fait honneur ſurtout des ſentiments exprimés dans la préface, adreſſée *à un de ſes amis particuliers*, Henri Bolomyer, chanoine de Lauſanne. Mais ce nom ſuffit pour nous faire voir que Caxton avait ſimplement traduit, et, comme il le dit lui-même, *réduit en anglais* le livre des *Conqueſtes de Charlemagne* ou de *Fierabras*. . . . Quant au rôle de Richard ſans peur, il ſe trouvait auſſi développé dans le livre français, qui l'avait pris lui-même dans le poëme de *Fierabras*."—*Hiſtoire Poétique de Charlemagne*, livre i. chap. viii. p. 157.]

" En la crois benéoite pour ton pule ſauver,
" Gariſiés hui mon cors de mort et d'afoler,
" Que je puiſſe Karlon mon meſſage conter."
Or oiés quel vertu Diex i vaut demonſtrer
Por le roi Karlemaine, qui tant fait à douter.
Ançois que on éuſt une liuée alé,
Véiſſiés ſi Flagot engroiſier et enfler,
Que par deſous la rive commence à ſeronder.
Atant es vous . 1 . cerf, que Diex i fiſt aler,
Et fu blans comme nois, biaus fu à reſgarder.
Devant le ber Richart ſe prent à demonſtrer,
Devant lui eſt tantoſt eus en Flagot entrés.
Li dus voit Sarrazins après lui aroutés;
S'il ot paour de mort ne fait à demander.
Après le blance biſſe comme[n] cha à errer,
Tout ainſi com ele vait, lait le ceval aler;
Et li ciers vait devant, qui bien ſ'i ſot garder,
D'autre part à la rive ſe prent à ariver.

From the *Romance of Ferumbras*, analyzed by Ellis, who has modernized the ſpelling :

When Richard ſaw there was no gate
But by Flagote the flood,
His meſſage would he not let;
His horſe was both big and good.
He kneeled, beſeeching God, of His grace,
To ſave him fro miſchief:
A white hind he ſaw anon in that place,
That ſwam over to the cliff.
He bleſſed him in Goddis name,
And followed the ſame way,
The gentil hind that was ſo tame,
That on that other ſide gan play.

From the *Romance of Ferumbras* (Aſhmole MSS. 33). The following paſſage begins on fol. 52 :

¶ Now y-come ys he to *th*e ryuere
By ſyde a treo *and* a ſtod hi*m th*ere
*Th*at water to by holde
And ſaw *th*e ryuer was dup *and* brod
And ran away as he were wod
Ys herte gan waxe colde
¶ Richard tok herte *and th*enche gan
*Th*at nedelich a moſt entrye *th*an
In *and* paſſe *th*at ryuere
Ou*th*er he moſte turn agee
And figte agayn al *th*at maygne
*Th*at after hi*m* come there
To ihe*ſu th*anne he had a bone
Lord *th*at madeſt ſunne mone
Lond *and* water cler
Kep me *th*ys day fra*m* my fone
And if y *th*ys ryuer potte me one
*Tha*t y ne a-drenche her
And ſuch grace *th*ow me ſende
*Th*at y may ſafe to Charlis wende
And telle hy*m* my porpos
So *th*at he may come wy*th* ſocour

And delyuery ys barons of honour [Fol. 523.]
*Th*at ligge*th* among *th*y fos
¶ Nad he nogt *th*at word ful ſpeke
Er *th*at *th*ar cam an hert for*th* reke
As wyt aſe melkys fom
Rygt euene by-fore duk Rychard
*Th*e hert hym wente to watre-ward
And fayre by-fore hym ſwom
Wanne *th*e duk *th*at wonder y-ſeg
*And th*e ſarſyns *th*at *th*o wer come wel neg
With boſt *and* noyſe gret
With is rigt honde *th*an bleſſede he hym
And *th*og *th*e ryuere were ſtyf *and* grym
Wy*th* bo*th*e hors in a ſchet
Ys ſtede was an hors of prys
And bar *th*e knigt at al dyuys
Swy*mm*ynge with ys felawe
*Th*e hert *th*at was ſo fair of ſigt
Ouer *th*e Ryuer ſwam ful rigt
And Ry*chard* doth after-drawe.

SECTION VI.

ALTHOUGH much poetry began to be written about the reign of Edward II., yet I have found only [two] Engliſh poet[s] of that reign whoſe name[s] ha[ve] deſcended to poſterity.[1] [One] is Adam Davy or Davie. He may be placed about the year 1312. I can collect no circumſtances of his life, but that he was marſhal of Stratford-le-bow near London.[2] He has left ſeveral poems never printed, which are almoſt as forgotten as his name. Only one manuſcript of theſe pieces now remains, which ſeems to be coeval with its author.[3] They are, *Viſions*, *The Battell of Jeruſalem*, *The Legend of Saint Alexius*, *Scripture hiſtories*, *of fifteen toknes before the day of Judgement*, [and] *Lamentations of Souls*.[4]

In the *Viſions*, which are of the religious kind, Adam Davie draws this picture of Edward II. ſtanding before the ſhrine of Edward the Confeſſor in Weſtminſter Abbey at his coronation. The lines have a ſtrength ariſing from ſimplicity:

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[1] Robert de Brunne, above mentioned, lived, and wrote ſome of his pieces, in this reign; but he more properly belongs to the laſt.

[2] This will appear from citations which follow.

[3] MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Laud. 622 *olim* I 74, fol. 26 *b*. It has been much damaged. [All the extracts have now been collated with the original MS.—a proceſs which was found highly neceſſary.]

[4] In the MS. there is alſo a piece in proſe, entitled, *The Pylgrymages of the holi land*, f. 65, 66. It begins: "Qwerr ſoever a cros ſtandyth ther is a for3ivenes of payne." I think it is a deſcription of the holy places, and it appears at leaſt to be of the hand-writing of the reſt.

To oure lorde Iheſu criſt in heuene
Ich to day ſhawe myne ſweuene,[1]
Þat ich mette[2] in one niȝth,
Of a kniȝth of mychel miȝth:
His name is ihote[3] ſir Edward þe kynge,
Prince of Wales Engelonde the faire þinge;
Me mette þat he was armed wel,
Boþe wiþ yrne *and* wiþ ſtel,
And on his helme that was of ſtel,
A Coroune of golde bicom hym wel.
Bifore þe ſhryne of Seint Edward he ſtoode,
Myd glad chere *and* mylde of mood.[4]

Moſt of theſe Viſions are compliments to the king. Our poet then proceeds thus:

Anoþer ſweuene me mette on a tiwes niȝth[5]
Bifore the feſte of Allehalewen of þat ilke kniȝth,
His name is nempned[3] here bifore,
Bliſſed be þe tyme þat he was bore, [&c.]
Of ſir Edward oure derworþ[6] kynge
Ich mette of hym anoþere fair metynge, [&c.]
Me þouȝth he rood vpon an Aſſe,
And þat ich take god to witneſſe;
Y-wonden he was in a Mantel gray,
Toward Rome he nom[7] his way,
Vpon his heuede ſate an gray hure,
It ſemed hym wel a meſure;
He rood wiþouten hoſe *and* ſho,
His wone was nouȝth ſo forto do;
His ſhankes ſemeden al blood-rede,
Myne herte wop[8] for grete drede;
Als a pilgryme he rood to Rome,
And þider he com wel ſwiþe ſone.
Þe þrid ſweuene me mette a niȝth
Rigth of þat derworþe kniȝth:
Þe Wedenyſday a niȝth it was
Nexte þe day of ſeint lucie bifore criſtenmeſſe, [&c.]
Me þouȝth þat ich was at Rome,
And þider ich com ſwiþe ſone,
The Pope *and* ſir Edward oure kynge
Boþe hij[9] hadden a newe dubbynge, [&c.]
Iheſus criſt ful of grace
Graunte oure kynge in euery place
Maiſtrie of his wiþerwynes
And of alle wicked Saraſynes.
Me met a ſweuene on worþinge[10] niȝth
Of þat ilche derworþe kniȝth,
God ich it ſhewe *and* to witneſſe take
And ſo ſhilde me fro ſynne *and* ſake.
In-to an chapel ich com of oure lefdy,[11]
Iheſus criſt hire leue[12] ſon ſtood by,

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[1] dream.
[2] thought, dreamed. In the firſt ſenſe, we have *me mette* in Chaucer, *Non. Pr T.* v. 1013. And below.
[3] named. [4] fol. 26 *b*. [5] twelfth-night.
[6] dear-worthy. [7] took. [8] wept.
[9] they. [10] [on worthing nyth.—*Park.*] [11] lady.
[12] dear.

On rode[1] he was an louelich Man,
Als þilke þat on rode was don
He vnneiled[2] his honden two, [&c.]
Adam þe marchal of ſtretforde atte bowe
Wel ſwiþe wide his name is yknowe
He hymſelfe mette þis metynge,
To witneſſe he takeþ Iheſu heuene kynge,
On wedenyſday[3] in clene leinte[4]
A voice me bede I ne ſhulde nouȝth feinte,
Of þe ſweuenes þat her ben write
I ſhulde ſwiþe don[5] my lorde kynge to wite, [&c.]
Þe þurſday next þe berynge[6] of oure lefdy
Me þouȝth an Aungel com fir Edward by, [&c.]
Ich telle ȝou forſoþe wiþouten les,[7]
Als god of heuene maide marie to moder ches,[8]
Þe Aungel com to me Adam Dauy *and* ſede
Bot þou Adam ſhewe þis þee worþe wel yuel mede, [&c.]
Who-ſo wil ſpeke myd me Adam þe marchal
In ſtretforþe bowe he is yknowe *and* ouere al,
Ich ne ſhewe nouȝth þis forto haue mede
Bot for god Almiȝtties drede.

There is a very old proſe romance, both in French and Italian, on the ſubject of the *Deſtruction of Jeruſalem*.[9] It is tranſlated from a Latin work in five books, very popular in the middle ages, entitled, *Hegeſippus de Bello Judaico et Excidio Urbis Hieroſolymitanæ Libri quinque*. This is a licentious paraphraſe of a part of Joſephus's Jewiſh hiſtory, made about the fourth century: and the name Hegeſippus is moſt probably corrupted from Joſephus, perhaps alſo called Joſippus. The paraphraſt is ſuppoſed to be Ambroſe of Milan, who flouriſhed in the reign of Theodoſius.[10] On the ſubject of Veſpaſian's ſiege of Jeruſalem, as related in this book, our poet Adam

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[1] croſs. [2] unnailed.
[3] Wodenis day. Woden's day, *i.e. Wedneſday*. [4] Lent.
[5] [Swithe don to wite, *quickly let him know.—Ritſon.*]
[6] Chriſtmas-day. [7] lies.
[8] "As ſure as God choſe the Virgin Mary to be Chriſt's mother."
[9] In an ancient inventory of books, all French romances, made in England in the reign of Edward III., I find the romance of *Titus and Veſpaſian*. Madox, *Formul. Anglican.* p. 12. See alſo Scipio Maffei's *Traduttori Italiani*, p. 48. Creſcimbeni (*Volg. Poes.* vol. i. l. 5, p. 317), does not ſeem to have known of this romance in Italian. Du Cange mentions *Le Roman de la Priſe de Jeruſalem par Titus*, in verſe, *Gloſs. Lat.* i. *Ind. Auct.* p. cxciv. A metrical romance on this ſubject is in Royal MS. 16 E viii. 2, Brit. Mus. [and has been printed by M. Michel, as already mentioned, 1836, 12mo. But it merely relates to the mythical expedition of Charlemagne to Jeruſalem]. There is an old French play on this ſubject, acted in 1437. It was printed in 1491, fol. Beauchamps, *Rech. Fr. Theat.* p. 134. [This is probably the ſame as Le Vengeance et Deſtruction de Iheruſalem par perſonages executée par Veſpaſien et ſon filz Titus, contenant en ſoy pluſieurs chronicques Rommaines tant du regne de Neron Empereur que de pluſieurs aultres belles hyſtoires. Printed at Paris, 1510, 4to, for Jehan Trepparel.—*Douce. The Dyſtruccyon of Iheruſalem by Waſpazyan and Tytus*, of which there are two old printed edits. appears to be a paraphraſe of the French.]
[10] He mentions Conſtantinople and New Rome: and the provinces of Scotia and Saxonia. From this work the Maccabees ſeem to have got into romance. It was firſt printed at Paris, fol. 1511. Among the Bodleian MSS. there is a moſt beautiful copy of this book, believed to be written in the Saxon times.

Davie has left a poem entitled the *Battell of Jeruſalem*.[1] It begins thus:

Þe Bataile of Jeruſalem.

Liſtneþ alle þat beþ alyue,
boþe criſten Men *and* wyue:
I wil ȝou telle a wonder cas,
hou Iheſus criſt bihated was,
Of þe Iewes felle *and* kene,
þat was on hem ſiþþe iſene,
Goſpelles I drawe to witneſſe
of þis matere more *and* leſſe, &c.[2]

In the courſe of the ſtory, Pilate challenges our Lord to ſingle combat. This ſubject will occur again.

Davie's *Legend of ſaint Alexius the confeſſor, ſon of Euphemius*, is tranſlated from Latin, and begins thus:

[The line preceding is this:

Here endeþ the vengeaunce of goddes deth.]

Alle þat willen here in ryme,
Hou gode Men in olde tyme,
Loueden god Almiȝth;
þat weren riche, of grete valoure,
Kynges ſones and Emperoure
Of bodies ſtronge *and* liȝth;
Ȝee habbeþ yherde ofte in geſte,
Of holy men maken feſte
Boþe day *and* niȝth,
Forto haue þe ioye in heuene
(Wiþ Aungels ſonge, *and* mery ſteuene,)
þere blis is brode *and* briȝth:
To ȝou alle heiȝe *and* lowe
þe riȝth ſoþe to biknowe
Ȝoure ſoules forto ſaue, [&c.][3]

Our author's *Scripture Hiſtories* want the beginning. Here they begin with Joſeph, and end with Daniel:

For þritty pens[4] þai ſolden þat childe
þe ſeller hiȝth Judas,
þo[5] Ruben com hom *and* myſſed hym
Sori ynoȝ he was.[6]

His *Fifteen Toknes*[7] *before the Day of Judgment* are taken from the prophet Jeremiah:

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[1] The latter part of this poem appears detached, in a former part of our MS. with the title *The Vengeaunce of Goddes Death*, viz. fol. 1. This latter part begins with theſe lines:

"And at þe fourty dayes ende,
Whider I wolde he bad me wende,
Vpon þe mount of Olyuete," [&c.

An imperfect copy, ſays Mr. Furnivall, is in Addit. MS. Brit. Mus. 10,036, and another, wanting only one ſheet, is in the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Cardigan. See alſo Addit. MS. 10,269.]

[2] MS. *ut ſupr.* f. 71 b.

[3] *Ibid.* f. 21 b.

[4] Thirty pence.

[5] [The capital "þ" in this MS. is always written thus: "Ip".]

[6] MS. *ut ſupr.* f. 65.

[7] Tokens.

Þe firſt ſigne *þer* aȝe*in*s, as our*e* lord hy*m*-ſelf ſede,
Hu*nger*e ſchal on erþe be, trecche*r*ie, *and* falſhede,
Batailes, *and* litel loue, ſekeneſſe *and* haterede,
And þe erþe ſchal q*ua*ken, *þat* vche ma*n* ſchal drede:
Þe mone ſchal t*ur*ne to blood, þe ſu*nne* to derkhede, &c.[1]

Another of Davie's poems may be called the *Lamentation of Souls.* But the ſubject is properly a congratulation of Chriſt's advent, and the lamentation of the ſouls of the fathers remaining in limbo, for his delay:

Of ioye *and* bliſſe is my ſong*e*, car*e* to bileue,[2]
And to herie hy*m* amo*nge* þat al oure ſorouȝ ſchal reue,
Ycome he is þat ſwete dew, þat ſwete hony drope,
Ihe*ſus* ky*nge* of alle ky*n*ges, to who*m* is al oure hope:
Bicome he is oure bro*þer*, whar*e* wa*s* he ſo longe?
He it is *and* no*n* o*þer*, þat bouȝth vs ſo ſtronge:
Our*e* bro*þer* we mowe[3] hy*m* clepe wel, ſo ſei*þ* hy*m*-ſelf ilome.[4]

My readers will be perhaps ſurpriſed to find our language improve ſo ſlowly, and will probably think, that Adam Davie writes in a leſs intelligible phraſe than many more ancient bards already cited. His obſcurity, however, ariſes in great meaſure from obſolete ſpelling, a mark of antiquity which I have here obſerved in exact conformity to a manuſcript of the age of Edward II., and which in the poetry of his predeceſſors, eſpecially the minſtrel-pieces, has been often effaced by multiplication of copies and other cauſes. In the meantime it ſhould be remarked, that the capricious peculiarities and even ignorance of tranſcribers often occaſion an obſcurity, which is not to be imputed either to the author or his age.[5]

[The ſame volume with Adam Davie's poems (fol. 27 *b*), and therefore ſometimes, but wrongly aſcribed to him, has a production without any author's name, of the ſame period, entitled] the *Life of Alexander*, which deſerves to be publiſhed entire on many accounts. It ſeems to be founded chiefly on Simeon Seth's romance above mentioned; but many paſſages are alſo copied from the French *Roman d'Alexandre*, a poem in our author's age perhaps equally popular both in England and France. It is a work of conſiderable length.[6] I will firſt give ſome extracts from the Prologue:

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[1] MS. *ut ſupr.* f. 70 b. [2] Leave. [3] May. [4] MS. *ut ſupr.* f. 71.

[5] Chaucer in *Troilus and Creſſida* mentions "the grete diverſite in Engliſh, and *in writing of our tongue.*" He therefore prays God, that no perſon would *miſwrite*, or *miſſe-metre* his poem. Lib. *ult.* v. 1792, *ſeq.*

[6] [In attributing this romance to Davie [in his original edition] Warton has followed the authority of Tanner, who was probably led into the miſtake by finding it bound up with the remaining works of this "poetic marſhall." We are indebted to Mr. Ellis for detecting—upon the force of internal evidence—this miſappropriation of a very ſpirited compoſition to the inſipid author of the Legend of Saint Alexius. It has ſince been publiſhed from a tranſcript of the Lincoln's-Inn MS. made by Mr. Park, and forms the firſt volume in Mr. Weber's collection.—*Price.* The text, conformably with Price's own opinion, has now been taken from the Laud MS. in preference to that preſerved at Lincoln's-Inn, and printed by Weber.]

Diuers is þis middellerrde
To lewed Men *and* to lerede,[1]
Byſyneſſe, care and ſorouȝ
Is myd Man vche morowȝe [&c.]
Naþeles, wel fele *and* fulle
Boeþ y-founde in herte *and* ſhulle
Þat hadden leuer a Ribaudye
Þan here of god, oiþ*er* ſeint Marie;
Oiþ*er* to drynk*e* a Copful ale,
Þan to heron any gode tale:
Swiche ich wolde were out*e*-biſhe*tt*;
For certeyn lich, it were nett.
For hir*e* ne haeþ wille ich woot welbb
Bot in þe gut*e* *and* *in* þe barel.[2]

[The writer] thus deſcribes a ſplendid proceſſion made by Olympias:

In þis tyme fair*e* *and* Iolyſe[3]
Olympyas, þat faire wȳf*e*
Wolde make a riche feſt*e*
Of kniȝttes *and* lefdyes honeſt*e*,
Of Burgeys *and* of Iugelers
And of Men of vche meſters,[4]
For Men ſeiþ by north *and* ſouth
Wy*m*men beeþ, eu*ere* ſelcouþ;
Mychel ſhe deſireþ to ſhewe hire body
Her faire here, her face rody,
To haue loos[5] *and* ek praiſynge:
And al is folye by heue*ne* kyng*e*
So dude þe dame Olympyas
Forto ſhowe hire gentyl face.
She hete Marſhales, *and* kniȝhtes
Greiþe hem to ryde ono*n* riȝttes
And leuedyes *and* damoyſele
Quyk hem greiþed þouſandes fele,
In faire atyre, in dyuers queyntiſe
Many þ*ere* roode on riche wiſe.
A Mule, alſo whyte ſo mylk*e*
Wiþ ſadel of gold, ſambu of ſylk*e*
Was y-brouȝth to þe quene
Myd many belle of ſyluer ſhene
Yfaſtned on Orfreys[6] of mounde
Þat hengen doune to neiȝ grounde.
Forþ ſhe ferdeu[7] myd her rote
A þouſande lefdyes of riche ſoute.

---

[1] Leg. *lerd.* learned.

[2] The work begins thus:

Whilom clerkes wel ylerede
On þre diztten þis Middel erde,
And clepid hit in here maiſtrie,
Europe, Affryke, and Aſyghe:
At Aſyghe al ſo muchul ys
As Europe, and Affryk, I wis, &c.

And ends with this diſtich:

Aliſaunder! me reowith thyn endyng
That thou n'adeſt dyghed in criſtenyng.

[3] Jolly. [4] Of each, or every, profeſſion, trade, ſort. [5] Praiſe.

[6] Embroidered work, cloth of gold. *Aurifrigium*, Lat. [7] Fared: went.

A ſperuer[1] þat was honeſte
So ſat on þe lefdyes fyſte :
Foure trumpes toforne[2] hire belew :
Many Man þat day hire knew :
An hundreþ houſande *and* ek moo
Alle alouten hire vnto.
Al þe tou*n* by-honged was[3]
Azeins[4] þe lefdy Olympyas.[5]
Orgues, Chymbes, vche man*er* glee[6]
Was dryuen azein þat leuedy free.
Wiþouten þees tounes Murey :
Was arered vche man*er* pley ;[7]
Þ*er*e was knizttes tourneying*e*
Þ*er*e was maydens Carolyng*e*
Þ*er*e was Champions ſkirmyng*e*,[8]
Of hem of oþ*er* alſo wreſtlyng*e*
Of lyons chace, of bere baityng*e*.
A bay of bore[9] of bole ſlatyng*e*.[10]
Al þe Cite was by-honge
Wiþ Riche Samytes *and* pelles[11] longe
Dame Olympias amonge this pres[12]
Sengle rood,[13] al Mantel-les.—
And naked heued in one coroune
She rood þorouz out*e* al þe tou*n*.
Here zelewe her[14] was faire atired*e*
Mid riche ſtrenges of golde wyred*e*
It helyd her*e* abouten al[15]
To her*e* gentale Myddel ſmal
Brizth *and* ſhene was her face[16]
Eu*er*y fairehede[17] in hir was.[18]

---

[1] ſparrow-hawk ; a hawk. [2] before.

[3] "hung with tapeſtry." We find this ceremony practiſed at the entrance of Lady Elizabeth, queen of Henry VII. into the city of London.—"Al the ſtrets ther whiche ſhe ſhulde paſſe by wer clenly dreſſed and beſene with cloth, of tappeſtrye and arras, and ſome ſtreetes as Chepe, hanged with riche clothes of golde, velvettes and ſilkes." This was in the year 1481. Leland. *Coll.* iv. *Opuſcul.* p. 220, edit. 1770.

[4] "againſt her coming."

[5] See the deſcription of the tournament in Chaucer, *Knight's Tale*, where the city is hanged with cloth of gold. v. 2570.

[6] "organs, timbrels, all manner of muſic."

[7] "all ſorts of ſports." [8] ſkirmiſhing.

[9] "baying or bayting of the boar."

[10] *ſlaying bulls*, bull-feaſts. [Sir F. Madden ſays, bull-*baiting*.] Chaucer ſays that the chamber of Venus was painted with "white *bolis* grete." *Compl. of Mars and Ven.* v. 86.

[11] ſkins. [12] crowd ; company. [13] rode ſingle.

[14] yellow hair. [15] "covered her all over."

[16] line 155. [17] beauty.

[18] John Gower, who lived an hundred years after our author, hath deſcribed the ſame proceſſion. *Confeſs. Amant.* lib. vi. [ed. 1857, iii. 62-3.]

"But in that citee thanne was
The quene, whiche Olimpias
Was hote, and with ſolempnite
The feſte of her nativite
As it befell, was than holde ;
And for her luſt to be beholde,
And preiſed of the people about,
She ſhop her for to riden out,

Much in the ſame ſtrain the marriage of Cleopatra is deſcribed:

Þhoo þis meſſage was hom y-come
Þere was many a bliþe gome
Of Olyue *and* of muge floures
Weren ſtrywed halle *and* boures:
Wiþ Samytes *and* Baudekyns
Weren curtyned þe gardyns.
Alle þe Innes of þe tou*n*
Hadden litel foyſou*n*,[1]
Þat day þat com Cleopatras;
So mychel poeple wiþ hir was.
She rood on a Mule, white ſo mylk*e*;
Her herneys was gold beten ſylk*e*
Þe prince hire led*e* of Candas,
And of Sydoyne Sir Ionathas,
Ten þouſande barons hir co*m*me myde,
And to chirche wiþ hire ryde.
Yſpouſed ſhe is *and* ſet on deys:
Nov gynneþ geſt of gret nobléys:
At þe feſt was harpyng*e*,
And pipyng*e and* tabourynge,
And ſitelyng*e and* tru*m*pynge.[2]

We have frequent opportunities of obſerving, how the poets of theſe times engraft the manners of chivalry on ancient claſſical hiſtory. In the following lines Alexander's education is like that of Sir Triſtram. He is taught tilting, hunting, and hawking:

Now can Aliſaundre of ſkirmyng*e*
As of ſtedes derayeyng*e*,

At after-mete all openly.
Anone were alle men redy,
And that was in the month of may
This luſty quene in good array
Was ſet upon a mule white
To ſene it was a great delite
The joie that the citee made.
With freſshe thinges and with glade
The noble town was al behonged;
And every wight was ſore alonged
To ſe this luſty ladie ride.
There was great merth on alle ſide,
Where as ſhe paſſeth by the ſtrete
There was ful many a tymbre bete,
And many a maide carolende.
And thus through out the town pleinde
This quene unto the pleine rode
Where that ſhe hoved and abode
To ſe diverſe games pley,
The luſty folk jouſt and tourney.
And ſo forth every other man
Which pleie couth, his pley began,
To pleſe with this noble quene."

Gower continues this ſtory, from a romance mentioned above, to fol. 140.

[1] proviſion.

[2] line 1023; f. 32 of MS. Laud.

Vpon ſtedes of Juſtuynge,
And wiþ ſwerdes turneyeinge,
Of aſſailynge and defendynge.
In grene woode *and* of huntynge
And of Ryuer of haukynge :[1]
Of bataile *and* of alle þinge.[2]

In another place Alexander is mounted on a ſteed of Narbonne,[3] and, amid the ſolemnities of a great feaſt, rides through the hall to the high table. This was no uncommon practice in the ages of chivalry :[4]

He lepeþ vp myd ydone
On a ſtede of Nerebone ;
He daſsheth forþ vpon þe londe
þe riche coroune on his honde,
Of Nicholas þat he wan :
Biſide hym rideþ many a gentil man.
To þe paleys he comeþ ryde
And fyndeþ þis feſte *and* al þis pride
Forþ gooþ Aliſaundre, ſaunȝ fable
Riȝth vnto þe heiȝe table.[5]

His horſe Bucephalus, who even in claſſical fiction is a horſe of romance, is thus deſcribed :

An horne in the forhed amydwarde
þat wolde perce a ſhelde harde.[6]

To which theſe lines may be added :

Aliſaunder ariſen is
And ſitteþ on his deys I wys
His dukes *and* his barouns ſaunz doute
Stondeþ *and* ſitteþ hym aboute.[7]

The two following extracts are in a ſofter ſtrain, and not inelegant for the rude ſimplicity of the times :

Mery is þe blaſt of þe ſtyuoure[8]
Mery is þe touchynge of þe harpoure ;[9]

---

[1] Chaucer, *R. of Sir Thop.* v. 3245 :

"He couth hunt al the wild dere,
And ride an *hawkyng by the rivere.*"

And in the *Squyr of low degree* [*Rem. of the E. P. Poet. of Engl.* ii. 52] :

"—— Shall ye *ryde*
On haukyng by the ryuers ſide."

Chaucer, *Frankleins Tale*, v. 1752 :

"Theſe fauconers upon a faire rivere
That with the hawkis han the *heron* ſlaine."

[2] f. 30 *b.* MS. Laud.

[3] [The Lincoln's Inn MS. reads "faire bone," which is probably the correcter verſion.—*Price.*]

[4] See *Obſervations on the Fairy Queen*, i. § v. p. 146.

[5] line 1075, (ll. 1074-83 Laud. MS. f. 32.) [6] ll. 692, 3 ; f 30 *b.*

[7] line 3966 ; (ll. 3954-7, f. 45 *b.*)

[8] [The editor thinks that Mr. Halliwell is ſcarcely correct in defining this to be a kind of bagpipe. Mr. Herbert Coleridge (*Gloſſary*, 1859, *in voce*) is ſurely nearer the truth in deſcribing it as a ſort of *trumpet*, Fr. *eſtive*. In the preſent paſſage it ſtands for a trumpeter, or, at leaſt, a perſon blowing a *ſtive*.]

[9] This poem has likewiſe, in the ſame vein, the following well-known old rhyme, which paints the manners, and is perhaps the true reading, line 1163 :

Swete is þe ſmellynge of þe floure
Swete yit is in maydens boure
Appel ſwete bereþ fair[1] coloure
Of trewe loue is ſwe (*ſic*) amoure.

Again:

In tyme of May, þe niȝttyngale
In wood makeþ mery gale;
So don þe foules grete *and* ſmale
Summe on hylles, *and* ſumme in dale.[2]

Much the ſame vernal delights, clothed in a ſimilar ſtyle, with the addition of knights turneying and maidens dancing, invite King Philip on a progreſs; he is entertained on the road with hearing tales of ancient heroes:

Mery tyme it is in may
þe foules ſyngeþ her lay;
þe kniȝttes loueþ þe turnay
Maydens ſo dauncen *and* þay play.
þe kynge forþ rideþ his Iournay
Now hereþ geſte of grete noblay.[3]

Our author thus deſcribes a battle:[4]

Aliſaunder tofore is ride
And many a gentil kniȝth hym myde
Ac, forto gadre his meignè free
He abideþ vnder a tree.
Fourty þouſande of ſhyualerie
He takeþ in his compaignye.
He daſſheþ hym forþ þan faſtwarde:
And þe oþer comen afterwarde:
He ſeeþ his kniȝttes, in Meſchief
He takeþ it gretlich a greef.
He taked Bulcyphal[5] by þe ſide;
So a ſwalewe he gynneþ forþ glide.
A duke of Perce ſone he mette
And wiþ his launce he hym grette;
He perceþ his breny and cleueþ his ſhelde,
þe herte tokerneþ þe yrne chelde:
þe duke fel doune to þe grounde
And ſtarf quykly in þat ſtounde.
Aliſaunder aloude þan ſeiede,

"Swithe mury hit is in halle
When the *burdes wawen alle*."

And in another place we have:

"Mury hit is in halle to here the harpe;
The mynſtrall ſyngith, theo jogolour carpith."—l. 5990.

Here, by the way, it appears, that the minſtrels and juglers were diſtinct characters. So Robert de Brunne, in deſcribing the coronation of King Arthur, apud Anſtis, *Ord. Gart.* i. p. 304:

"*Jogeleurs* wer ther inouȝ
That wer queitiſe for the drouȝ,
Mynſtrels many with dyvers glew," &c.

And Chaucer mentions "*minſtrels* and *eke joglours*."—*Rom. R.* v. 764. But they are often confounded or made the ſame.

[1] line 2571; (ll. 2566-71, f. 39.)
[2] line 2546; (ll. 2542-5, f. 39).
[3] line 5210; (ll. 5194-9, f. 51).
[4] line 3776; (ll. 3764-3853, ff. 44 b, 45).
[5] Bucephalus.

Oþere tol neuere ich ne paiede :
Ȝute ȝee ſhullen of myne paie
Or ich gon more Aſſaie !
Anoþer launce in honde he hente ;
Aȝein þe prince of Tyre he wente,
He ſmoote hym þorouȝ þe breeſte þare
And out of ſadel ouere croupe hym bare ;
And I ſigge forſoþe þinge
He braake his nek in þe fallynge.
Oxeatre, wiþ mychel wonder
Antiochum hadde hym vnder,
And wiþ ſwerd wolde his heuede
From his body habbe yreuede.
He ſeiz Aliſaunder þe gode gome
Towardes hym ſwiþe come
He lete his pray *and* fleiz on hors
Forto ſaue his owen cors.
Antiochus on ſtede lep
Of none woundes ne tooke he kep ;
And eke he hade foure forde
Alle ymade wiþ ſperes orde.[1]
Þolomeus *and* alle hiſe felawen[2]
Of þis ſocour ſo weren wel fawen.
Aliſaunder made a cry hardy
Ore toſt, a ly ! a ly !
Þere þe kniȝttes of Achaye
Iuſted wiþ hem of Arabye ;
Þoo[3] of Rome, wiþ hem of Mede
Many londe wiþ oþere þede
Egipte iuſted wiþ hem of Tyre
Symple kniȝth wiþ riche ſyre ;
Þere nas foreȝifte ne for berynge ;
bituene vauaſoure[4] ne kynge,
Tofore, men miȝtten *and* byhynde
Cunteke[5] ſeke *and* cuntek fynde.
Wiþ Perciens fouȝtten þe gregeys ;[6]
Þere roos cry *and* grete honteys.
Hy kidden[7] þat hy neren merce
Hy braken ſperes alto ſlice :
Þere miȝth kniȝth fynde his pere,
Þere les many his deſtrere :
Þere was quyk in litel þrawe,[8]
Many gentil kniȝth yſlawe ;
Many Arme, many heued,[9]
Sone from þe body reued :
Many gentil lauedy[10]
Þere leſe quyke her amy :[11]
Þere was many maym ykede
Many fair penſel biblede.[12]
Þere was ſwerdes lik lakynge[13]
Þere was ſperes baþinge.[14]

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[1] point. [2] fellows. [3] they. [4] ſervant ; ſubject. [5] ſtrife.
[6] Greeks. [7] [ſhewed.] [8] ſhort time. [9] head. [10] lady.
[11] paramour. [12] "many a rich banner, or flag, ſprinkled with blood."
[13] claſhing. [This phraſe is one of frequent occurrence in Anglo-Saxon poetry, and bears a very different import from that given by Mr. Weber : ſweord-lac, A.-S. gladiorum ludus, from lacan, to play.—*Price.*]
[14] [Bathyng is the ſame as *Beating* ; but perhaps the true word is Bateing= *Fluttering.*]

Boþe kynges þere, ſaunȝ doute
Beeþ in daſshet wiþ al her route;
Þe on to don men of hym ſpeke
Þe oþere his harmes forto wreke.
Many londes neiȝ *and* ferre
Leſen her lorde in þat werre.
Þe erþe quaked of her rydynge
Þe weder [1] þicked of her crieynge
Þe blood of hem þat weren yſlawe
Ran by flodes to þe lowe, &c.[2]

I have already mentioned Alexander's miraculous horn: [3]

He blew an horne quyke, ſaunȝ doute [4]
His folke com ſwiþe aboute:
And hem he ſeide wiþ voice clere,
Ich bidde, frendes, þat ȝe me here!
Aliſaunder is comen in þis londe
Wiþ ſtronge knniȝttes, wiþ miȝtty of honde.

Alexander's adventures in the deſerts among the Gymnoſophiſts, and in India, are not omitted. The authors, whom he quotes for his vouchers, ſhew the reading and ideas of the times: [5]

Þoo Aliſaunder wente þorouȝ deſerte
Many wondres he ſeiȝ aperte [6]
Whiche he dude wel deſcryue
By gode clerkes in her lyue
By Ariſtotle his maiſter þat was
Better clerke ſiþen non nas.
He was wiþ hym *and* ſeiȝ *and* wroote
Alle þiſe wondres, (god it woote)
Salomon þat al þe werlde þorouȝ ȝede
In ſooþ witneſſe helde hym myde.
Yſidre [7] alſo, þat was ſo wys
In his bokes telleþ þis.
Maiſter euſtroge bereþ hym witneſſe
Of þe wondres more *and* leſſe.
Seint Jerome, ȝee ſhullen y-wyte
Hem haþ alſo in booke y-write;
And Mageſtene, þe gode clerke
Haþ made þerof mychel werke.
Denys þat was of gode memorie
It ſheweþ al in his booke of ſtorie;
And alſo Pompie [8] of Rome lorde,
Duke it writen euery worde.
Beheldeþ me þerof no fynder; [9]
Her bokes ben my ſhewer
And þe lyf of Aliſaunder
Of whom fleȝ ſo riche ſklaunder.

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[1] weather, ſky. [2] (l. 3843, f. 45.)
[3] [It is moſt probable that Warton interpreted this paſſage of Alexander's horn: though the context plainly ſhews that it was Darius who blew it.—*Price.*]
[4] (l. 3848, f. 45.) [5] line 4772. [6] ſaw openly.
[7] *Iſidore.* He means, I ſuppoſe, Iſidorus Hiſpalenſis, a Latin writer of the ſeventh century.
[8] He means Juſtin's Trogus Pompeius the hiſtorian, whom he confounds with Pompey the Great.
[9] "don't look on me as the inventor."

Ȝif ȝee willeþ ȝiue liſtnynge
Now ȝee ſhullen here gode þinge
In ſomers tyde þe day is longe;
Foules ſyngeþ *and* makeþ ſonge
Kynge Aliſaunder y-wente is,
Wiþ dukes, Erles, *and* folke of pris,
Wiþ many kniȝth *and* douȝtty Men,
Toward the Cité of facen;
After kynge Porus þat flowen[1] was
Into the Cité of Bandas:
He wolde wende þorouȝ deſerte
Þiſe wondres to ſeen aperte.
Gyoures he name[2] of þe londe
Fyue þouſande I vnderſtonde
Þat hem ſhulden lede riȝth,[3]
Þorouȝ deſerte by day *and* niȝth.
Þe Gyoures loueden þe kynge nouȝth
And wolden haue hym biȝauȝth:
Hy ledden hym þerfore als I fynde
In þe ſtraungeſt peryl of ynde.
Ac, ſo ich fynde in the booke
Hy weren aſſhreynte in her crooke.
Now rideþ Aliſaunder wiþ his Oſte,
Wiþ mychel pride *and* mychel booſte;
Ac ar hy comen to Caſtel, oiþer toun
Hy ſhullen ſpeken anoþere leſſoun.
Lordynges, alſo I fynde
At Mede ſo bigynneþ ynde:
Forſoþe ich woote, it ſtretcheth ferreſte,
Of alle the londes in þe Eſte,
And oþ þe ſouþ half ſikerlyke
To þe cee takeþ of Affryke;
And þe norþ half to a mountayne,
Þat is ycleped Caucaſayne.[4]
Forſoþe ȝee ſhullen vnderſtonde
Twyes is Somer in þe londe
And neuermore wynter ne chelen.[5]
Þat londe is ful of al wele;
Twyes hy gaderen fruyte þere
And wyne *and* Corne in one ȝere.
In þe londe als I fynde, of ynde
Ben Citès fyue þouſynde;
Wiþouten ydles *and* Caſtels,
And Boroughȝ tounes ſwiþe feles.[6]
In þe londe of ynde þou miȝth lere
Nyne þouſynde folk of ſelcouþ[7] manere
Þhat þer non is oþer yliche;
Ne helde þou it nouȝth ferlich
Ac by þat þou vnderſtonde þe geſtes
Boþe of Men *and* eke of beeſtes, [&c.][8]

Edward II. is ſaid to have carried with him to the ſiege of Stirling Caſtle a poet named Robert Baſton.[9] He was a Carmelite friar of

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[1] fled. [2] took. [3] ſtrait. [4] Caucaſus.
[5] chill, cold. [6] very many. [7] uncommon. [8] [l. 4831, f. 49 *b.*]
[9] [Winſtanley, in his *Account of the Engliſh Poets*, 1687, has introduced the name of Baston, and has quoted the opening of his involuntary eulogium on Scotland and her king:

Scarborough; and the king intended that Baſton, being an eye-witneſs of the expedition, ſhould celebrate his conqueſt of Scotland in verſe. Holinſhed, an hiſtorian not often remarkable for penetration, mentions this circumſtance as a ſingular proof of Edward's preſumption and confidence in his undertaking againſt Scotland: but a poet ſeems to have been a ſtated officer in the royal retinue when the king went to war.[1] Baſton, however, appears to have been chiefly a Latin poet, and therefore does not properly fall into our ſeries. At leaſt his poem on the ſiege of Stirling Caſtle is written in monkiſh Latin hexameters:[2] and our royal bard, being taken priſoner in the expedition, was compelled by the Scots, for his ranſom, to write a panegyric on Robert Brus, which is compoſed in the ſame ſtyle and language.[3] Bale mentions his *Poemata et Rhythmi, Tragœdiæ et Comœdiæ vulgares*.[4] Some of theſe indeed appear to have been written in Engliſh: but no Engliſh pieces of this author now remain. In the meantime, the bare exiſtence of dramatic compoſitions in England at this period, even if written in the Latin tongue, deſerve notice in inveſtigating the progreſs of our poetry. I muſt not paſs over a Latin [dialogue in verſe], written about the year [1367]. This [dialogue] is thus entitled in the Bodleian MS.: *De Babione et Croceo domino Babionis et Viola filiaſtra Babionis quam Croceus duxit invito Babione, et Pecula uxore Babionis et Fodio ſuo*, &c.[5] It is

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"In dreery verſe my Rymes I make,
Bewailing whileſt ſuch Theme I take."

which appears to be Winſtanley's own rendering of the opening lines.]

[1] Leland. *Script. Brit.* p. 338. Holinſh. *Hiſt.* ii. pp. 217, 220. Tanner mentions, as a poet of England, one Gulielmus Peregrinus, who accompanied Richard I. into the Holy Land, and ſang his achievements there in a Latin poem, entitled *Odoeporicon Ricardi Regis*, lib. i. It is dedicated to Hurbert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Stephen Turnham, a captain in the expedition. He flouriſhed about A. D. 1200. *Bibl.* p. 591. See Voſs. *Hiſt. Lat.* p. 441. He is called "poeta per eam ætatem excellens." See Bale, iii. 45. Pits. 266. See Leland *Script. Brit.* p. 228. And a note in the editor's firſt Index, under Gulielmus de Canno.

[2] It is extant in Fordun's *Scoti-Chron.* c. xxiii. l. 12.

[3] Leland. *ut ſupr.* And MSS. Harl. 1819. Brit. Mus. See alſo Wood, *Hiſt. Ant. Univ. Oxon.* i. p. 101.

[4] Tanner, p. 79.

[5] Arch. B. 52. [In the Cotton MS. Titus A. xx. the ſeveral parts of the dialogue are diſtinguiſhed by initial capitals; and on the oppoſite ſide ſtand marginal notices of the change of perſon. Thus: "Babio, Violæ; Viola, Babioni; Fodius, Babioni; Babio, Croceo." The *Geta* [by Vitalis Bleſenſis], noticed below, and alſo occurring in the Cotton MS., is founded on the ancient fable of Jupiter's intrigue with Alcmena, [and is a mediæval verſion of the *Geta* of Plautus.] It is in the ſame ſtyle of dialogue with Babio, and has ſimilar marginal directions; ſuch as "Jupiter Alcmenæ; Alcmena Jovi," The line quoted by Warton occurs in what may be called the Prologue. The Cotton MS. affords no clue as to the date of theſe ſingular productions, [but Mr. Wright has ſhown the extreme probability that they belong to the middle of the thirteenth century.] It contains a farrago of rhythmical pieces from the time of Gualo (1160) to Baſton and perhaps later. But in France ſuch pieces appear to have been current during the twelfth century. Du Boulay has noticed a tragedy *de Flaura et Marco*, and a comedy called *Alda*, written by [Matthæus Vindocinenſis].—*Price.* "Three manuſcripts are known of this poem. One is in the Cotton MS. Titus, A. xx, which, amongſt a vaſt maſs of

written in long and ſhort Latin verſes. The ſtory is in Gower's *Confeſſio Amantis*. Whether Gower had it from this performance I will not enquire. It appears at leaſt that he took it from ſome previous book.

I find write of Babio,
Which had a love at his menage,
Ther was no fairer of her age,
And highte Viola by name, &c.
And had affaited to his honde
His ſervant, the which Spodius
Was hote, &c.
A freſshe a free a frendly man, &c.
Which Croceus by name hight, &c.[1]

There is nothing dramatic in the ſtructure of this nominal comedy; and it has certainly no claim to that title, only as it contains a familiar and comic ſtory carried on with much ſcurrilous ſatire intended to raiſe mirth. But it was not uncommon to call any ſhort poem, not ſerious or tragic, a comedy. In the Bodleian MS. which comprehends [the *Babio*] juſt mentioned, there follows [the] *Geta:* this is in Latin long and ſhort verſes,[2] and has no marks of dialogue.[3] In the library of Corpus Chriſti College at Cambridge is a piece entitled *Comedia ad monaſterium de Hulme ordinis S. Benedicti Dioceſ. Norwic. directa ad Reformationem ſequentem, cujus data eſt primo die Septembris ſub anno Chriſti* 1477, *et a morte Joannis Faſtolfe militis eorum benefactoris*[4] *precipui* 17, *in cujus monaſterii eccleſia humatur.*[5] This is nothing more than a ſatirical ballad in Latin; yet ſome allegorical perſonages are introduced, which, however, are in no reſpect accommodated to ſcenical repreſentation. About the reign of Edward IV. one Edward Watſon, a ſcholar in grammar at Oxford, is permitted to proceed to a degree in that faculty, on condition that within two years he would write one hundred verſes in praiſe of the univerſity, and alſo compoſe a comedy.[6] The nature and ſubject of Dante's *Commedia*, as it is ſtyled, are well known.[7] The comedies

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Anglo-Latin poetry of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, contains alſo a copy of the *Geta*. . . . The two other MSS. of the Babio are preſerved in the Bodleian Library."—*Wright.*]

[1] [Gower's *C. F.* ed. Pauli, ii. 288-9.]

[2] Carmina compoſuit, voluitque placere poeta. [The beſt edition of the *Geta* of Vitalis *Bleſenſis* is in Mr. Wright's volume of *Early Myſteries*, &c. 1838, 8vo. p. 79 *et ſeqq.*]

[3] f. 121.

[4] In the epiſcopal palace at Norwich is a curious piece of old wainſcot brought from the monaſtery of Hulme at the time of its diſſolution. Among other antique ornaments are the arms of Sir John Falſtaff, their principal benefactor. This magnificent knight was alſo a benefactor to Magdalene College in Oxford. He bequeathed eſtates to that ſociety, part of which were appropriated to buy liveries for ſome of the ſenior ſcholars. But this benefaction, in time, yielding no more than a penny a week to the ſcholars who received the liveries, they were called, by way of contempt, *Falſtaff's Buckram-men.*

[5] *Miſcell. M.* p. 274.

[6] *Hiſt. Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* ii. 4, col. 2.

[7] [In the dedication of his Paradiſo to Can della Scala, Dante thus explains his own views of Tragedy and Comedy: "Eſt comœdia genus quoddam poeticæ nar-

aſcribed to Chaucer are probably his *Canterbury Tales*. We learn from Chaucer's own words, that tragic tales were called *Tragedies*. In the Prologue to the *Monkes Tale:*

> Tregedis is to ſayn a certeyn ſtorie,
> As olde bookes maken us memorie,
> Of hem that ſtood in greet proſperite,
> And is y-fallen out of heigh degre, &c.[1]

Some of theſe, the monk adds, were written in proſe, others in metre. Afterwards follow many tragical narratives, of which he ſays:

> *Tragidies* firſt wol I tell
> Of which I have an hundred in my cell.

Lidgate further confirms what is here ſaid with regard to comedy as well as tragedy:

> My maiſter Chaucer with freſh *comedies*,
> Is dead, alas! chief poet of Britaine:
> That whilom made ful piteous *tragedies*.[2]

The ſtories in the *Mirror for Magiſtrates* are called tragedies, ſo late as the ſixteenth century. Bale calls his play or Myſtery of *God's Promiſes*, which appeared about the year 1538, a tragedy.

I muſt however obſerve here that dramatic entertainments, repreſenting the lives of ſaints and the moſt eminent ſcriptural ſtories, were known in England for more than [a century] before the reign of Edward II. Theſe ſpectacles they commonly ſtyled miracles. I have already mentioned the play of Saint Catharine, acted at Dunſtable about the year 1110.[3] [Two of the oldeſt miracle-plays in the *Engliſh* language are perhaps the *Harrowing of Hell*[4] and the *Incredulity of St. Thomas*, the latter of which was exhibited by the Scriveners' Guild at York.[5] The *Harrowing of Hell* exiſts in a MS. which may

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rationis ab omnibus aliis differens. Differt ergo in materia a tragœdia per hoc, quod tragœdia in principio eſt admirabilis et quieta, in fine ſive exitu fœtida et horribilis. . . . . Comœdia vero inchoat aſperitatem alicujus rei, ſed ejus materiam proſpere terminatur. Similiter differunt *in modo loquendi*." He has alſo expatiated upon the diſtinctive ſtyles peculiar to ſuch compoſitions in his treatiſe, *De vulgari Eloquentia;* though his precepts when oppoſed to his practice have proved a ſad ſtumbling-block to the critics: "Per Tragœdiam ſuperiorem ſtylum induimus, per Comœdiam inferiorem. . . . . Si tragice canenda vicentur, tum adſumendum eſt vulgare illuſtre. Si vero comice, tum quandoque mediocre, quandoque humile vulgare ſumatur." Lib. ii. c. iv.—*Price.*]

[1] v. 85. See alſo, *ibid.* v. 103, 786, 875.

[2] Prol. F. Pr. v. i. See alſo Chaucer's *Troil. and Cr.* v. 1785, 1787.

[3] Diſſertation ii. [The earlieſt examples of ſuch compoſitions now known are three plays written in France by Hilarius, an Engliſhman, and diſciple of the famous Abelard, the ſubjects of which are the Raiſing of Lazarus, a miracle of St. Nicholas, and the Hiſtory of Daniel; they were written early in the twelfth century—*Wright.* There is an edition of them at Paris, 1838, 8vo.]

[Perhaps the plays of Roſwitha, a nun of Ganderſheim in Lower Saxony, who lived towards the cloſe of the tenth century, afford the earlieſt ſpecimens of dramatic compoſition, ſince the decline of the Roman Empire. They were profeſſedly written for the benefit of thoſe Chriſtians who, abjuring all other heathen writers, were irreſiſtibly attracted by the graces of Terence, to the imminent danger of their

be nearly coeval with the performance itſelf; of the other piece we have apparently only a copy made at a much later date.] William Fitz-Stephen, a writer of the twelfth century, in his *Deſcription of London*, relates that "London, for its theatrical exhibitions, has holy plays, or the repreſentation of miracles wrought by confeſſors, and of the ſufferings of martyrs."[6] Theſe pieces muſt have been in high vogue at our preſent period; for Matthew Paris, who wrote about the year 1240, ſays that they were ſuch as "Miracula vulgariter

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ſpiritual welfare and the certain pollution of their moral feelings. Roſwitha appears to have been impreſſed with a hope, that by contraſting the laudable chaſtity of Chriſtian virtue, as exhibited in her compoſitions, with what ſhe is pleaſed to term the lewd voluptuouſneſs of the Grecian females, the Catholic world might be induced to forget the ancient claſſic, and to receive with avidity an orthodox ſubſtitute, combining the double advantage of pleaſure and inſtruction. How far her expectations were gratified in this latter particular, it is impoſſible to ſay; but we can eaſily conceive, that the almoſt total obliviſcence of the Roman author during the ſucceeding ages muſt have ſurpaſſed even her ſanguine wiſhes. It does not appear that theſe dramas were either intended for repreſentation, or exhibited at any ſubſequent period. They have been publiſhed twice: by Conrad Celtes in 1501, and Leonhard Schurzfleiſch in 1707. They have alſo been analyſed by Gottſched in his Materials for a Hiſtory of the German Stage. Leip. 1757.—Pez (in his *Theſaur. Noviſs. Anecd.* vol. ii. p. iii. f. 185) has publiſhed an ancient Latin Myſtery, entitled *De Adventu et Interitu Antichriſti*, which he acknowledges to have copied from a manuſcript of the twelfth century. It approaches nearer to the character of a pageant, than to the dramatic caſt of the later myſteries. The dumb-ſhow appears to have been conſiderable, the dialogue but occaſional; and ample ſcope is given for the introduction of pomp and decoration. The paſſages to be declaimed are written in Latin rhyme. Lebeuf alſo mentions a Latin Myſtery written ſo early as the time of Henry I. of France (1031—1061). In this Virgil is aſſociated with the prophets who come to offer their adorations to the new-born Meſſiah; and at the concluſion he joins his voice with theirs in ſinging a long Benedicamus. A fragment of what may be a German tranſlation of the ſame myſtery, copied from a manuſcript of the thirteenth century, will be found in Dieterich's *Specimen Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, p. 122. But here Virgil appears as an acknowledged heathen; and he is only admitted with the other prophets from his ſuppoſed predictions of the coming Meſſiah contained in his *Pollio*. In conformity with this opinion, Dante adopted him as his guide in the *Inferno*.—*Price*. Mr. Price's aſſertion as to the almoſt total obliviſcence of Terence in the middle ages is not founded on fact. No claſſic author is oftener quoted by monkiſh writers, and in the Britiſh Muſeum alone there are above thirty MSS. copies written between the tenth and fifteenth centuries.—*Madden*.]

[4] [Edited from Harl. MS. 2253 by Mr. Halliwell, 1840, 8vo, and from the Auchinleck MS. by Mr. Laing (*Owain Miles and other Pieces of Ancient Engliſh Poetry*, 1837, 8vo).]

[5] [Printed in Croft's *Excerpta Antiqua*, 1797, and again by Collier, *Camden Miſcellany*, iv.]

[6] "Lundonia pro ſpectaculis theatralibus, pro ludis ſcenicis, ludos habet ſanctiores, repreſentationes miraculorum quæ ſancti confeſſores operati ſunt, ſeu repreſentationes paſſionum quibus claruit conſtantia martyrum." Stow's *Survey of London*, p. 480, edit. 1599. The reader will obſerve, that I have conſtrued *ſanctiores* in a poſitive ſenſe. [But here Warton merely follows Pegge in his tranſlation of Fitz-Stephen: neither ſtates a reaſon. See Collier's *Hiſt. of E. D. P.* i. 2, *note*.] Fitz-Stephen mentions at the end of his tract, "Imperatricem Matildem, Henricum regem tertium, beatum Thomam, &c." p. 483. [Fitz-Stephen is ſpeaking of Henry the younger, ſon of Henry II. and grandſon to the Empreſs Matilda, who was crowned king in the lifetime of his father, and is expreſſly ſtyled Henricus Tertius by Matthew Paris, William of Newbury, and ſeveral other of our early hiſtorians.—*Ritſon*.]

appellamus."[1] And we learn from Chaucer, that in his time Plays of Miracles were the common resort of idle gossips in Lent:

> Therefore made I my visitations,
> To prechings eke and to pilgrimagis,
> To Plays of Miracles, and mariagis, &c.[2]

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[1] *Vit. Abbat.* ad calc. *Hist.* p. 56, edit. 1639.

[William de Wadington (who possibly was a contemporary of Matthew Paris) has left a violent tirade against this general practice of acting miracles. As it contains some curious particulars relative to the manner in which they were conducted, and the places selected for exhibiting them, an extract from it may not be out of place here:

> " Une autre folie apert
> Unt les fols clers cuntrové;
> Qe miracles sunt apelé.
> Lur faces unt la deguise,
> Par visers li forsene,
> Qe est defendu en decree;
> Tant est plus grant lur peché.
> Fere poent representement,
> Mes qe ceo seit chastement.
> En office de seint eglise
> Quant hom fet la, Deu servise.
> *Cum Ihu Crist le fiz Dee,*
> *En sepulcre esteit posé;*
> *Et la resurrectiun:*
> Par plus aver devociun.
> Mes fere foles assemblez,
> En les rues des citez,
> Ou en cymiters apres mangers,
> Quant venent les fols volonters,
> Tut dient qe il le sunt pur bien:
> Crere ne les devez pur rien,
> Qe fet seit pur le honur de Dee.
> E iuz del Deable pur verité.
> Seint Ysidre me ad testimonie,
> Qe fut si bon clerc lettré.
> Il dit qe cil qe sunt spectacles,
> Cum lem fet en miracles,
> Ou iuȝ qe vus nomames einȝ,
> Burdiz ou turnemens,
> Lur bapteſme unt refusez,
> E Deu de ciel reneiez, &c.
> Ke en lur iuz se delitera,
> Chevals ou harneis les apresterа,
> Vesture ou autre ournement,
> Sachez il fet folement.
> Si vestemens serent dediez,
> Plus grant dasez est le pechez.
> Si preste ou clerc le ust preste,
> Bien dust estre chaustie;
> Car sacrilege est pur verité.
> E ki par vanite les verrunt,
> De lur fet partaverunt."
>
> Harl. MS. 273, f. 141.—*Price.*

This has been printed by Mr. Furnivall in his edition of Robert de Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, Roxburghe Club, 1862.]

[2] *Prol. Wif. B.* v. 555.

This is the genial *Wife of Bath*, who amuſes herſelf with theſe faſhionable diverſions, while her huſband is abſent in London, during the holy ſeaſon of Lent. And in Pierce the Plowman's *Crede*, a friar Minorite mentions the miracles as not leſs frequented than markets or taverns :

> We haunten no tavernes, ne hobelen abouten,
> Att markets and Miracles we medeley us never.[1]

Among the plays uſually repreſented by the guild of Corpus Chriſti at Cambridge, on that feſtival, *Ludus filiorum Iſraelis* was acted in the year 1355.[2] Our drama ſeems hitherto to have been almoſt entirely confined to religious ſubjects, and theſe plays were nothing more than an appendage to the ſpecious and mechanical devotion of the times. I do not find expreſsly, that any play on a profane ſubject, either tragic or comic, had as yet been exhibited in England. Our very early anceſtors ſcarce knew any other hiſtory than that of their religion. Even on ſuch an occaſion as the triumphant entry of a king or queen into the city of London, or other places, the pageants were almoſt entirely Scriptural.[3] I likewiſe find in the wardrobe-rolls of Edward III., 1348, an account of the dreſſes, *ad faciendum Ludos domini regis ad ffeſtum Natalis domini celebratos apud*

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[1] Signat. A iii b, edit. 1561.

[2] Maſters' *Hiſt. C. C. C. C.* p. 5, vol. i. What was the antiquity of the *Guary-Miracle*, or *Miracle-Play* in Cornwall, has not been determined. In the Bodleian library are three Church interludes, written on parchment. [Bodley, 791.] In the ſame library there is alſo another, written on paper in the year 1611. Arch. [N. 219.] Of this laſt there is a tranſlation in the Britiſh Muſeum. MSS. Harl. 1867, 2. It is entitled the *Creation of the World*, [and bears traces of an obligation on the part of the compiler to the earlier production printed by Norris—the *Origo Mundi*.] It is called a Corniſh play or opera, and ſaid to be written by Mr. William Jordan. The tranſlation into Engliſh was made by John Keigwin of Mouſhole in Cornwall, at the requeſt of Trelawney, Biſhop of Exeter, 1691. Of his William Jordan I can give no account. [Mr. Davies Gilbert publiſhed the *Creation of the World* in 1827, 8vo., and more recently, Mr. Edwin Norris has edited from the Bodleian MS. the three Corniſh Dramas, *Origo Mundi*, *Paſſio Domini Noſtri*, and *Reſurrectio Domini Noſtri*, 1859, 2 vols. 8vo. Mr. Gilbert alſo edited the poem of *Mount Calvary* in 1826, 8vo.; but his text is very bad both here and in the *Creation*. See Mr. Norris's remarks and explanations in his Appendix, ii. 439 *et ſeqq*. I fear that Mr. Norris's own text is not very truſtworthy. In the library of Mr. C. Wynne, at Peniarth, Montgomeryſhire, is another Corniſh play, unknown to Gilbert and Norris.]

In the Britiſh Muſeum there is an ancient Corniſh poem on the death and reſurrection of Chriſt. It is on vellum, and has ſome rude pictures. The beginning and end are loſt. The writing is ſuppoſed to be of the fifteenth century. MSS. Harl. 1782, 4to. [This is the poem on *Mount Calvary* already referred to, but three other copies are known.] See the learned Lwhyd's *Archæol. Brit.* p. 265. And Borlaſe's *Cornwall*, *Nat. Hiſt.* p. 295, edit. 1758.

[3] When our Hen. VI. entered Paris in 1431, in the quality of King of France, he was met at the gate of Saint Denis by a Dumb Shew, repreſenting the birth of the Virgin Mary and her marriage, the adoration of the three kings, and the parable of the ſower. This pageant indeed was given by the French: but the readers of Holinſhed will recollect many inſtances immediately to our purpoſe. See Monſtrelet *apud* Fonten. *Hiſt. Theatr.* ut ſupr. p. 37.

Guldeford, for furniſhing the plays or ſports of the king, held in th caſtle of Guildford at the feaſt of Chriſtmas.[1] In theſe Ludi, ſay my record, were expended eighty tunics of buckram of variou colours, forty-two viſors of various ſimilitudes, that is, fourteen o the faces of women, fourteen of the faces of men with beards, four teen of heads of angels, made with ſilver; twenty-eight creſts, fourteen mantles embroidered with heads of dragons: fourtee white tunics wrought with heads and wings of peacocks, fourtee heads of ſwans with wings, fourteen tunics painted with eyes o peacocks, fourteen tunics of Engliſh linen painted, and as man tunics embroidered with ſtars of gold and ſilver.[3] In the *Wardrob* rolls of Richard II. there is alſo an entry which ſeems to point ou a ſport of much the ſame nature [in 1389, 12 Rich. II.] "Pro xx *coifs* de tela linea pro hominibus de lege contrafactis pro ludo regi tempore natalis domini anno xii."[4] That is, "for twenty-one line coifs for counterfeiting men of the law in the king's play at Chriſtmas." It will be ſufficient to add here on the laſt record, that the ſerjeant at law at their creation anciently wore a cap of linen, lawn, o ſilk, tied under the chin: this was to diſtinguiſh them from th clergy who had the tonſure. Whether in both theſe inſtances w are to underſtand a dumb-ſhew, or a dramatic interlude with ſpeeches I leave to the examination of thoſe who are profeſſedly making en quiries into the hiſtory of our ſtage from its rudeſt origin. But tha plays on general ſubjects were no uncommon mode of entertainmen in the royal palaces of England, at leaſt at the commencement of th fifteenth century, may be collected from an old memoir of ſhew and ceremonies exhibited at Chriſtmas, in the reign of Henry VII in the palace of Weſtminſter. It is in the year 1489. "Thi criſtmas I ſaw no diſguyſings, and but *right few* Plays. But the

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[1] Comp. J. Cooke, Proviſoris Magnæ Garderob. *ab ann.* 21 Edw. [III.] *ad an* 23. Memb. ix.

[2] I do not perfectly underſtand the Latin original in the place, viz. "xii *Creſtes* cum tibiis reverſatis et calceatis, xiiij *Creſtes* cum montibus et cuniculis. Among the ſtuffs are "viii pelles de Roan." In the ſame wardrobe rolls, a litt above, I find this entry, which relates to the ſame feſtival. "Et ad faciendum pennecellos pro tubis et clarionibus contra Feſtum natalis domini, de ſyndon vapulatos de armis regis quartellatis." Membr. ix.

[3] Some perhaps may think, that theſe were dreſſes for a Maſque at court. If ſo Holinſhed is miſtaken in ſaying, that in the year 1512, "on the daie of Epiphani at night, the king with eleven others were diſguiſed after the manner of Ital called a maſke, *a thing not ſeen before in England.* They were apparalled in ga ments long and broad wrought all with gold, with viſors and caps of gold," & *Hiſt.* vol. iii. p. 812, a, 40. Beſides, theſe maſkings moſt probably came to th Engliſh, if from Italy, through the medium of France. Holinſhed alſo contradicts himſelf: for in another place he ſeems to allow their exiſtence under our Henry IV A. D. 1400. "The conſpirators ment upon the ſudden to have ſet upon the kin in the caſtell of Windſor, under colour of a *maſke* to *mummerie*," &c. *ibid.* p. 51 b. 50. Strype ſays there were Pageaunts exhibited in London when Queen Eleano rode through the city to her coronation, in 1236. And for the victory over th Scots by Edward I. in 1298. *Anec. Brit. Topograph.* p. 725, edit. 1768.

[4] *Comp. Magn. Garderob.* an. 14 Ric. II. f. 198. b.

was an abbot of Miſrule, that made much ſport, and did right well his office." And again, "At nyght the kynge, the qweene, and my ladye the kynges moder, cam into the Whitehall, and ther hard a Play."[1]

As to the religious dramas, it was cuſtomary to perform this ſpecies of play on holy feſtivals in or about the churches. In the regiſter of William of Wykeham, biſhop of Wincheſter, under the year 1384, an epiſcopal injunction is recited, againſt the exhibition of *Spectacula* in the cemetery of his cathedral.[2] Whether or no theſe were dramatic *Spectacles*, I do not pretend to decide.[3] In ſeveral of our old ſcriptural plays, we ſee ſome of the ſcenes directed to be repreſented *cum cantu et organis*, a common rubric in the miſſal. That is, becauſe they were performed in a church where the choir aſſiſted. There is a curious paſſage in Lambarde's *Topographical Dictionary* written about 1570, much to our purpoſe, and which I am therefore tempted to tranſcribe:[4]—"In the Dayes of ceremonial religion, they uſed at *Wytney* (in Oxfordſhire) to ſet foorthe yearly in maner of a Shew, or Enterlude, the Reſurrection of our Lord, &c. For the which Purpoſe, and the more lyvely thearby to exhibite to the Eye the hole Action of the Reſurrection, the Prieſtes garniſhed out certain ſmalle Puppets, repreſentinge the Parſons of *Chriſte*, the Watchmen, *Marie*, and others; amongeſt the which, one bare the Parte of a wakinge Watcheman, who (eſpiinge *Chriſt* to ariſe) made a continual Noyce, like to the Sound that is cauſed by the Metinge of two Styckes, and was therof comonly called *Jack Snacker of Wytney*. The like Toye I my ſelfe (beinge then a Childe,) once ſaw in *Poules* Churche at *London*, at a Feaſt of *Whitſuntyde*; wheare the comynge downe of the *Holy Goſt* was ſet forthe by a white Pigion, that was let to fly out of a Hole, that yet is to be ſene in the mydſt of the Roofe of the great Ile, and by a longe Cenſer, which deſcendinge out of the ſame Place almoſt to the verie Grounde, was ſwinged up and downe at ſuche a Lengthe, that it reached with thone Swepe almoſt to the Weſt Gate of the Churche, and with the

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[1] Leland, *Coll.* iii. *Append.* p. 256, edit, 1770.

[2] *Regiſtr.* lib. iii. f. 88. "Canere Cantilenas, ludibriorum *ſpectacula* facere, ſaltationes et alios ludos inhoneſtos frequentare, choreas," &c. So in Statut. Eccles. Nannett. A. D. 1405. No "mimi vel joculatores, ad *monſtra larvarum* in eccleſia et cemeterio," are permitted. Marten. *Theſaur. Anecd.* iv. p. 993. And again, 'Joculatores, hiſtriones, ſaltatrices, in eccleſia, cemeterio, vel porticu.—nec aliquæ choreæ." Statut. *Synod Eccles. Leod.* A.D. 1287, *apud* Marten. *ut ſupr.* 846. Fonenelle ſays, that anciently among the French, comedies were acted after divine ſervice in the church-yard. "Au ſortir du ſermon ces bonnes gens alloient a la Comedie, c'eſt a dire, qu'ils changeoint de Sermon."—*Hiſt. Theatr.* ut ſupr. p. 24. But theſe were ſcriptural comedies, and they were conſtantly preceded by a Benedicite, by way of prologue. The French ſtage will occur again below.

[3] ["Had he (Warton) ſeen the paſſage in the *Manuel de Peché*, where *Miracles* are expreſſly called *Spectacles*, his doubt (as to the nature of theſe *Spectacula*) would have been removed. The author of the French original is very particular in relating to what performances he refers."—*Collier.*]

[4] 1730, 459. [Warton's tranſcript was full of errors in the orthography, although he muſt have copied from the ed. of 1730.]

other to the Quyre Staires of the ſame; breathinge out over the whole Churche and Companie a moſt pleaſant Perfume of ſuch ſwete Thinges as burned thearin; withe the like doome Shewes alſo, they uſed every whear to furniſhe ſondrye Partes of their Churche Service, as by their Spectacles of the Nativitie, Paſſion, and Aſcenſion" &c.

This practice of acting plays in churches, had at laſt grown to ſuch an enormity, and was attended with ſuch inconvenient conſequences, that in the reign of Henry VIII., Bonner, biſhop of London, iſſued a proclamation to the clergy of his dioceſe, dated 1542, prohibiting "all maner of common plays, games, or interludes to be played, ſet forth, or declared, within their churches, chapels," &c.[1] This faſhion ſeems to have remained even after the Reformation, and when perhaps profane ſtories had taken place of religious.[2] Archbiſhop Grindal, in the year 1563, remonſtrated againſt the danger of interludes: complaining that players "did, eſpecially on holy days, ſet up bills inviting to their play."[3] From this eccleſiaſtical ſource of the modern drama, plays continued to be acted on Sundays ſo late as the reign of Elizabeth, and even till that of Charles I., by the choriſters or ſinging-boys of Saint Paul's Cathedral in London, and of the royal chapel.

It is certain that theſe *Miracle-plays* were the earlieſt of our dramatic exhibitions. But as theſe pieces frequently required the introduction of allegorical characters, ſuch as Charity, Sin, Death, Hope, Faith, or the like, and as the common poetry of the times, eſpecially among the French, began to deal much in allegory, at length plays were formed entirely conſiſting of ſuch perſonifications. Theſe were called *Moralities*. The miracle-plays, or *Myſteries*, were totally deſtitute of invention or plan: they tamely repreſented ſtories according to the letter of ſcripture, or the reſpective legend. But the Moralities indicate dawnings of the dramatic art; they contain ſome rudiments of a plot, and even attempt to delineate characters, and to paint manners. Hence the gradual tranſition to real hiſtorical perſonages was natural and obvious. It may be alſo obſerved, that many licentious pleaſantries were ſometimes introduced in theſe religious repreſentations. This might imperceptibly lead the way to ſubjects entirely profane and to comedy, and perhaps earlier than is imagined. In a Myſtery[4] of the *Maſſacre of the Holy Innocents*, part of the ſubject of a ſacred drama given by the Engliſh fathers at the famous council of Conſtance in the year 1417,[5] a

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[1] Burnet, *Hiſt. Ref.* i. Coll. Rec. p. 225.

[2] From a puritanical pamphlet entitled *The [ſecond and] third Blaſt of Retrait from Plaies*, &c. 1580, p. 77 [*Engliſh Drama & Stage*, 1869, p. 134.] Where the author ſays, the players are "permitted to publiſh their mamettree in euerie Temple of God, and that through England," &c. This abuſe of acting plays in churches is mentioned in the canon of James I., which forbids alſo the profanation of churches by court-leets, &c. The canons were given in the year 1603.

[3] Strype's *Grindal*, p. 82.

[4] [Ancient Myſteries from the Digby MSS., 1835.]

[5] L'Enfant, ii. 440.

low buffoon of Herod's court is introduced, deſiring of his lord to be dubbed a knight, that he might be properly qualified to *go on the adventure* of killing the mothers of the children of Bethlehem. This tragical buſineſs is treated with the moſt ridiculous levity. The good women of Bethlehem attack our knight-errant with their ſpinning-wheels, break his head with their diſtaffs, abuſe him as a coward and a diſgrace to chivalry, and ſend him home to Herod as a recreant champion with much ignominy. It is in an enlightened age only that ſubjects of ſcripture hiſtory would be ſupported with proper dignity. But then an enlightened age would not have choſen ſuch ſubjects for theatrical exhibition.[1] It is certain that our anceſtors intended no ſort of impiety by theſe monſtrous and unnatural mixtures. Neither the writers nor the ſpectators ſaw the impropriety, nor paid a ſeparate attention to the comic and ſerious part of theſe motley ſcenes; at leaſt they were perſuaded that the ſolemnity of the ſubject covered or excuſed all incongruities. They had no juſt idea of decorum, conſequently but little ſenſe of the ridiculous: what appears to us to be the higheſt burleſque, on them would have made no ſort of impreſſion. We muſt not wonder at this, in an age when courage, devotion, and ignorance compoſed the character of European manners; when the knight, going to a tournament, firſt invoked his God, then his miſtreſs, and afterwards proceeded with a ſafe conſcience and great reſolution to engage his antagoniſt. In theſe Myſteries I have ſometimes ſeen groſs and open obſcenities. In a play of *the Old and New Teſtament*,[2] Adam and

[1] [Even what may be called *the vices* of literature have their favourable ſide; for, if in our early drama from the Myſteries downward, there had not been the uncouth vernacular diction, the groſs anachroniſms, the ribaldry, and the totally unartiſtic conſtruction, which we ſee, thoſe remains would never have poſſeſſed the intereſt in our eyes, which under the circumſtances they have, as ſtorehouſes of information upon many points connected with ancient manners and opinions.]

[2] MSS. Harl. 2013, &c. Exhibited at Cheſter in the year 1327, at the expenſe of the different trading companies of the city. *The Fall of Lucifer* by the Tanners. *The Creation* by the Drapers. *The Deluge* by the Dyers. *Abraham, Melchiſedech*, and *Lot* by the Barbers. *Moſes, Balak*, and *Balaam* by the Cappers. *The Salutation* and *Nativity* by the Wrightes. *The Shepherds feeding their flocks by night* by the Painters and Glaziers. *The three Kings* by the Vintners. *The Oblation of the three Kings* by the Mercers. *The Killing of the Innocents* by the Goldſmiths. *The Purification* by the Blackſmiths. *The Temptation* by the Butchers. *The laſt Supper* by the Bakers. *The Blindmen and Lazarus* by the Glovers. *Jeſus and the Lepers* by the Corveſarys. *Chriſt's Paſſion* by the Bowyers, Fletchers, and Ironmongers. *Deſcent into Hell* by the Cooks and Innkeepers. *The Reſurrection* by the Skinners. *The Aſcenſion* by the Taylors. *The election of S. Mathias, Sending of the holy ghoſt, &c.* by the Fiſhmongers. *Antechriſt* by the Clothiers. *Day of Judgment* by the Webſters. The reader will perhaps ſmile at ſome of theſe combinations. This is the ſubſtance and order of the former part of the play:—God enters creating the world: he breathes life into Adam, leads him into Paradiſe, and opens his ſide while ſleeping. Adam and Eve appear naked and *not aſhamed*, and the old ſerpent enters lamenting his fall. He converſes with Eve. She eats of the forbidden fruit and gives part to Adam. They propoſe, according to the ſtage-direction, to make themſelves *ſubligacula a foliis quibus tegamus Pudenda.* Cover their nakedneſs with leaves, and converſe with God. God's curſe. The ſerpent *exit* hiſſing. They are driven from Paradiſe by four angels and the cherubim with a flaming ſword. Adam appears digging the ground, and Eve ſpinning.

Eve are both exhibited on the ſtage naked, and converſing about their nakedneſs: this very pertinently introduces the next ſcene, in which they have coverings of fig-leaves. This extraordinary ſpectacle was beheld [at Cheſter] by a numerous aſſembly of both ſexes with great compoſure: they had the authority of ſcripture for ſuch a repreſentation, and they gave matters juſt as they found them in the third chapter of Geneſis. It would have been abſolute hereſy to have departed from the ſacred text in perſonating the primitive appearance of our firſt parents, whom the ſpectators ſo nearly reſembled in ſimplicity: and if this had not been the caſe, the dramatiſts were ignorant what to reject and what to retain.

[" The original date and the authorſhip of the Cheſter plays," ſays Mr. Wright, " have been ſubjects of conſiderable diſcuſſion. My own impreſſion, from the phraſeology and forms of words, which may frequently be diſcovered in the blunders of the modern ſcribes, is that the original manuſcript from which they copied was of the earlier part of the fifteenth or of the end of the fourteenth century." The tranſcript from which the edition ſuperintended by Mr. Wright is printed, appears to have been made late in the reign of Elizabeth.[1] Beſides the Coventry and Cheſter ſeries, and the other miſcellaneous productions of the ſame claſs in the Digby and other MSS., there were the York and Towneley or Widkirk Myſteries. The former, in fact, have had a moſt unfortunate deſtiny in being ſecreted by ſucceſſive owners. It is to be regretted that they were not ſecured, when they occurred for ſale about twenty years ago, for the national library, ſince only one of the York ſeries, the Scriveners' Play, exiſts in a duplicate copy. The Towneley plays, however, which are alſo known only in one MS. (and that not entirely perfect), have been publiſhed.][2]

In the meantime, profane dramas ſeem to have been known in France at a much earlier period.[3] Du Cange gives the following

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Their children Cain and Abel enter: The former kills his brother. Adam's lamentation. Cain is baniſhed, &c.

[The *Cheſter Myſteries* have been publiſhed entire by T. Wright, Eſq., 2 vols. 8vo. 1843-7. Mr. Wright obſerves: " The traditions adopted or imagined by ſome old Cheſter antiquaries, which carried the compoſition of theſe plays ſo far back as the mayoralty of John Arneway (1268 to 1270), and the ſuppoſition of Warton that they were the productions of Ralph Higden the chronicler, appear to me too improbable to deſerve our ſerious conſideration, unleſs they were founded on more authentic ſtatements, or on more ſubſtantial arguments."]

[1] [Mr. Whitley Stoke edited for the Philological Society (1860-1) *The Play of the Sacrament*, which he terms a middle-Engliſh " drama." A pageant called *The Salutation of Gabriel*, was exhibited at Edinburgh in 1503, at the nuptials of James IV. and the Princeſs Margaret.]

[2] [By the Surtees Society, 1836, 8vo.]

[3] At Conſtantinople it ſeems that the ſtage flouriſhed much under Juſtinian and Theodora, about the year 540. For in the Baſilical codes we have the oath of an actreſs μη αναχωρειν της πορνειας. Tom. vii. p. 682, edit. Fabrot. Græco-Lat. The ancient Greek fathers, particularly Saint Chryſoſtom, are full of declamation againſt the drama, and complain that the people heard a comedian with much more pleaſure than a preacher of the Goſpel.

picture of the king of France dining in public before the year 1300. During this ceremony, a ſort of farces or drolls ſeems to have been exhibited. All the great officers of the crown and the houſehold, ſays he, were preſent. The company was entertained with inſtrumental muſic of the minſtrels, who played on the kettle-drum, the flageolet,[1] the cornet, the Latin cittern, the Bohemian flute, the trumpet, the Mooriſh cittern, and the fiddle. Beſides there were "des FARCEURS, des jougleurs, et des plaiſantins, qui divertiſſeoient les compagnies par leur faceties et par leur COMEDIES, pour l'entretien." He adds, that many noble families in France were entirely ruined by the prodigious expenſes laviſhed on thoſe performers.[2] The annals of France very early mention buffoons among the minſtrels at theſe ſolemnities; and more particularly that Louis le Debonnaire, who reigned about the year 830, never laughed aloud, not even when, at the moſt magnificent feſtivals, players, buffoons, minſtrels, ſingers, and harpers, attended his table.[3] In ſome conſtitutions given to a cathedral church in France, in the year 1280, the following clauſe occurs: "Nullus SPECTACULIS aliquibus quæ aut in *Nuptiis* aut in *Scenis* exhibentur, interſit."[4] Where, by the way, the word *Scenis* ſeems to imply ſomewhat of a profeſſed ſtage, although the eſtabliſhment of the firſt French theatre is dated not before the year 1398.[5] The play of *Robin and Marian* is ſaid to

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[1] I believe, a ſort of pipe. This is the French word, viz. Demy-canon. See Carpent. Du Cange, *Gl. Lat.* i. p. 760.

[2] *Diſſertat. Joinv.* p. 161. [3] *Ibid.*

[4] Montfauc. *Cat. Manuſcrip.* p. 1158. See alſo Marten. *Theſaur. Anecd.* tom. iv. p. 506. *Stat. Synod.* A. D. 1468. "Larvaria ad Nuptias," &c. Stow, in his *Survey of London*, mentions the practice of acting plays [maſques] at weddings.

[5] [A modern French antiquary (M. Roquefort) has claimed a much higher antiquity for the eſtabliſhment or rather origin of the French ſtage; though upon principles, it muſt be allowed, which have a decided tendency to confound all diſtinctions between the ſeveral kinds of poetic compoſition. The beautiful tale of Aucaſſin and Nicolette is the corner-ſtone upon which this theory repoſes, and as the narrative is interſperſed with ſong, ſeems to have induced a belief, that the recitations were made by a ſingle Trouvere, and the poetry chaunted by a band of attendant minſtrels. Admitting this to be the caſe—yet for it no authority is offered—the approximation to dramatic compoſition is as remote as when left in the hands of a ſolitary declaimer. Upon this ground every ballad or romantic tale, which is known to have been accompanied by muſic and the voice, might be ſtyled "a monument of theatric art;" and by analogy the rhapſodiſts of Greece, who ſang the *Iliad* at the public games, might be ſaid to have "enacted the plays" of Homer. Nor is the argument in favour of the *Jeux-partis* or ſuch fabliaux as the *deux Bordeors ribauds*, in any degree more admiſſible. In all theſe pieces there is nothing more than a ſimple interchange of opinion, whether argumentative or vituperative, without pretenſion to incident, fable, or development of character. Indeed, if a multiplicity of interlocutors would alone conſtitute a drama, the claim of Wolfram von Eſchenbach to be the founder of the German ſtage (as ſome of his countrymen have maintained) would be undeniable. In his *Krieg auf Wartburg*, a ſingular monument of early (1207) improviſatorial ſkill, the declaimers in the firſt part are ſix and in the ſecond three Maſter or Minne-ſingers. But this poem, like the *Tenſons* of the Troubadours, is a mere trial of poetical ingenuity, and bears a ſtrong reſemblance both in matter and manner to the *Torneyamens* of the ſame writers. That it was not conſidered a play in earlier

have been performed by the ſchoolboys of Angiers, according to annual cuſtom, in the year 1392.[1] A royal-carouſal given by Charles V. of France to the emperor Charles IV. in the year 1378, was cloſed with the theatrical repreſentation of the *Conqueſt of Jeruſalem by Godfrey of Bulloign*, which was exhibited in the hall of the royal palace.[2] This indeed was a ſubject of a religious tendency; but not long afterwards, in the year 1395, perhaps before, the intereſting ſtory of *Patient Griſel* appears to have been acted at Paris. This piece ſtill remains, and is entitled *Le Myſtere de Griſildis marquiſe de Saluce*.[3] For all dramatic pieces were indiſcriminately called *Myſteries*, whether a martyr or a heathen god, whether Saint Catharine or Hercules was the ſubject.

In France the religious *Myſteries*, often called *Piteaux*, or *Pitoux*, were certainly very faſhionable and of high antiquity: yet from any written evidence I do not find them more ancient than thoſe of the Engliſh. In the year 1384, the inhabitants of the village of Aunay, on the Sunday after the feaſt of Saint John, played the *Miracle* of Theophilus, "ou quel Jeu avoit un perſonnage de un qui devoit getter d'un canon."[4] In the year 1398, ſome citizens of Paris met

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times, is clear from an illumination publiſhed by Docen, where the actors in this celebrated conteſt are repreſented ſeated and ſinging together, and above them is this deciſive inſcription: "Hie krieget mit ſange, Herr walther von der vogilweide," &c. *Here batailleth in ſong*, &c. However, ſhould this theory obtain, Solomon, biſhop of Conſtance in the tenth century, will perhaps rank as the earlieſt dramatiſt at preſent known: Metro primus et coram Regibus plerumque pro ludicro *cum aliis certator*. Ekkehardus *de Caſibus S. Galli*, p. 49.—*Price.*]

[1] The boys were *deguiſiez*, ſays the old French record: and they had among them *un Fillette deſguiſeè*. Carpent. *ubi ſupr.* v. *Robinet Pentecoſte*. Our old character of *Mayd Marian* may be hence illuſtrated. It ſeems to have been an early faſhion in France for ſchoolboys to preſent theſe ſhews or plays. In an ancient MS. under the year 1477, there is mentioned "Certaine MORALITE, ou FARÇE, que les eſcolliers de Pontoiſe avoit fait, *ainſi qu'il eſt de couſtume*." Carpent. *ubi ſupr.* v. *Moralitas*. The *Myſtery of the old and new Teſtament* is ſaid to have been repreſented in 1424 by the boys of Paris placed like ſtatues againſt a wall, without ſpeech or motion, at the entry of the duke of Bedford, regent of France. See J. de Paris, p. 101. And Sauval, *Ant. de Paris*, ii. 101. [*Le Jeu de Robin et de Marion*, the piece alluded to in the text, has been analyſed by M. le Grand in the ſecond volume of his *Fabliaux et Contes*. It is there called *Le Jeu du Berger et de la Bergere*, and by him attributed to Adan de la Hale, nicknamed le Boçu d'Arras. In this he is followed by M. Meon, the editor of Barbazan's *Fabliaux*, who alſo aſcribes to the ſame author a play called *Le Jeu du Mariage*. M. Roquefort catalogues *Robin et Marion* among the works of Jehan Bodel d'Arras, the author of three plays called *Le Jeu de Pelerin*, *Le Jeu d'Adam ou de la Feuillée*, *Le Jeu de St. Nicholas;* and a myſtery called *Le Miracle de Theophile*. This latter may be the ſame referred to below. Adan de la Hale appears to have lived in the early part of the thirteenth century (Roquefort, p. 103), and Jehan Bodel during the reign of Saint Louis (1226-70). Theſe perhaps are the earlieſt ſpecimens extant of anything reſembling dramatic compoſition in the French language.—*Price.*]

[2] Felib. tom. ii. p. 681. [The thirteenth century romance (on this ſubject) was publiſhed by M. Hippeau of Caen; Paris, 1868, 8vo.—F.]

[3] [Printed at Paris about 1550, 4to, 20 leaves. See Brunet, *dern.* edit. iii. 1968-9.]

[4] Carpentier, Suppl. Du Cange, *Lat. Gl.* v. *Ludus*. [The ſtory of a man who ſold himſelf to the devil, and was redeemed by the virgin to whom he had recom-

at Saint Maur to play the *Paſſion of Chriſt.* The magiſtrates of Paris, alarmed at this novelty, publiſhed an ordonnance, prohibiting them to repreſent "aucuns jeux de perſonages ſoit de vie de ſaints ou autrement," without the royal licence, which was ſoon afterwards obtained.[1] In the year 1486, at Anjou, ten pounds were paid towards ſupporting the charges of acting the *Paſſion of Chriſt*, which was repreſented by maſks, and, as I ſuppoſe, by perſons hired for the purpoſe.[2] The chaplains of Abbeville, in the year 1455, gave four pounds and ten ſhillings to the players of the Paſſion;[3] [and at Angiers, about the ſame period, Jean Michel's very curious *miſtere de la paſſion ieſu Criſt* was performed; it was ſubſequently exhibited at Paris in 1507; and the old editions of it are tolerably numerous]. But the French *Myſteries* were chiefly performed by the religious communities, and ſome of their Fetes almoſt entirely conſiſted of a dramatic or perſonated ſhew. At the *Feaſt of Aſſes*, inſtituted in [commemoration of the Flight into Egypt,] the clergy walked on Chriſtmas-day in proceſſion, habited to repreſent the prophets and others. Moſes appeared in an alb and cope, with a long beard and rod. David had a green veſtment. Balaam with an immenſe pair of ſpurs, rode on a wooden aſs, which incloſed a ſpeaker. There were alſo ſix Jews and ſix Gentiles. Among other characters the poet Virgil was introduced as a gentile prophet and a tranſlator of the Sibylline oracles. They thus moved in proceſſion, chanting verſicles, and converſing in character on the nativity and kingdom of Chriſt, through the body of the church, till they came into the choir. Virgil ſpeaks ſome Latin hexameters during the ceremony, not out of his fourth eclogue, but wretched monkiſh lines in rhyme. This feaſt was, I believe, early ſuppreſſed. In the year 1445, Charles VII. of France ordered the maſters in theology at Paris to forbid the miniſters of the collegiate[4] churches to celebrate at Chriſtmas the

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mended himſelf, occurs in a collection of miracles put in verſe by Guatier de Quenſi, a French poet of the thirteenth century, from whoſe work and others of the ſame kind an abridgment was printed at Paris in the beginning of the ſixteenth century. This was made by Jean le Comte, a friar minor. Quenſi's work is among the Harl. MSS. No. 4400.—*Douce.* It is alſo the legend of the *Knyght and his Wyfe* (*Rem. of the Early Pop. P. of Engl.* i. 16, *et ſeqq.* and Brunet, *ut ſupr.* 1979).]

[1] Beauchamps, *ut ſupr.* p. 90. This was the firſt theatre of the French: the actors were incorporated by the king, under the title of the *Fraternity of the Paſſion of our Saviour.* Beauch. *ibid.* See above, ſect. ii. The *Jeu de perſonages* was a very common play of the young boys in the larger towns, &c. Carpentier, *ut ſupr.* v. *Perſonagium*, and *Ludus Perſonag.* [But almoſt all the old French miracle-plays purport to have been *jeux de perſonnages.*] At Cambray mention is made of the ſhew of a boy *larvatus cum maza in collo* with drums, &c. Carpent. *ibid.* v. *Kalendæ Januar.*

[2] "Decem libr. ex parte nationis, ad onera ſupportanda hujus Miſterii." Carpent. *ut ſupr.* v. *Perſonagium.*

[3] [Brunet, *ut ſupr.* 1971.] Carpent. *ut ſupr.* v. *Ludus.* He adds, from an ancient Computus, that three ſhillings were paid by the miniſters of a church, in the year 1537, for parchment for writing *Ludus Reſurrectionis Domini.*

[4] Marten. *Anecd.* tom. i. col. 1804. See alſo Belet. *De Divin. Offic.* cap. 72. And Guſſanvill. *poſt. Not. ad Petr. Bleſens.* Felibien confounds *La Fete de Fous et la*

Feaſt of Fools in their churches, where the clergy danced in maſques and antic dreſſes, and exhibited "plusieurs mocqueries ſpectacles publics, de leur corps deguiſements, farces, rigmereis," with various enormities ſhocking to decency. In France as well as England it was cuſtomary to celebrate the feaſt of the boy-biſhop. In all the collegiate churches of both nations, about the feaſt of St. Nicholas,[1] or the Holy Innocents, one of the children of the choir, completely apparelled in the epiſcopal veſtments, with a mitre and croſier, bore the title and ſtate of biſhop, and exacted canonical obedience from his fellows, who were dreſſed like prieſts. They took poſſeſſion of the church, and performed all the ceremonies and offices,[2] the maſs excepted, which might have been celebrated by the biſhop and his prebendaries.[3] In the ſtatutes of the archiepiſcopal cathedral of Tulles, given in the year 1497, it is ſaid, that during the celebration of the feſtival of the boy-biſhop, "Moralities were preſented, and ſhews of Miracles, with farces and other ſports, but compatible with

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Fete de Sotiſe. The latter was an entertainment of dancing called *Les Saultes*, and thence corrupted into *Soties* or *Sotiſe*. See *Mem. Acad. Inſcript.* xvii, 225, 226, and Probat. *Hiſt. Antiſſiodor.* p. 310. Again, the *Feaſt of Fools* ſeems to be pointed at in Statut. Senonens. A.D. 1445. Inſtr. tom. xii. *Gall. Chriſtian.* Coll. 96. "Tempore divini ſervitii larvatos et monſtruoſos vultus deferendo, cum veſtibus mulierum, aut lenonum, aut hiſtrionum, choreas in eccleſia et choro ejus ducendo," &c. With the moſt immodeſt ſpectacles. The nuns of ſome French convents are ſaid to have had *Ludibria* on Saint Mary Magdalene's and other feſtivals, when they wore the habits of ſeculars, and danced with them. Carpent. *ubi ſupr.* v. *Kalendæ.* There was the office of the *Rex Stultorum* in Beverley church, prohibited 1391. Dugd. *Mon.* iii. Append. 7. [In the Conſtitutions of Robert Groſſeteſte, biſhop of Lincoln, is the following prohibition: "Execrabilem etiam conſuetudinem quæ conſuevit in quibuſdam eccleſiis obſervari de faciendo Feſto Stultorum ſpeciali authoritate reſcripti Apoſtolici penitus inhibemus; ne de domo orationis fiat domus ludibrii," &c. See Brown *Faſcicul. rerum expetendarum*, ii. 412. And in his 32nd Letter, printed in the ſame collection, ii. 331, after reciting that the houſe of God is not to be turned into a houſe of buffoonery, &c. he adds: "Quapropter vobis mandamus in virtute obedientiæ firmiter injungentes, quatenus Feſtum Stultorum, cum ſit vanitate plenum et voluptatibus ſpurcum, Deo odibile et dæmonibus amabile, de cætero in eccleſia Lincoln. die venerandæ ſolennitatis circumciſionis Domini nullatenus permittatis fieri."—*Douce.*]

[1] [This feaſt was probably celebrated on St. Nicholas's day, on account of his being the patron ſaint of children. See his legend, printed at Naples, 1645, 4to.—*Douce.* See alſo *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, by Hazlitt, i. 232-40.]

[2] In the ſtatutes of Eton College, given 1441, the *Epiſcopus Puerorum* is ordered to perform divine ſervice on Saint Nicholas's day. Rubr. xxxi. In the ſtatutes of Wincheſter College, given 1380, *Pueri*, that is, the boy-biſhop and his fellows, are permitted on Innocents'-day to execute all the ſacred offices in the chapel, according to the uſe of the church of Sarum. Rubr. xxix. This ſtrange piece of religious mockery flouriſhed greatly in Saliſbury cathedral. In the old ſtatutes of that church there is a chapter De Epiſcopo Choriſtarum: and their Proceſſionale gives a long and minute account of the whole ceremony, edit. 1555.

[3] This ceremony was aboliſhed by a proclamation, no later than 33 Hen. VIII. MSS. Cott. Tit. B 1, f. 208. In the inventory of the treaſury of York cathedral, taken in 1530, we have "Item una mitra parva cum petris pro epiſcopo puerorum," &c. Dugd. *Monaſt.* iii. 169, 170. See alſo 313, 314, 177, 279. See alſo Dugd. *Hiſt. S. Paul's*, pp. 205, 206, where he is called Epiſcopus Parvulorum, And Anſtis *Ord. Gart.* ii. 309, where, inſtead of Nihilenſis, read Nicolenſis, or Nicolatenſis.

decorum. After dinner they exhibited, without their maſks, but in proper dreſſes, ſuch farces as they were maſters of, in different parts of the city."[1] It is probable that the ſame entertainments attended the ſolemniſation of this ridiculous feſtival in England:[2] and from this ſuppoſition ſome critics may be inclined to deduce the practice of our plays being acted by the choir-boys of St. Paul's church and the chapel royal, which continued, as I before obſerved, till Cromwell's uſurpation. The Engliſh and French ſtages mutually throw light on each other's hiſtory. But perhaps it will be thought, that in ſome of theſe inſtances I have exemplified in nothing more than farcical and geſticulatory repreſentations. Yet even theſe traces ſhould be attended to. In the meantime we may obſerve upon the whole, that the modern drama had no foundation in our religion, and that it was raiſed and ſupported by the clergy. The truth is, the members of the eccleſiaſtical ſocieties were almoſt the only perſons who could read, and their numbers eaſily furniſhed performers: they abounded in leiſure, and their very relaxations were religious.

I did not mean to touch upon the Italian ſtage. But as ſo able a judge as Riccoboni ſeems to allow that Italy derived her theatre from thoſe of France and England, by way of an additional illuſtration of the antiquity of the two laſt, I will here produce one or two Miracle-Plays, acted much earlier in Italy than any piece mentioned by that ingenious writer or by Creſcimbeni. In the year 1298, on "the feaſt of Pentecoſt, and the two following holidays, the repreſentation of the *Play of Chriſt*, that is, of his paſſion, reſurrection, aſcenſion, judgment, and the miſſion of the holy ghoſt, was performed by the clergy of Civita Vecchia, 'in curia domini patriarchæ Auſtriæ civitatis honorifice et laudabiliter.'"[3] And again, "In 1304, the chapter of Civita Vecchia exhibited a play of the creation

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[1] *Statut. Eccles. Tullens.* apud Carpent. *Suppl. Lat. Gl. Du Cang.* v. *Kalendæ.*

[2] It appears that in England the boy-biſhop with his companions went about to different parts of the town; at leaſt viſited the other religious houſes. As in *Rot. Comp. Coll. Winton.* A. D. 1461. "In Dat. epiſcopo Nicolatenſi." This I ſuppoſe was one of the children of the choir of the neighbouring cathedral. In the ſtatutes of the collegiate church of S. Mary Ottery, founded by Biſhop Grandiſon in 1337, there is this paſſage: "Item ſtatuimus, quod nullus canonicus, vicarius, vel ſecundarius, pueros choriſtas in feſto ſanctorum Innocentium extra Parochiam de Otery trahant, aut eis licentiam vagandi concedant."—cap. 50, *MS. Regiſtr. Priorat. S. Swithin. Winton.* quat. 9. In the wardrobe-rolls of Edward III. an. 12, we have this entry, which ſhews that our mock-biſhop and his chapter ſometimes exceeded their adopted clerical commiſſion, and exerciſed the arts of ſecular entertainment. "Epiſcopo puerorum eccleſiæ de Andeworp cantanti coram domino rege in camera ſua in feſto ſanctorum Innocentium, de dono ipſius dom. regis. xiii *s.* vi *d.*"

[3] *Chron. Forojul.* in Append. ad *Monum. Eccl. Aquilej.* p. 30, col. 1. [An earlier record of the exhibition of theſe miracle-plays in Italy will be found in the *Catalogo de' Podeſte di Padova*: "In queſt anno (1243) fu fatta la rappreſentazion della Paſſione e Reſurreccione di Chriſto nel Pra della Valle." Muratori, *Script. Rer. Ital* v. 8, p. 365.—The chief object of the Compagna del Confalone inſtituted at Rome in the year 1264, was to repreſent the Myſteries, "della Paſſione del Redentore." Tiraboſchi, vol. iv. p. 343.—*Price.*]

of our firſt parents, the annunciation of the Virgin Mary, the birth of Chriſt, and other paſſages of ſacred ſcripture." [1] In the mean time, thoſe critics, who contend for the high antiquity of the Italian ſtage, may adopt theſe inſtances as new proofs in defence of that hypotheſis.

This ſhow of the Boy-bishop, not ſo much for its ſuperſtition as its levity and abſurdity, had been formerly abrogated by King Henry VIII. fourteen years before, in the year 1542, as appears by a "Proclamation deuiſed by the Kings Maieſty by the advys of his Highneſs Counſel the xxii day of Julie, 33 Hen. viij, commanding the Feaſts of ſaint Luke, ſaint Mark, ſaint Marie Magdalene, Inuention of the Croſſe, and ſaint Laurence, which had been abrogated, ſhould be nowe againe celebrated and kept holie days," of which the following is the concluding clauſe. "And where as heretofore dyuers and many ſuperſtitious and chyldyſh obſeruances have be vſed, and yet to this day are obſerued and kept, in many and ſundry partes of this realm, as vpon ſaint Nicholas,[2] ſaint Catharine,[3] ſaint Clement,[4] the holie Innocents, and ſuch like,[5] Children [boys]

[1] *Ibid.* p. 30, col. 1. It is extraordinary that the Miracle-plays, even in the churches, ſhould not ceaſe in Italy till the year 1660.

[2] In Barnaby Googe's *Popiſh Kingdom*, 1570, a tranſlation from Naogeorgus's *Regnum Antichriſti*, fol. 55:—

"Saint Nicholas monie vſde to give to maydens ſecretlie,
Who that be ſtill may vſe his wonted liberalitie:
The mother all their children on the Eeve do cauſe to faſt,
And when they euerie one at night in ſenſeleſſe ſleepe are caſt,
Both apples, nuts and payres they bring, and other thinges beſide,
As cappes, and ſhoes, and petticoates, wich ſecretly they hide,
And in the morning found, they ſay, that 'this Saint Nicholas brought,'" &c.

I have already given traces of this practice in the colleges of Winchester and Eton. To which I here add another. *Regiſtr. Coll. Wint. ſub ann.* 1427. "Crux deaurata de cupro [copper] cum Baculo, pro Epiſcopo puerorum." But it appears that the practice ſubſiſted in common grammar-ſchools. "Hoc anno, 1464, in feſto ſancti Nicolai non erat Epiſcopus Puerorum in ſchola grammaticali in civitate Cantuariæ ex defectu Magiſtrorum, viz. J. Sidney et T. Hikſon," &c. *Lib. Johannis Stone, Monachi Eccles. Cant.* ſc. *De Obitibus et aliis Memorabilibus ſui cœnobii ab anno* 1415, *ad annum* 1467. MS. C.C.C.C.Q. 8. The abuſes of this cuſtom in Wells Cathedral are mentioned ſo early as Decemb. 1. 1298. *Regiſtr. Eccl. Wellens.*

[3] The reader will recollect the old play of Saint Catharine, *Ludus Catharinæ*, exhibited at Saint Albans Abbey in 1160. Strype ſays, in 1556, "On Saint Katharines day, at ſix of the clock at night, S. Katharine went about the battlements of S. Paul's church accompanied with fine ſinging and great lights. This was ſaint Katharine's Proceſſion." *Eccl. Mem.* iii. 309. ch. xxxix. Again, her proceſſion in 1553 is celebrated with five hundred great lights, round Saint Paul's ſteeple, &c. *Ibid.* p. 51. ch. v. And p. 57. ch. v.

[4] Among the church-proceſſions revived by Queen Mary, that of S. Clement's church, in honour of this ſaint, was by far the moſt ſplendid of any in London. Their proceſſion to Saint Paul's in 1557 "was made very pompous with fourſcore banners and ſtreamers, and the waits of the city playing, and threeſcore prieſts and clarkes in copes. And divers of the Inns of Court were there, who went next the prieſts," &c. Strype, *ubi ſupr.* iii. 337, ch. xlix.

[5] In the Synodus Carnotenſis, under the year 1526, it is ordered, "In feſto ſancti Nicholai, Catharinæ, Innocentium, aut alio quovis die, prætextu recreationis, ne Scholaſtici, Clerici, Sacerdoteſve, ſtultum aliquod aut ridiculum faciant in

be ſtrangelie decked and apparayled, to counterfeit Prieſts, Biſshopes, and Women, and ſo be ledde with Songes and Dances from houſe to houſe, bleſſing the people, and gathering of money; and Boyes do ſinge maſſe, and preache in the pulpitt, with ſuch other vnfittinge and inconuenient vſages, rather to the deryſyon than anie true glorie of God, or honor of his ſayntes: The Kynges maieſtie therefore, myndinge nothing ſo moche as to aduance the true glory of God without vain ſuperſtition, wylleth and commandeth, that from henceforth all ſvch ſvperſtitious obſeruations be left and clerely extinguiſhed throwout all this his realme and dominions, for-as moche as the ſame doth reſemble rather the vnlawfull ſuperſtition of gentilitie, than the pvre and ſincere religion of Chriſte." With reſpect to the diſguiſings of theſe young fraternities, and their proceſſions from houſe to houſe with ſinging and dancing, ſpecified in this edict, in a very mutilated fragment of a Computus, or annual Accompt-roll, of Saint Swithin's Cathedral Priory at Wincheſter, under the year 1441, a diſburſement is made to the ſinging-boys of the monaſtery, who, together with the choriſters of Saint Elizabeth's collegiate chapel near that city, were dreſſed up like girls, and exhibited their ſports before the abbeſs and nuns of Saint Mary's Abbey at Wincheſter, in the public refectory of that convent, on Innocents' day.[1] "Pro Pueris Eleemoſynariæ una cum Pueris Capellæ ſanctæ Elizabethæ, ornatis more puellarum, et ſaltantibus, cantantibus, et ludentibus, coram domina Abbatiſſa et monialibus Abbathiæ beatæ Mariæ virginis, in aula ibidem in die ſanctorum Innocentium."[2] Again, in a fragment of an Accompt of the Cellarer of Hyde Abbey at Win-

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eccleſia. Denique ab eccleſia ejiciantur veſtes fatuorum perſonas ſcenicas agentium." See Bochellus, *Decret. Eccles. Gall.* lib. iv. Tit. vii. C. 43. 44. 46. p. 586. Yet theſe ſports ſeem to have remained in France ſo late as 1585. For in the Synod of Aix, 1585, it is enjoined, "Ceſſent in die Sanctorum Innocentium ludibria omnia et pueriles ac theatrales luſus." Bochell, *ibid.* C. 45. p. 586. A Synod of Tholouſe, an. 1590, removes plays, ſpectacles, and *hiſtrionum circulationes* from churches and their cemeteries. Bochell. *ibid.* lib. iv. tit. 1. c. 98, p. 560.

[1] In the Regiſter of Wodeloke Biſhop of Wincheſter, the following is an article among the injunctions given to the nuns of the convent of Rumſey in Hampſhire, in conſequence of an epiſcopal viſitation, under the year 1310. "Item prohibemus, ne cubent in dormitorio pueri maſculi cum monialibus, vel foemellæ, nec per moniales ducantur in Chorum, dum ibidem divinum officium celebratur." fol. 134. In the ſame regiſter theſe injunctions follow in a literal French tranſlation, made for the convenience of the nuns.

[2] *MS. in Archiv. Wulves, apud Winton.* It appears to have been a practice for itinerant players to gain admittance into the nunneries, and to play Latin myſteries before the nuns. There is a curious canon of the council of Cologne, in 1549, which is to this effect. "We have been informed that certain Actors of Comedies, not content with the ſtage and theatres, have even entertained the nunneries, in order to recreate the nuns, *ubi virginibus commoveant voluptatem*, with their profane, amorous, and *ſecular* geſticulations. Which ſpectacles or plays, although they conſiſted of ſacred and pious ſubjects, can yet notwithſtanding leave little good, but on the contrary much harm, in the minds of the nuns, who behold and admire the outward geſtures of the performers, and underſtand not the words. Therefore we decree, that henceforward no plays, *Comediae*, ſhall be admitted into the convents of nuns," &c. *Sur. Concil.* tom. iv. p. 852. Binius, tom. iv. p. 765.

cheſter, under the year 1490. "In larvis et aliis indumentis Puerorum viſentium Dominum apud Wulſey, et Conſtabularium Caſtri Winton, in apparatu ſuo, necnon ſubintrantium omnia monaſteria civitatis Winton, in Feſto ſancti Nicholai."[1] That is, "In furniſhing maſks and dreſſes for the boys of the convent, when they viſited the biſhop at Wulveſey-palace, the conſtable of Wincheſter-caſtle, and all the monaſteries of the city of Wincheſter, on the feſtival of ſaint Nicholas." As to the divine ſervice being performed by children on theſe feaſts, it was not only celebrated by boys, but there is an injunction given to the Benedictine nunnery of Godſtowe in Oxfordſhire by Archbiſhop Peckham, in the year 1278, that on Innocents' day, the public prayers ſhould not any more be ſaid in the church of that monaſtery per parvulas, that is, by little girls.[2]

The ground-work of this religious mockery of the boy-biſhop, which is evidently founded on modes of barbarous life, may perhaps be traced backward at leaſt as far as the year 867.[3] At the Conſtantinopolitan ſynod under that year, at which were preſent three hundred and ſeventy-three biſhops, it was found to be a ſolemn cuſtom in the courts of princes, on certain ſtated days, to dreſs ſome layman in the epiſcopal apparel, who ſhould exactly perſonate a biſhop both in his tonſure and ornaments: as alſo to create a burleſque patriarch, who might make ſport for the company.[4] This ſcandal to the clergy was anathematized. But eccleſiaſtical ſynods and cenſures have often proved too weak to ſuppreſs popular ſpectacles, which take deep root in the public manners, and are only concealed for a while, to ſpring up afreſh with new vigour.

After the form of a legitimate ſtage had appeared in England, myſteries and miracles were alſo revived by Queen Mary, as an appendage of the papiſtic worſhip:

> En, iterum crudelia retro
> Fata vocant![5]

In the year 1556 a goodly ſtage-play of the *Paſſion of Chriſt* was

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[1] MS. *Ibid.* See *ſupr.*

[2] Harpsfield, *Hiſt. Eccl. Angl.* p. 441, edit. 1622.

[3] Or, 870. [See Mr. Strutt's *Sports and Paſtimes of the People of England.—Price.*]

[A tract explaining the origin and ceremonial of the Boy-biſhop was printed [by John Gregory] in 1649 with the following title: "*Epiſcopus puerorum in die Innocentium;* or a Diſcoverie of an ancient Cuſtom in the church of Sarum, making an anniverſarie Biſhop among the Choriſters." This tract was written in explanation of a ſtone monument ſtill remaining in Saliſbury Cathedral, repreſenting a little boy habited in epiſcopal robes, with a mitre upon his head, a croſier in his hand, &c. and the explanation was derived from a chapter in the ancient ſtatutes of that church entitled *De Epiſcopo Choriſtarum.* See a long account of the *Boy Biſhop*, in Hawkins's *Hiſtory of Muſic*, vol. ii.—*Park.* See *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* art. *Epiſcopus Puerorum.*]

[4] Surius, *Concil.* iii. 529. 539. Baron. *Annal.* Ann. 869. § 11. See *Concil.* Baſil. num. xxxii. The French have a miracle play, *Beau Miracle de S. Nicolas*, to be acted by twenty-four perſonages, printed at Paris, for Pierre Sergeant, in quarto, without date, Bl. lett. [Compare Brunet, iii. 1742-3.]

[5] Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 495.

preſented at the Grey-Friars in London, on Corpus-Chriſti day, before the lord mayor, the privy-council, and many great eſtates of the realm.[1] Strype alſo mentions, under the year 1557, a ſtage-play at the Grey-Friars, of the *Paſſion of Chriſt*, on the day that war was proclaimed in London againſt France, and in honour of that occaſion.[2] On Saint Olave's day in the ſame year, the holiday of the church in Silver-ſtreet which is dedicated to that ſaint, was kept with much ſolemnity. At eight of the clock at night began a ſtage-play of goodly matter, being the miraculous hiſtory of the life of that ſaint,[3] which continued four hours, and was concluded with many religious ſongs.[4]

Many curious circumſtances of the nature of theſe miracle-plays appear in a roll of the churchwardens of Baſſingborne in Cambridgeſhire, which is an account of the expenſes and receptions for acting the play of *Saint George* at Baſſingborne, on the feaſt of Saint Margaret in the year 1511. They collected upwards of four pounds in twenty-ſeven neighbouring pariſhes for furniſhing the play. They diſburſed about two pounds in the repreſentation. Theſe diſburſements are to four minſtrels, or waits, of Cambridge for three days, v s. vj d. To the players, in bread and ale, iij s. ij d. To the garnement-man for garnements, and propyrts,[5] that is, for dreſſes, decorations, and implements, and for play-books, xx s. To John Hobard, brotherhoode preeſte, that is, a prieſt of the guild in the church, for the play-book, ij s. viij d. For the crofte, or field in which the play was exhibited, j s. For propyrte-making, or furniture, j s. iv d. "For fiſh and bread, and to ſetting up the ſtages, iv d." For painting three fanchoms and four tormentors, words which I do not underſtand, but perhaps phantoms and devils. . . . The reſt was expended for a feaſt on the occaſion, in which are recited, "Four chicken for the gentilmen, iv d." It appears from the *Coventry Plays* that a temporary ſcaffold only was erected for theſe performances; and Chaucer ſays of Abſolon, a pariſh-clerk,

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[1] MSS. Cotr. Vitell. E. 5. Strype. See *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, Pref. p. xii.

[2] Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. ch. xlix.

[3] Strype, *ibid.* p. 379. With the religious pageantries, other ancient ſports and ſpectacles alſo, which had fallen into diſuſe in the reign of Edward VI., began to be now revived. As thus, "On the 30th of May was a goodly May-game in Fenchurch-ſtreet, with drums, and guns, and pikes, with the Nine Worthies who rid. And each made his ſpeech. There was alſo the morice-dance, and an elephant and caſtle, and the lord and lady of the May appeared to make up this ſhow." Strype, *ibid.* 376, ch. xlix.

[4] Ludovicus Vives relates that it was cuſtomary in Brabant to preſent annual plays in honour of the reſpective ſaints to which the churches were dedicated: and he betrays his great credulity in adding a wonderful ſtory in conſequence of this cuſtom. *Not. in Auguſtin. De Civit. Dei*, lib. xii. cap. 25, C.

[5] The property-room is yet known at our theatres. ["Malone (Shakeſpeare by Boſwell, iii. 25), following Warton, has remarked upon the uſe of the word *properties* in the reign of Henry VIII., but we here (in the *Caſtle of Perſeverance*) find it employed, and in the ſame ſenſe of furniture, apparel, &c., a century earlier."—*Collier.*]

and an actor of King Herod's character in theſe dramas, in the *Miller's Tale:*

> And for to ſhew his lightneſſe and maiſtry
> He playith Herawdes on a ſcaffald hie.[1]

Scenical decorations and machinery[2] which employed the genius and invention of Inigo Jones, in the reigns of the firſt James and Charles, ſeem to have migrated from the maſques at court to the public theatre. In the inſtrument here cited, the prieſt who wrote the play, and received only two ſhillings and eight pence for his labour, ſeems to have been worſe paid in proportion than any of the other perſons concerned. The learned Oporinus, in 1547, publiſhed in two volumes a collection of religious interludes, which abounded in Germany. They are in Latin, and not taken from legends, but from the Bible.

The Puritans were highly offended at theſe religious plays now revived.[3] But they were hardly leſs averſe to the theatrical repre-

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[1] *Mill. T.* v. 275. Mr. Steevens and Mr. Malone have ſhown that the accommodations in our early regular theatres were but little better. That the old ſcenery was very ſimple, may partly be collected from an entry in a Computus of Wincheſter College, under the year 1579, viz. *Comp. Burs. Coll. Winton.* A. D. 1573. Eliz. xv°.—"Cuſtos Aulæ. Item, pro diverſis expenſis circa Scaffoldam erigendam et deponendam, et pro Domunculis de novo compoſitis cum carriagio et recarriagio *ly joyſtes*, et aliorum mutuatorum ad eandem Scaffoldam, cum vj *linckes* et j° [uno] duodeno candelarum, pro lumine expenſis, tribus noctibus in Ludis comediarum et tragediarum, xxv s. viij d." Again in the next quarter, "Pro vij *ly linckes* deliberatis pueris per M. Informatorem [the ſchoolmaſter] pro Ludis, iij s." Again, in the laſt quarter, "Pro removendis Organis e templo in Aulam et præparandis eiſdem erga Ludos, v s." By Domunculis I underſtand little cells of board, raiſed on each ſide of the ſtage, for dreſſing-rooms, or retiring places. Strype, under the year 1559, ſays that after a grand feaſt at Guildhall, "the ſame day was a ſcaffold ſet up in the hall for a play." *Ann. Ref.* i. 197, edit. 1725.

[2] [Dr. Aſhby ſuggeſts that ſome diſtinction ſhould perhaps be made between ſcenery and machinery: and it may probably be ceded that ſcenic decoration was firſt introduced.—*Park.*]

[3] A very late ſcripture-play is *The Hiſtory of Jacob and Eſau*, 1568. But this play had appeared in Queen Mary's reign, "An enterlude vpon the hiſtory of Jacobe and Eſawe," &c. Licenſed to Henry Sutton in 1557. *Regiſtr. Station.* A. fol. 23, a. It is certain, however, that the faſhion of religious interludes was not entirely diſcontinued in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; for I find licenſed to T. Hackett, in 1561, "A newe enterlude of the ij ſynnes of Kynge Dauyde." *Ibid.* fol. 75, a. [For other pieces of the ſame nature, ſee *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* 1867, arts. *Plays*, *Wager*, &c. The "enterlude of the ſynnes of Kynge Dauyde" is not known, unleſs it was the *ballad* reprinted by Chappell (*Roxburghe Ballads*, vol. i. part ii.)] Ballads on Scripture ſubjects are now innumerable. Peele's *David and* [*Bethſabe*] is a remain of the faſhion of Scripture-plays. I have mentioned the play of *Holofernes* acted at Hatfield in 1556. *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, p. 87. In 1556 was printed "A ballet intituled the hiſtorye of Judith and Holyfernes." *Regiſtr.* ut ſupr. fol. 154, b. And Regiſtr. B. fol. 227. In Hearne's *Manuſcript Collectanea* there is a licence, dated 1571, from the queen, directed to the officers of Middleſex, permitting one John Swinton Powlter, "to have and uſe ſome playes and games at or uppon nine ſeverall ſondaies," within the ſaid county. "And becauſe greate reſorte of people is lyke to come thereunto, he is required, for the preſervation of the peace and for the ſake of good order, to take with him four or five diſcreet and ſubſtantial men of thoſe places where the games ſhall be put in practice, to ſuperintend duringe the contynuance of the games or playes." Some of

ſentation of the Chriſtian than of the Gentile ſtory: yet for different reaſons. To hate a theatre was a part of their creed, and therefore plays were an improper vehicle of religion. The heathen fables they judged to be dangerous, as too nearly reſembling the ſuperſtitions of popery.[1]

In this tranſient view of the origin and progreſs of our drama, which was incidentally ſuggeſted by the mention of Baſton's ſuppoſed comedies, I have treſpaſſed upon future periods. But I have chiefly done this for the ſake of connection, and to prepare the mind of the reader for other anecdotes of the hiſtory of our ſtage, which will occur in the courſe of our reſearches, and are reſerved for their reſpective places. I could have enlarged what is here looſely thrown together, with many other remarks and illuſtrations: but I was unwilling to tranſcribe from the collections of thoſe who have already treated this ſubject with great comprehenſion and penetration, and eſpecially from the author of the Supplement to the Tranſlator's Preface of Jarvis's *Don Quixote*.[2] I claim no other merit from this digreſſion, than that of having collected ſome new anecdotes relating to the early ſtate of the Engliſh and French ſtages, the original of both which is intimately connected, from books and manuſcripts not eaſily found, nor often examined. Theſe hints may perhaps prove of ſome ſervice to thoſe who have leiſure and inclination to examine the ſubject with more preciſion.

SECTION VII.

EDWARD III. was an illuſtrious example and patron of chivalry. His court was the theatre of romantic elegance. I have examined the annual rolls of his wardrobe, which record various articles of coſtly ſtuffs delivered occaſionally for the celebration of his tournaments; ſuch as ſtandards, pennons, tunics, capariſons, with other ſplendid furniture of the ſame ſort: and it appears that he commanded theſe ſolemnities to be kept, with a magnificence ſuperior to that of former ages, at Lichfield, Bury, Guilford, Eltham, Canterbury, and twice at Windſor, in little more than the ſpace of one year.[3] At his tri-

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the exhibitions are then ſpecified, ſuch as "Shotinge with the brode arrowe, The lepping for men, The pitchynge of the barre," and the like. But then follows this very general clauſe, "With all ſuche other games, as haue at anye time heretofore or now be lycenſed, uſed, or played." *Coll. MSS. Hearne*, tom. lxi. p. 78. One wiſhes to know whether any interludes, and whether religious or profane, were included in this inſtrument.

[1] [Oppoſite ſects, as Romaniſts and Proteſtants, often adopt each other's arguments. See Bayle's *Dict.—Aſhby.*]

[2] [This ſubject is reſumed in Sect. 34.]

[3] *Comp. J. Cooke, Proviſoris Magn. Garderob.* ab ann. 21 Edw. III. ad ann. 23, *ſupr. citat.* I will give, as a ſpecimen, this officer's accompt for the tournament

umphant return from Scotland, he was met by two hundred and thirty knights at Dunſtable, who received their victorious monarch with a grand exhibition of theſe martial exerciſes. He eſtabliſhed in the caſtle of Windſor a fraternity of twenty-four knights, for whom he erected a round table, with a round chamber ſtill remaining, according to a ſimilar inſtitution of King Arthur.[1] Anſtis treats the notion, that Edward in this eſtabliſhment had any retroſpect to King Arthur, as an idle and legendary tradition.[2] But the fame of Arthur was ſtill kept alive, and continued to be an object of veneration long afterwards: and however idle and ridiculous the fables of the round table may appear at preſent, they were then not only univerſally known, but firmly believed. Nothing could be more natural to ſuch a romantic monarch, in ſuch an age, than the renovation of this moſt ancient and revered inſtitution of chivalry. It was a prelude to the renowned order of the garter, which he ſoon afterwards founded at Windſor, during the ceremonies of a magnificent feaſt, which had been proclaimed by his heralds in Germany, France, Scotland, Burgundy, Hainault, and Brabant, and laſted fifteen days.[3] We muſt not try the modes and notions of other ages, even if they have arrived to ſome degree of refinement, by thoſe of our own. Nothing is more probable, than that this latter foundation of Edward III. took its riſe from the exploded ſtory of the garter of the Counteſs of Saliſbury.[4] Such an origin is interwoven with the manners and ideas of the times.

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at Canterbury. "Et ad faciendum diverſos apparatus pro corpore regis et ſuorum pro haſtiludio Cantuarienſi, an. reg. xxii. ubi Rex dedit octo herneſia de ſyndone ynde facta, et vapulata de armis dom. Stephani de Coſyngton militis, dominis principibus comiti Lancaſtriæ, comiti Suffolciæ, Johanni de Gray, Joh. de Beauchamp, Roberto Maule, Joh. Chandos, et dom. Rogero de Beauchamp. Et ad faciendum unum harneſium de bokeram albo pro rege, extencellato cum argento, viz. tunicam et ſcutum operata cum dictamine Regis,

'*Hay Hay the wythe ſwan*
By Godes ſoule I am thy man.'

Et croparium, pectorale, teſtarium, et arcenarium extencellata cum argento. Et ad parandum i. tunicam Regis, et i. clocam et capuciam cum c. garteris paratis cum boucles, barris, et pendentibus de argento. Et ad faciendum unum dublettum pro Rege de tela linea habente, circa manicas et fimbriam, unam borduram de panno longo viridi operatam cum nebulis et vineis de auro, et cum dictamine Regis, *It is as it is.*" Membr. xi. [A.D. 1349.]

[1] Walſing. p. 117. [2] *Ord. Gart.* ii. 92.

[3] Barnes, i. ch. 22, p. 292. Froiſſart, c. 100. Anſtis, *ut ſupr.*

[4] Aſhmole proves, that the orders of the Annunciada, and of the Toiſon d'Or, had the like origin. *Ord. Gart.* pp. 180, 181. Even in the enſigns of the order of the Holy Ghoſt, founded ſo late as 1578, ſome love-myſteries and emblems were concealed under ciphers introduced into the blaſonry. See Le Laboureur, *Contin. des Mem. de Caſtelnau*, p. 895. "Il y eut plus de myſteres d'amourettes que de religion," &c. But I cannot in this place help obſerving, that the fantaſtic humour of unriddling emblematical myſteries, ſuppoſed to be concealed under all enſigns and arms, was at length carried to ſuch an extravagance, at leaſt in England, as to be checked by the legiſlature. By a ſtatute of Queen Elizabeth, a ſevere penalty is laid, "on all fond phantaſtical prophecies upon or by the occaſion of any arms, fields, beaſtes, badges, or the like things accuſtomed in arms, cogniſaunces, or ſignetts," &c. *Statut.* c. Eliz. ch. 15, A.D. 1564.

Their attention to the fair ſex entered into every thing. It is by no means unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the fantaſtic Collar of SS., worn by the knights of this Order, was an alluſion to her name. Froiſſart, an eye-witneſs, and well acquainted with the intrigues of the court, relates at large the king's affection for the counteſs, and particularly deſcribes a grand carouſal which he gave in conſequence of that attachment.[1] The firſt feſtival of this order was not only adorned by the braveſt champions of Chriſtendom, but by the preſence of Queen Philippa, Edward's conſort, accompanied by three hundred ladies of noble families.[2] The tournaments of this ſtately reign were conſtantly crowded with ladies of the firſt diſtinction, who ſometimes attended them on horſeback, armed with daggers, and dreſſed in a ſuccinct ſoldier-like habit or uniform prepared for the purpoſe.[3] In a tournament exhibited at London, ſixty ladies on palfries appeared, each leading a knight with a gold chain. In this manner they paraded from the Tower to Smithfield.[4] Even Philippa, a queen of ſingular elegance of manners,[5] partook ſo much of the heroic ſpirit which was univerſally diffuſed, that juſt before an engagement with the king of Scotland, ſhe rode round the ranks of the Engliſh army encouraging the ſoldiers, and was with ſome difficulty perſuaded or compelled to relinquiſh the field.[6] The Counteſs of Montfort is another eminent inſtance of female heroiſm in this age. When the ſtrong town of Hennebond, near Rennes, was beſieged by the French, this redoubted amazon rode in complete armour from ſtreet to ſtreet on a large courſer, animating the garriſon.[7] Finding from a high tower that the

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[1] *Ubi ſupr.* [In *Notes and Queries*, from time to time, a good deal of information has been printed on this ſubject. See General Indices.]

[2] They ſoon afterwards regularly received robes, with the knights companions, for this ceremony, powdered with garters. Aſhmol. *Ord. Gart.* 217, 594. And Anſtis, ii. 123.

[3] Knyghton, *Dec. Script.* p. 2597.

[4] Froiſſart *apud.* Stow's *Surv. Lond.* p. 718, edit. 1616. At an earlier period, the growing gallantry of the times appears in a public inſtrument. It is in the reign of Edward I. Twelve jurymen depoſe upon oath the ſtate of the king's lordſhip at Woodſtock: and among other things it is ſolemnly recited, that Henry II. often reſided at Woodſtock, "pro amore cujuſdam mulieris nomine Roſamunda." Hearne's *Aveſbury*, Append. 331.

[5] And of diſtinguiſhed beauty. Hearne ſays, that the ſtatuaries of thoſe days uſed to make Queen Philippa a model for their images of the Virgin Mary. *Gloſs. Rob.* [*de*] *Brun.* p. 349. He adds, that the holy virgin, in a repreſentation of her aſſumption was conſtantly figured young and beautiful; and that the artiſts before the Reformation generally "had the moſt beautiful women of the greateſt quality in their view, when they made ſtatues and figures of her." *Ibid.* p. 550.

[6] Froiſſart, i. c. 138.

[7] Froiſſart ſays, that when the Engliſh proved victorious, the counteſs came out of the caſtle, and in the ſtreet kiſſed Sir Walter Manny the Engliſh general, and his captains, one after another, twice or thrice, *comme noble et valliant dame.* On another like occaſion, the ſame hiſtorian relates, that ſhe went out to meet the officers, whom ſhe kiſſed and ſumptuouſly entertained in her caſtle, i. c. 86. At many magnificent tournaments in France, the ladies determined the prize. See *Mem. anc. Cheval*, i. p. 175, *ſeq.* p. 223, *ſeq.* An Engliſh ſquire, on the ſide of the French, captain of the caſtle of Beaufort, called himſelf *le Pourſuivant d' amour*, in 1369. Froiſſart, l. i. c. 64. In the midſt of grand engagements between the French and Engliſh armies,

whole French army was engaged in the aſſault, ſhe iſſued, thus completely accoutred, through a convenient poſtern at the head of three hundred choſen ſoldiers, and ſet fire to the French camp.[1] In the mean time riches and plenty, the effects of conqueſt, peace and proſperity, were ſpread on every ſide; and new luxuries were imported in great abundance from the conquered countries. There were few families, even of a moderate condition, but had in their poſſeſſion precious articles of dreſs or furniture: ſuch as ſilks, fur, tapeſtry, embroidered beds, cups of gold, ſilver, porcelain and cryſtal, bracelets, chains, and necklaces, brought from Caen, Calais, and other opulent foreign cities.[2] The increaſe of rich furniture appears in a foregoing reign. In an act of Parliament of Edward I.[3] are many regulations directed to goldſmiths, not only in London, but in other towns, concerning the ſterling alloy of veſſels and jewels of gold and ſilver, &c. and it is ſaid, "Gravers or cutters of ſtones and ſeals ſhall give every one their juſt weight of ſilver and gold." It ſhould be remembered, that about this period Europe had opened a new commercial intercourſe with the ports of India.[4] No fewer than eight ſumptuary laws, which had the uſual effect of not being obſerved, were enacted in one ſeſſion of parliament during this reign.[5] Amid theſe growing elegances and ſuperfluities, foreign manners, eſpecially of the French, were perpetually increaſing; and the native ſimplicity of the Engliſh people was perceptibly corrupted and effaced. It is not quite uncertain that maſques had their beginning in this reign. Theſe ſhews, in which the greateſt perſonages of the court often bore a part, and which arrived at their height in the reign of Henry VIII., encouraged the arts of addreſs and decorum, and are ſymptoms of the riſe of poliſhed manners.[6]

In a reign like this, we ſhall not be ſurpriſed to find ſuch a poet as Chaucer, with whom a new era in Engliſh poetry begins, and on whoſe account many of theſe circumſtances are mentioned, as they ſerve to prepare the reader for his character, on which they throw no inconſiderable light.

But before we enter on ſo ample a field, it will be perhaps leſs embarraſſing, at leaſt more conſiſtent with our preſcribed method,

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when perhaps the intereſts of both nations are vitally concerned, Froiſſart gives many inſtances of officers entering into ſeparate and perſonal combat to diſpute the beauty of their reſpective miſtreſſes. *Hiſt.* l. ii. ch. 33, 43. On this occaſion an ingenious French writer obſerves, that Homer's heroes of ancient Greece are juſt as extravagant: who, in the heat of the fight, often ſtop on a ſudden, to give an account of the genealogy of themſelves or their horſes. *Mem. anc. Cheval.* ubi ſupr. Sir Walter Manny, in 1343, in attacking the caſtle of Guigard, exclaims, "Let me never be beloved of my miſtreſs, if I refuſe this attack," &c. Froiſſart, i. 81.

[1] Froiſſart, i. c. 80. Du Cheſne, p. 656. Mezeray, ii. 3, p. 19, *ſeq.*

[2] Walſing. *Ypodigm.* 121, *Hiſt.* 159. [3] A.D. 1300, Edw. I. *an.* 28, cap. xx.

[4] Anderſon, *Hiſt. Comm.* i. p. 141. [5] *Ann.* 37 Edw. III. cap. viii. *ſeq.*

[6] This ſpirit of ſplendour and gallantry was continued in the reign of his ſucceſſor. See the genius of that reign admirably characterized, and by the hand of a maſter, in Biſhop Lowth's *Life of Wykeham*, p. 222. See alſo Holinſh. *Chron.* ſub ann. 1399, p. 508, col. 1.

if we previouſly diſplay the merits of two or three poets, who appeared in the former part of the reign of Edward III., with other incidental matters.

The firſt of theſe is Richard [Rolle, of] Hampole, [near Doncaſter, commonly called Richard Hampole, who is ſaid to have been a hermit] of the Order of Saint Auguſtine. He was a doctor of divinity, and lived a ſolitary life near the nuns of Hampole, four miles from Doncaſter in Yorkſhire.[1] The neighbourhood of this female ſociety could not withdraw our recluſe from his devotions and his ſtudies. He [died] in the year 1349.[2] His Latin theological tracts, both in proſe and verſe, in which Leland juſtly thinks he has diſplayed more erudition than eloquence, are numerous. His principal pieces of Engliſh rhyme are a *Paraphraſe of part of the Book of Job*, of the *Lord's Prayer*, and of the *ſeven penitential Pſalms*, and the *Pricke of Conſcience*. But our hermit's poetry, which indeed from theſe titles promiſes but little entertainment, has no tincture of ſentiment, imagination, or elegance. The following verſes are extracted from the *Pricke of Conſcience*, one of the moſt common manuſcripts in our libraries, and I propheſy that I am its laſt tranſcriber.[3] But I muſt obſerve firſt that this piece is divided into ſeven parts. I. Of man's nature. II. Of the world. III. Of death. IV. Of purgatory. V. Of the day of judgment. VI. Of the torments of hell. VII. Of the joys of heaven.[4]

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[1] Wharton, App. ad Cave, p. 75. *Sæcul. Wickley.*

[2] [Of the Black Death of 1348, no doubt.—F. The fact of not finding MSS. older than the fourteenth century would ſeem to ſhow that Hampole compiled the *Pricke of Conſcience* but a few years before his death (A.D. 1349).—*Morris*.]

[3] [*The Pricke of Conſcience*, notwithſtanding Warton's prediction to the contrary, has been edited by Richard Morris, 1863, 8vo., his text being chiefly taken from Cotton. MS. Galba, E. ix.; an imperfect copy of the poem in Canterbury cathedral library exhibits, I am informed by Mr. Furnivall, dialectic changes, as *ho* for *wha*, *to* for *till*, *ſchal* for *ſal*, &c. The enſuing extracts are from edit. Morris, pp. 11-12. In the *Archæologia*, vol. xix. pp. 314-335, 4to. 1821, is a long analyſis of Hampole's poem, by Mr. J. B. Yates, illuſtrated by extracts; in which the writer advocates with very doubtful ſucceſs the poetical talent of the recluſe againſt the opinion of Warton. But it is ſomewhat remarkable, that previous to the publication of Mr. Yates's paper, a pamphlet of limited circulation (only fifty copies having been printed), written by W. J. Walter, appeared, 8vo. London, 1816, pp. 17, under the title of *An Account of a MS. of ancient Engliſh Poetry, entitled Clavis Scientiæ, or Bretayne's Skyll-kay of Knawing, by John de Dageby, monk of Fountains Abbey*. This MS. in reality, is only one of the numerous copies exiſting of Hampole's *Pricke of Conſcience*, ſomewhat altered and abbreviated, with ſome lines added at the concluſion by the ſcribe John de Dageby, whoſe name appears in the colophon. Mr. Walter gives a copious analyſis of the work; and, like his ſucceſſor Mr. Yates, is inclined to place the author much higher in the ſcale of poets than Warton's critique would juſtify.—*Madden*. The MS. was ſubſequently ſold to the Britiſh Muſeum.]

[4] Stimulus Conſcientiæ *thys boke ys namyd*. MS. Aſhmol. fol. No. 41. There is much tranſpoſition in this copy. In MS. Digb. Bodl. 87, it is called *The Key of knowing*. Princ.

"The myȝt of the fader admiti
The wiſdom of the ſone al witti."

Mr. Corſer's MS. adds an eighth part of the ſtate of the world after doomſday; it

Here bygynnes the firſt part
That es of mans wrechednes.
Firſt whan God made al thyng of noght,
Of the fouleſt matere man he wroght
That was of erthe; for twa ſkyls to halde;
The tane es forthy that God walde
Of foul matere, mak man in deſpite
Of Lucifer that fel als tyte
Til helle, als he had ſynned thurgh pryde,
And of alle that with him fel that tyde;
For thai ſuld have than the mare ſhenſhepe,
And the mare ſorow when thai tuk kepe,
That men of ſwa foul matere ſuld duelle
In that place fra whilk thai felle.
The ather ſkille es this to ſe;
For man ſuld here the meker be
Ay, when he ſeſe and thynkes in thoght,
Of how foul mater he is wroght;
For God, thurgh his gudnes and his myght,
Wold, that then that place in heven bright
Was made voyde thurgh the ſyn of pryde,
It war filled ogayne on ilka ſyde
Thurgh the vertu of mekenes,
That euen contrary til pride es;
Than may na man thider come
Bot he that meke es, and boghſome;
That proves the goſpelle that ſays us,
How God ſayd till his diſciples thus:

Niſi efficiamini ſicut parvulus, non intrabitis in regnum celorum.

Bot yhe, he ſayde, be als a childe,
That es to ſay, bathe meke and mylde,
Yhe ſal noght entre, be na way
Hevenryke that ſal laſt ay, &c.

In the Bodleian library I find three copies of the *Pricke of Conſcience* very different from that which I have juſt cited. In theſe this poem is given to Robert Groſſeteſte, biſhop of Lincoln, above mentioned.[1] With what probability, [we need not] inquire; but I haſten to give a ſpecimen. I will premiſe, that the language and handwriting are of conſiderable antiquity, and that the lines are here much longer. The poet is deſcribing the future rewards and puniſhments of mankind:[1]

The goode ſoule ſchal have in his herynge
Gret joye in hevene and grete lykynge:

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is the end of the fifth in edit. Morris, with additions.—F. But all theſe texts are decidedly very inferior to the MS. in the Northern dialect ſelected by Dr. Morris.]

[1] Compare Tanner, *Bibl.* p. 375, col. 1, and p. 374, col. 1, notes. MSS. Aſh. 52, pergamen. 4to. Laud. K. 65, pergamen. And G. 21. And MSS. Digb. 14 [and 87. The former begins:]

"The mi3t of the fader of hevene
The wit of his ſon with his giftes ſevene."

[Other copies are in Royal MS. Br. Mus. 18 A v; Harl. MS. 2261; Add. MS. 11,305. See MS. Aſhmol. 60 (Catalogue, p. 306, col. 1), and MSS. 41 and 52.—F.]

For hi ſchulleth yhere the aungeles ſong,
And with hem hi ſchulleth[1] ſynge ever among,
With delitable voys and ſwythe clere,
And alſo with that hi ſchullen have [there]
All other maner of ech a melodye,
Off well lykyng noyſe and menſtralſye,
And of al maner tenes[2] of muſike,
The whuche to mannes herte[3] migte like,
Withoute eni maner of travayle,
The whuche ſchal never ceſſe ne fayle:
And ſo ſchil[4] ſchal that noyſe bi, and ſo ſwete,
And ſo delitable to ſmale and to grete,
That al the melodye of this worlde heer
That ever was yhuryd ferre or neer
Were therto bote[5] as ſorwe[6] and care
To the bliſſe that is in hevene well zare.[7]

Of the contrarie of that bliſſe.

Wel grete ſorwe ſchal the ſynfolke[8] bytyde,
For he ſchullen yhere in ech a ſyde[9]
Well gret noyſe that the feondes[10] willen make,
As thei al the worlde ſcholde alto ſchake;
And alle the men lyvynge that migte hit yhure,
Scholde here wit[11] looſe, and no lengere alyve dure.[12]
Thanne hi[13] ſchulleth for ſorwe here hondes wringe,
And ever weilaway hi ſchullethe be cryinge, &c.
The gode men ſchullethe have worſchipes grete,
And eche of them ſchal be yſet in a riche ſete,
And ther as kynges be ycrownid fayre,
And digte with riche perrie[14] and ſo yſetun[15] in a chayre,
And with ſtones of vertu and preciouſe of choyſe,
As David [thus ſayth[16]] to god with a mylde voyſe,
Poſuiſti, domine, ſuper caput eorum, &c.
"Lorde," he ſeyth, "on his heved thou ſetteſt wel arigt
A coronne of a pretious ſton richeliche ydigt."
[Ac[17]] ſo fayre a coronne nas never non yſene,
In this worlde on kynges hevede,[18] ne on quene:
For this coronne is the coronne of bliſſe,
And the ſton is joye whereof hi ſchilleth never miſſe, &c.
The ſynfolke ſchulleth, as I have afore ytold,
Ffele outrageous hete, and afterwards to muche colde;
For now he ſchullethe freoſe, and now brenne,[19]
And ſo be ypyned that non ſchal other kenne,[20]
And alſo be ybyte with dragonnes felle and kene,
The whuche ſchulleth hem deſtrye outrigte and clene,
And with other vermyn and beſtes felle,
The whiche beothe nougt but fendes of helle, &c.

We have then this deſcription of the New Jeruſalem:

[1 Not Hampole's verſion; I cannot find this in edit. Morris. See it, ſlightly altered, in Add. MS. 11,305, leaf 119, *verſo*.]

2 tunes. 3 beorte. W. 4 ſhrill. 5 but.
6 ſorrow. 7 prepared. 8 ſinners. 9 either ſide.
10 devils. 11 ſenſes. 12 remain. 13 they.
14 precious ſtones. 15 ſeated. 16 thy ſaid. W. 17 and. W.
18 Head. 19 This is the Hell of the monks, which Milton has adopted.
20 know.

This citie is yſet on an hei hille,
That no ſynful man may therto tille:[1]
The whuche ich likne to beril clene,
[Ac[2]] ſo fayr berel may non be yſene.
Thulke hyl is nougt elles to underſtondynge
Bote holi thugt, and deſyr brennynge,
The whuche holi men hadde heer to that place,
Whiles hi hadde on eorthe here lyves ſpace;
And I likne, as ymay ymagene in my thougt,
The walles of hevene, to walles that were ywrougt
Of all maner precioufe ſtones yſet yfere,[3]
And yſemented with gold brigt and clere;
Bot ſo brigt gold, ne non ſo clene,
Was in this worlde never yſene, &c.
The wardes of the cite of hevene brigt
I likne to wardes that wel were ydygt,
And clenly ywrougt and ſotely enteyled,
And on ſilver and gold clenly anamayled,[4] &c.
The torettes[5] of hevene grete and ſmale
I likne to the torrettes of clene criſtale, &c.

I am not, in the mean time, quite convinced that any MS. of the *Pricke of Conſcience* in Engliſh belongs to Hampole. That this piece is a tranſlation from the Latin appears from theſe verſes:

Therefore this boke is in Englis drawe
Of fele[6] matters that bene unknawe
To lewed men that are unkonande,[7]
That con no latyn undirſtonde.[8]

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[1] come. [2] and. W. [3] together. [4] aumayled.
[5] turrets. [6] many. [7] ignorant.

[8] MSS. Digb. *ut ſupr.* 87, *ad princip.* [Mr. Ritſon conceived this paſſage "by no means concluſive of a Latin original," and inferred that it might "be nothing more than [Hampole's] reaſon for preferring Engliſh to Latin." Lydgate, however, conſidered Hampole as a tranſlator only:

"In perfit living which paſſeth poyſie
Richard hermite contemplative of ſentence
Drough in Engliſhe, the Pricke of Conſcience."—*Bochas*, f. 217, b.

And this opinion is confirmed by the expreſs acknowledgment of the King's MS.

"Now have I firſte as I undertoke
Fulfilled the ſevene materes of this boke,
And oute of Latyn I have hem idrawe,
The whiche to ſom man is unknawe,
And namely to lewed men of Yngelonde
That konneth no thinge but Engliſhe undirſtonde.
And therfor this tretys oute drawe I wolde
In Engliſhe that men undirſtonde hit ſholde,
And prikke of conſcience is this tretys yhote, &c.
For the love of our Lord Jeſu Chriſt now
Praieth ſpecially for hym that hit oute drow,
And alſo for hym that this boke hath iwrite here,
Whether he be in water, other in londe ferre or nere."

Indeed it would be difficult to account for the exiſtence of two Engliſh verſions, eſſentially differing in metre and language; though generally agreeing in matter, unleſs we aſſume a common Latin original. Which of theſe is Hampole's tranſlation, can only be decided by inſpecting a copy once in the poſſeſſion of Dr. Monro; and which Hampole "left to the ſociety of Friers-minors at York, after his and his brother's death." No manuſcript, which has fallen under the Editor's notice,

The Latin original in proſe, entitled *Stimulus Conſcientiæ*,[1] was moſt probably written by Hampole: and it is not very likely that he ſhould tranſlate his own work. The author and tranſlator were eaſily confounded. As to the copy of the Engliſh poem given to Biſhop Groſeteſte, he could not be the tranſlator, to ſay nothing more, if Hampole wrote the Latin original. On the whole, whoever was the author of the two tranſlations, at leaſt we may pronounce with ſome certainty, that they belong to the reign of Edward III.

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makes mention of Hampole in the text; nor has he been able to diſcover any ſhadow of authority for attributing to this ſainted bard, the pieces numbered from 6 to 16 in Mr. Ritſon's *Bibliographia Poetica*.—Price.]

[1] In the Cambridge MS. of Hampole's *Paraphraſe on the Lord's Prayer*, above mentioned, containing a prolix deſcription of human virtues and vices, at the end this remark appears. "Explicit quidam tractatus ſuper Pater noſter *ſecundum* Ric. Hampole qui obiit A.D. MCCCLXXXIV." [But the true date of his death is in another place, viz. 1349.] MSS. More, 215, Princ.

"Almighty God in trinite
In whom is only perſonnes thre."

The *Paraphraſe on the Book of Job*, mentioned alſo before, ſeems to have exiſted firſt in Latin proſe under the title of *Parvum Job*. The Engliſh begins thus:

"Lieff lord my ſoul thou ſpare."

In Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Laud. F 77. 5, &c. &c. It is a paraphraſe of ſome Excerpta from the book of Job. The *ſeven penitential Pſalms* begin thus:

"To goddis worſchippe that dere us bought."

MSS. Bodl. Digb. 18. Hampole's *Expoſitio in Pſalterium* is not uncommon in Engliſh. [Copies are in Corpus Chriſti College, Cambridge, and at Eton College.—F.] It has a preface in Engliſh rhymes in ſome copies, in praiſe of the author and his work. Pr. "This bleſſyd boke that hire." MSS. Laud. F 14, &c. Hampole was a very popular writer. Moſt of his many theological pieces ſeem to have been tranſlated into Engliſh ſoon after they appeared: and thoſe pieces abound among our MSS. Two of his tracts were tranſlated by Richard Miſyn, prior of the Carmelites at Lincoln, about the year 1435. The *Incendium Amoris* at the requeſt of Margaret Hellingdon a recluſe. Princ. "To the aſkynge of thi deſire." And *De Emendatione Vitæ*. "Tarry thou not to oure." They are in the tranſlator's own handwriting in the library of C.C.C. Oxon. MSS. 237. I find other ancient tranſlations of both theſe pieces. Particularly, *The Pricke of Love after Richard Hampol treting of the three degrees of love*. MSS. Bodl. Arch. B. 65, f. 109. As a proof of the confuſions and uncertainties attending the works of our author, I muſt add, that we have a tranſlation of his tract *De Emendatione* under this title: *The form of perfyt living, which holy Richard the hermit wrote to a recluſe named Margarete*. MS. Vernon. But Margarete is evidently the recluſe, at whoſe requeſt Richard Miſyn, many years after Hampole's death, tranſlated the *Incendium Amoris*. Theſe obſervations, to which others might be added, are ſufficient to confirm the ſuſpicions inſinuated in the text. Many of Hampole's Latin theological tracts were printed very early at Paris and Cologne.

[In 1866, Mr. Perry edited ſome of his Engliſh Proſe Treatiſes for the Early Engliſh Text Society. See Mr. Perry's Preface.]

SECTION VIII.[1]

IN this ſection we ſhall proceed to give ſome account of the poem which is commonly called the *Viſion of Piers the Plowman*, with ſeveral extracts from the beſt edition. The remarks of our earlier antiquaries upon the ſubject are frequently miſleading; and in the following ſketch the reader's attention will often be moſt invited to thoſe points on which preceding writers have gone moſt widely aſtray.

The title of the poem has been conſtantly miſunderſtood. In the MSS. it is *Dialogus de Petro Plowman*, and is divided into two ſections; the former being *Viſio Willelmi de Petro Plowman*, and the latter *Viſio ejuſdem* [or *Vita*] *de Dowel, Dobet, et Dobeſt*; from which it follows that the author's name was *William*, and that "Piers Plowman" is the ſubject of the poem. Yet it is quite uſual, in nearly all text books, to ſpeak of *Piers Plowman's Viſion* as though Piers Plowman were the author's name! But this miſtake is made even by Spenſer, in his epilogue to the *Shepheard's Calendar*, where he alludes to Chaucer under the name of Tityrus, and next ſpeaks of "the Pilgrim that the Ploughman playde awhyle." Let it be noted that the term "Piers Plowman's Viſion" is ſheer nonſenſe, becauſe the words "*of* Piers the Plowman" mean "*concerning* Piers the Plowman," *of* not being here the ſign of a poſſeſſive caſe.

This blunder is frequently doubled by confuſing the "VISION" with an imitation of it by another author, which will be conſidered in the next ſection.

The name of the author of the VISION is not certainly known, but all accounts agree in giving him the name of LANGLAND, whilſt numerous alluſions in the poem concur with the Latin title in aſſigning to him the Chriſtian name of WILLIAM. There are two notices of him, in handwriting of the fifteenth century. The one, diſcovered on the flyleaf of a MS. of the poem in Trinity College, Dublin, by Sir F. Madden, is as follows, "Memorandum, quod Stacy de Rokayle, pater *Willielmi de Langlond*, qui Stacius fuit generoſus, et morabatur in Schipton vnder Whicwode [about 4 miles from Burford, co. Oxford] tenens domini le Spenſer in comitatu Oxon. qui predictus Willielmus fecit librum qui vocatur Perys Ploughman." The other is on the flyleaf of a MS. (numbered cxxx) now in the poſſeſſion of Lord Aſhburnham, which ſays—"Robert or william langland made pers ploughman;" beneath which is added, in the handwriting of John Bale—"Robert Langlande, natus in comitatu Salopie in villa Mortimers Clybery in the Clayland and within viij miles of Malvern hills, ſcripſit piers ploughman," &c.

[1 Communicated by the Rev. W. W. Skeat, whoſe text and remarks have been for the moſt part ſubſtituted for thoſe of Warton and his earlier editors.]

It has commonly been aſſumed that we know very little more about the author than this; but the internal evidence of his poem really reveals much more, quite enough, in fact, to give us a clear conception of him. But it is neceſſary firſt to give ſome account of the poem itſelf, and to correct the common notion which aſſigns to it the date 1362, as if it were moſt of it written all at once.

The poem aſſumes at leaſt five ſhapes in the various MSS., of which more than forty are ſtill extant. Two of theſe are due to errors of copyiſts, but it is clear that three of theſe forms are due to the author himſelf, and that he rewrote his poem, not once only, but twice, and that rather long intervals intervened between the firſt and ſecond, and between the ſecond and third, verſions.

(A). The *firſt* verſion, which is by much the ſhorteſt, and written with great rapidity and vigour, conſiſts of a prologue and twelve Paſſus. It may be called the A-text, or the "Vernon" text, as the beſt copy of it exiſts in the Vernon MS. in the Bodleian library, and it has been publiſhed by the Early Engliſh Text Society, with the title—"The Viſion of William concerning *Piers* [*the*] *Plowman*, together with *Vita de Dowel*, *Dobet*, *et Dobeſt*, *ſecundum Wit et Reſoun*, by William Langland, A. D. 1362."[1] None of theſe MSS. contains the twelfth Paſſus, except the Univerſity Coll. MS., which preſerves only eighteen lines of it; but there is one *complete* copy in the Bodleian library, viz. MS. Rawl. Poet. 137, in which the twelfth Paſſus begins at fol. 40. The date 1362 was ſuggeſted by Tyrwhitt, who obſerved with great ſagacity and juſtice, that the "Southweſtern wind on a Saturday at even," which the author refers to as a recent event, was certainly the terrible ſtorm of Saturday, Jan. 15, 1361-2, which is noticed by many writers, and in particular, is thus recorded by Thorn, apud Decem Scriptores: "A. D. MCCCLXII. 15 die Januarii, circa horam *veſperarum*, ventus vehemens notus auſtralis Africus tantâ rabie erupit," &c.[2] Mention is made in the ſame paſſage of the poem (p. 52) of "theſe peſtilences," *i. e.* the peſtilences of 1348-1349, and 1361-1362. This verſion conſiſts of about 2567 lines.

(B). Not foreſeeing the popularity which his poem was deſtined to enjoy, the author reſorted to the not uncommon device of killing himſelf off, in the concluding lines of the earlieſt verſion, where he ſays:

> "Wille[3] wiſte thurgh inwit[4] · thou woſt wel the ſothe,
> That this ſpeche was ſpedelich · and ſped him wel faſte,
> And wroughthe that here is wryten[5] · and other werkes bothe

[1] [Edited from the "Vernon" MS., collated with MS. R. 3. 14 in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. Harl. 875 and 6041, the MS. in Univerſity College, Oxford, MS. Douce, 323, &c.: by the Rev. W. W. Skeat; London, 1867.]

[2] [Cf. Walſingham, ed. H. T. Riley, vol. i. p. 296, Fabyan's Chronicle, ed. Ellis, p. 475, Hardyng's Chronicle, ed. Ellis, p. 330.]

[3] [*i. e.* William, the author himſelf.] [4] [conſcience.]

[5] [*i. e.* the Viſion of Do-wel; the "other werkes" refer to the Viſion of Piers the Plowman, properly ſo called.]

Of *peres the plowman* · and mechel puple[1] alſo;
And whan this werk was wrought · ere wille[2] myghte aſpie,
Deth delt him a dent[3] · and drof him to the erthe,
And [he] is cloſed vnder clom[4] · criſt haue his ſoule!"

And ſo the matter reſted for nearly fifteen years. But the grief of the whole nation at the death of the Black Prince, the diſquieting political events of 1377, the laſt year of Edward III., the diſſatisfaction of the commons with the conduct of the Duke of Lancaſter, rouſed our poet, as it rouſed other men. Then it was that, taking his text from Eccleſiaſticus, x. 16, *Væ terræ ubi rex puer eſt*, he compoſed his famous verſion of the well-known fable of the rats wiſhing to bell the cat, a fable which has never been elſewhere told ſo well or ſo effectively. Then it was that, taking advantage of his now more extenſive acquaintance with Scripture, and his familiarity with the daily ſcenes of London life, he rewrote and added to his poem till he had trebled the extent of it, and multiplied the number of his Latin quotations by ſeven. The additions are, moſt of them, exceedingly good, and diſtinguiſhed by great freedom and originality of thought; indeed, we may ſay that, upon the whole, the "B-text" is the beſt of the three, and the beſt ſuited for giving us a fair idea of the author's peculiar powers. The complete text compriſes the two Viſions, viz. of Piers Plowman, and of Do-wel, Do-bet, and Do-beſt; the former conſiſting of a Prologue and ſeven Paſſus, and the latter of three Prologues and ten Paſſus, viz. a Prologue and ſix Paſſus of Do-wel, a Prologue and three Paſſus of Do-bet, and a Prologue and 1 Paſſus of Do-beſt. But in many (perhaps all) of the MSS. the diſtinctions between the component parts are not much regarded, and in ſome there is no mention of Do-wel, Do-bet, and Do-beſt whatever, but the whole is called *Liber* (or *Dialogus*) *de petro plowman*, and made to conſiſt of a Prologue and *twenty* Paſſus. Not to go into further details, it is neceſſary to add that there are two perfect MSS. of it which are of ſpecial excellence, and which do not greatly vary from each other; from one of theſe, MS. Trin. Coll. Camb. B. 15, 17, Mr. Wright printed his well-known and convenient edition of the whole poem, and the other, MS. Laud 581, forms the baſis of the text publiſhed by the Early Engliſh Text Society in 1869. Other good MSS. of this verſion are Rawl. Poet. 38 (which contains ſome extra lines), MS. Dd. 1. 17, in the Cambridge Univerſity library, MS. 79 in Oriel College, Oxford, &c.

The B-text was alſo printed by Robert Crowley, in 1550, from a very good MS. Indeed, Crowley printed three impreſſions of it in the ſame year, the firſt and ſcarceſt being the moſt correct, and the third (called "ſecond" impreſſion on the title-page) being the worſt. Crowley's edition was very incorrectly reprinted by Owen Rogers in 1561.

The third verſion was probably not compoſed till 1380 or even later, or, ſtill more probably, it contains additions and reviſions made

[1] [much people.]
[2] [*i. e.* William, the author himſelf.]
[3] [dint, blow.]
[4] [loam, clay.]

at various periods later than 1378. Throughout these the working of the same mind is clearly discernible, but there is a tendency to diffuseness and to a love for theological subtleties. It is of still greater length, containing a Prologue and nine Passus of *Piers the Plowman*, a Prologue and six Passus of *Do-wel*, a Prologue and three Passus of *Do-bet*, and a Prologue and one Passus of *Do-best*; or, according to the shorter notation, a Prologue and twenty-two Passus. It may be remarked that the short poem of *Do-best* stands almost exactly the same in both the B and C versions.

An edition of this text was printed (very incorrectly) by Dr. Whitaker, in 1813, from a MS. now belonging to Sir Thomas Phillipps.[1]

We may safely date the A-text about A.D. 1362, the B-text about A.D. 1377, and the C-text about A.D. 1380. To assume the date 1362 for all three is to introduce unnecessary confusion.

Besides this extraordinary work, with its three varying editions, I hold that we are indebted to the same author for a remarkable poem on the *Deposition of Richard II.* of course written in 1399, and which has been twice printed by Mr. Wright, the more convenient edition being that published for the Camden Society in 1838. This is not the place to discuss a question of some difficulty, and concerning which a careful reader may form an opinion for himself, and can come, I think, to no other conclusion. It is true that Mr. Wright has expressed a different opinion, but he was misled by a marginal note in his MS. to which he attached some importance.[2]

Returning to the author, we may now piece together the following account of him, which is probably true, and, at any rate, rests chiefly upon his own statements. At the time of writing the B-text of *Do-wel*, he was forty-five years of age, and he was therefore born

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[1] [For further information concerning the MSS. see the prefaces to the Early English Text Society's edition, and a pamphlet also published by the same society, with the title—"Parallel Extracts from twenty-nine MSS. of Piers Plowman," &c.: ed. Skeat, 1866.]

For general remarks upon the poem, see the same prefaces; Mr. Wright's preface to his edition of 1842, reprinted in 1856; Professor Morley's *English Writers*, vol. i.: Marsh's *Lectures on the Origin and History of the English Language*, 8vo., 1862, p. 296, &c.; and a fine passage in Dean Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. vi. p. 536, ed. 1855. Respecting Whitaker's edit. 1813, to extracts from which the former editors of Warton very uselessly, as the present writer thinks, devoted several pages, Mr. Wright has observed: "Dr. Whittaker was not well qualified for this undertaking; he also laboured under many disadvantages; he had access to only three manuscripts, and those not very good ones; and he has not chosen the best text even of these. Unless he had some reason to believe that the book was originally written in a particular dialect, he ought to have given a preference to that among the oldest manuscripts, which presents the purest language."]

[2] [See his edition (Camd. Soc.) p. vi., where "liber hic" should have been printed "liber homo," an error which vitiates the whole argument. The unique copy of this poem is found in MS. Ll. 4. 14. in the Cambridge University library, where it follows a copy of *Piers the Plowman*, and is in the same handwriting with it, though that of course proves but little. I argue from internal evidence, of which I can adduce a great deal.]

about A.D. 1332, probably at Cleobury Mortimer. His father and his friends put him to ſchool (poſſibly in the monaſtery at Great Malvern), made a *clerk* or ſcholar of him, and taught him what holy writ meant. In 1362, at the age of about thirty, he wrote the A-text of the poem, without any thought of continuing or enlarging it. In this he refers to Edward III. and his ſon the Black Prince, to the murder of Edward II., to the great peſtilences of 1348 and 1361, to the treaty of Bretigny in 1360, and Edward's wars in Normandy, and alſo moſt particularly to the great ſtorm of wind which took place on Saturday evening, Jan. 15th, 1361-2.[1] This verſion of the poem he deſcribes as having been partly compoſed in May, whilſt wandering on Malvern Hills, which are thrice mentioned in the part rightly called *Piers the Plowman*. In the introduction or prologue to *Do-wel*, he deſcribes himſelf as wandering about all the ſummer till he met with two Minorite Friars, with whom he diſcourſed concerning *Do-wel*. It was probably not long after this that he went to reſide in London, with which he already had ſome acquaintance; there he lived in Cornhill, with his wife Kitte and his daughter Calote, for many long years.[2] In 1377, he began to expand his poem into the B-text, wherein he alludes to the acceſſion of Richard II. in the words—"ȝif I regne any while,"[3] and alſo explicitly to the dearth in the dry month of April, 1370, when Chicheſter was mayor; a dearth due to the exceſſive rains in the autumn of 1369. Chicheſter was elected in 1369 (probably in October) and was ſtill mayor in 1370. In Riley's *Memorials of London*, p. 344, he is mentioned as being mayor in that very month of April in that very year in the words—"Afterwards, on the 25th day of April in the year above-mentioned, it was agreed by John de Chicheſtre, Mayor," &c. It is important to inſiſt upon this, becauſe the MS. followed by Mr. Wright, in company with many inferior ones, has a corrupt reading which turns the words—"A þouſand and thre hondreth · tweis *thretty* and ten" into "twice *twenty* and ten," occaſioning a great difficulty, and miſleading many modern writers and readers, ſince the ſame miſtake occurs in Crowley's edition. Fortunately, the Laud MS. 581 and MS. Rawl. Poet. 38 ſet us right here, and all difficulty now vaniſhes; for it is eaſily aſcertained that Chicheſter was mayor in 1369-70, and at no other time, having never been re-elected. Stow and other old writers have the right date. In the C-text, written at ſome time after 1378, the poet repreſents himſelf as ſtill in London, and in the commencement of Paſſus v. (alſo called Paſſus vi, as in Whitaker) gives us ſeveral particulars concerning himſelf, wherein he alludes to his own tallneſs, ſaying that he is too "long" to ſtoop low, and he has alſo ſome remarks concerning the ſons of freemen which imply that he

[1] [That is, the year 1362, which was formerly called 1361, when the year was ſuppoſed not to begin till March. See, for theſe alluſions, B-text, Paſs. iii. 186, 188; iv. 45; and v. 14.]

[2] [C-Text, Paſs. v.]

[3] [B. iv. 177.]

was himſelf the ſon of a franklin or freeman, and born in lawful wedlock. He wore the clerical tonſure, probably as having taken minor orders, and earned a precarious living by ſinging the *placebo*, *dirige*, and "ſeven pſalms" for the good of men's ſouls; for, ever ſince his friends died who had firſt put him to ſchool, he had found no kind of life that pleaſed him except to be in "theſe long clothes," and by help of ſuch (clerical) labour as he had been bred up to he contrived not only to live "*in* London, but *upon* London" alſo. The ſuppoſition that he was married (as he ſays he was) may, perhaps explain why he never roſe in the church. He has many alluſions to his extreme poverty. Laſtly, in the depoſition of Richard II. he deſcribes himſelf as being in Briſtol in the year 1399, when he wrote his laſt poem. This poem is but ſhort, and in the only MS. wherein it exiſts, terminates abruptly in the middle of a page, and it is quite poſſible that it was never finiſhed. This is the laſt trace of him, and he was then probably about ſixty-ſeven years of age, ſo that he may not have long ſurvived the acceſſion of Henry IV. In perſonal appearance, he was ſo tall that he obtained the nickname of "Longe Wille," as he tells us in the line:

"I have lyued in londe," quod I · "my name is Longe wille."[1]

This nickname may be paralleled from Mr. Riley's *Memorials of London*, p. 457, where we read of John Edward, "otherwiſe called Longe Jack," under the date 1382. In Paſſus xv. (B-text) he ſays that he was loath to reverence lords or ladies, or perſons dreſſed in fur, or wearing ſilver ornaments; he never would ſay "God ſave you" to ſerjeants whom he met, for all of which proud behaviour, then very uncommon, people looked upon him as a fool. It requires no great ſtretch of imagination to picture to ourſelves the tall gaunt figure of Long Will in his long robes and with his ſhaven head, ſtriding along Cornhill, ſaluting no man by the way, minutely obſervant of the gay dreſſes to which he paid no outward reverence. It ought alſo to be obſerved how very frequent are his alluſions to lawyers, to the law-courts at Weſtminſter, and to legal proceſſes. He has a mock-charter, beginning with the ordinary formula *Sciant præſentes et futuri*, a form of making a will, and in one paſſage (B-text, Paſs. xi.) he ſpeaks with ſuch ſcorn of a man who draws up a charter badly, who interlines it, or leaves out ſentences, or puts falſe Latin in it, that I think we may fairly ſuppoſe him to have been converſant with the writing out of legal documents, and to have eked out his ſubſiſtence by the ſmall ſums received for doing ſo. The various texts are ſo conſiſtent, that we may well ſuppoſe him to have been his own ſcribe in the firſt inſtance. Indeed, there are ſome reaſons for ſuppoſing the MS. *Laud Miſc.* 581 to be an autograph copy.

Wood confuſes Langland with John Maluerne, a continuation of

[1] [See Wright's edition, p. 304, where "quod *I*" is printed "quod *he*," an error which a collation of many MSS. has removed. It is very curious that the words *londe*, *longe*, and *wille* in this line form *Wille Longelonde* when read backwards.]

the *Polychronicon*, who is said to have been a fellow of Oriel, and was certainly a prior of the Benedictine monastery at Worcester.

The poem itself contains a series of distinct visions, which the author imagines himself to have seen, while he was sleeping, after a long ramble on Malverne-hills in Worcestershire. It is a satire on the vices of almost every profession; but particularly on the corruptions of the clergy, and the absurdities of superstition. These are ridiculed with much humour and spirit, couched under a strong vein of allegorical invention.

But it is untrue that Langland adopts the style of the Anglo-Saxon poets, as has been well shown by Mr. Marsh who, in the passage already referred to, thus refutes this notion:

"The Vision of the Ploughman furnishes abundant evidence of the familiarity of its author with the Latin Scriptures, the writings of the fathers, and the commentaries of Romish expositors, but exhibits very few traces of a knowledge of romance literature. Still the proportion of Norman-French words, or at least of words which, though of Latin origin, are French in form, is quite as great as in the works of Chaucer.[1] The familiar use of this mixed vocabulary, in a poem evidently intended for the popular ear, and composed by a writer who gives no other evidence of an acquaintance with the literature of France, would, were other proof wanting, tend strongly to confirm the opinion I have before advanced, that a large infusion of French words had been not merely introduced into the literature, but incorporated into the common language of England; and that only a very small proportion of those employed by the poets were first introduced by them.

"The poem, if not altogether original in conception, is abundantly so in treatment. The spirit it breathes, its imagery, the turn of thought, the style of illustration and argument it employs, are *as remote as possible from the tone of Anglo-Saxon poetry*, but exhibit the characteristic moral and mental traits of the Englishman as clearly and unequivocally as the most national portions of the works of Chaucer or of any other native writer."

The whole poem is in alliterative verse, not because Langland wished here again to "imitate the Anglo-Saxon style," but because that rhythm was more thoroughly English than any other kind, and familiar to most Englishmen, especially in the northern and western parts. Neither did the necessity of finding similar initial letters cramp his expression, as Warton intimated; for it is clear that Langland was often careless about his alliteration, and wrote with great ease, sacrificing sound to sense in every case of perplexity. It ought further to be noticed that the poem is something more than a satire; the author, dreaming like another Bunyan, sees his ideal type of excellence in the shape of Piers the Ploughman, and his chief

[1] [The Prologue to Piers the Plowman and the first 420 lines of Chaucer's Prologue alike contain 88 per cent. of Anglo-Saxon words. See Marsh, *Lectures on English*; 1st Series, p. 124.]

aim is to develop the whole hiſtory of the religious life of man, ſo that Piers anſwers in ſome ſenſe to Bunyan's "Chriſtian," though he is ſtill more like "Greatheart." In fact, Piers is ſpoken of under ſeveral aſpects. At one time he is the honeſt and utterly truthful labourer, whoſe ſtrong common ſenſe can give good advice to his betters; at another, he is identified with the human nature of Chriſt; and again, he repreſents the whole Chriſtian church in its primitive and beſt condition. At all times he is the imperſonation of the ſpiritual part of human nature which ever wars againſt evil, but which can never wholly triumph in this world. Unleſs this be kept in view, the poem indeed ſeems wanting in unity.

The ſatire is conducted by the agency of ſeveral allegorical perſonages, ſuch as Avarice, Bribery, Simony, Theology, Conſcience, &c. There is much imagination in the following picture, which is intended to repreſent human life and its various occupations:

Thanne gan I to meten · a merueilouſe ſweuene,[1]
That I was in a wilderneſſe · wiſt I neuer where;
As I bihelde in-to þe eſt · an hiegh to þe ſonne,
I ſeigh a toure on a toft · trielich ymaked;
A depe dale binethe · a dongeon þere-Inne,
With depe dyches & derke · and dredful of ſight.
A faire felde ful of folke · fonde I there bytwene,
Of alle maner of men · þe mene and þe riche,
Worchyng and wandryng · as þe worlde aſketh.
Some putten hem to þe plow · pleyed ful ſelde,
In ſettyng and in ſowyng · ſwonken ful harde,
And wonnen that waſtours · with glotonye deſtruyeth.
And ſome putten hem to pruyde, &c.

The following extracts from Paſſus viii-x. (Text B.) are not only ſtriking ſpecimens of our author's allegorical ſatire, but contain much ſenſe and obſervation of life, with ſome ſtrokes of poetry:

Thus yrobed in ruſſet · I romed aboute
Al a ſomer ſeſou*n* · for to ſeke dowel,[2]
And frayned[3] ful oft · of folke þat I mette,
If ani wi*ȝ*te wiſte · where dowel was at Inne,[4]
And what man he mi*ȝ*te be · of many man I axed.
¶ Was neuere wi*ȝ*te, as I went · þat me wiſſe couthe[5]
Where þis lede lenged[6] · laſſe ne more;
¶ Tyl it bifel on a fryday · two freres I mette,
Maiſtres of þe Menoures[7] · men of grete witte.
I hailſed hem hendely[8] · as I hadde lerned,
And preyed hem p*ar* charitee · ar þei paſſed forther,
If þei knewe any contre · or coſtes, as þei went,
Where þat dowel dwelleth · doth me to wytene.[9]
¶ For þei ben men on þis molde · þat moſte wyde walken,
And knowen contrees, and courtes · and many kynnes places,[10]
Bothe prynces paleyſes · and pore mennes cotes,
And do-wel and do-yuel · where þei dwelle bothe.
¶ "Amonges vs," q*uo*d þe Menours · "þat man is dwellynge,
And euere hath, as I hope · and euere ſhal here-after."

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[1] B-text; Prol. ll. 11-22 (ed. Skeat).
[2] [Do-well.] [3] [inquired.] [4] [lived.] [5] [could inform me.]
[6] [lingered, dwelt.] [7] [Friars Minors.] [8] [ſaluted them civilly.]
[9] [know.] [10] [Places of many a kind; *i. e.* many ſorts of places.]

¶ " Contra," quod I as a clerke · and comſed to diſputen,
And ſeide hem ſothli, " *ſepcies · in die cadit iuſtus;*
Seuene ſythes,[1] ſeith þe boke · ſynneth þe riȝtful.
And who-ſo ſynneth," I ſeyde · " doth yuel, as me þinketh,
And dowel and do-yuel · mow nouȝt dwelle togideres.
Ergo, he nys nauȝt alway · amonge ȝow freres;
He is otherwhile ellis where · to wiſſe þe peple."
¶ " I ſhal ſey þe, my ſone " · ſeide þe frere þanne,
" How ſeuene ſithes þe ſad man[2] · on þe day ſynneth;
By a forbiſene,"[3] quod þe frere · " I ſhal þe faire ſhewe.
¶ Lat Brynge a man in a bote · amydde a brode water,
þe wynde and þe water · and the bote waggynge
Maketh þe man many a tyme · to falle and to ſtonde;
For ſtonde he neuere ſo ſtyf · he ſtombleth ȝif he moeue;
Ac ȝit is he ſauf and ſounde · and ſo hym bihoueth,
For ȝif he ne ariſe þe rather · and rauȝte to þe ſtiere;
þe wynde wolde, wyth þe wat*er* · þe bote ou*er*throwe;
And þanne were his lyf loſte · þourgh laccheſſe[4] of hym-ſelf.
¶ And þus it falleth," quod þe frere · " bi folke here on erthe;
þe water is likned to þe worlde · þat wanyeth and wexeth,
þe godis of þis grounde aren like · to þe grete wawes,
Þat as wyndes and wederes · walweth aboute.
þe bote is likned to owre body · þat brutel is of kynde,
þat þorugh þe fende and þe fleſſh*e* · and þe frele worlde
Synneth þe ſadman · a day, ſeuene ſythes.
¶ Ac dedly ſynne doth he nouȝt · for dowel hym kepith,
And þat is charite þe champiou*n* · chief help aȝein ſynne;
For he ſtrengtheth man to ſtonde · and ſtereth mannes ſoule,
And þowgh þi body bow · as bote doth in þe water,
Ay is þi ſoule ſauf · but if þi-ſelf wole
Do a dedly ſynne · and drenche ſo þi ſoule;
God wole ſuffre wel þi ſleuthe · ȝif þi-ſelf lyketh.
For he ȝaf þe to ȝeresȝyue · to ȝeme wel þi-ſelue,
And þat is witte and fre wille · to eu*ery* wyȝte a porciou*n*,
To fleghyng foules · to fiſſches & to beſtes.
Ac man hath moſte þerof · and moſte is to blame,
But if he worche wel þer-with · as dowel hym techeth."
¶ " I haue no kynde knowyng," quod I · " to conceyue alle ȝowre wordes,
Ac if I may lyue and loke · I ſhal go lerne bettere."
" I bikenne þe cryſt, quod he · þat on þe croſſe deyde."
And I ſeyde, " þe ſame · ſaue ȝow fro myſchaunce,
And ȝiue ȝow *gra*ce on þis grounde · good men to worthe."
¶ And þus I went wide-where · walkyng myne one,
By a wilde wilderneſſe · and bi a wode-ſyde.
Bliſſe of þo briddes · abyde me made,
And vnder a lynde[5] vppon a launde · lened I a ſtou*n*de,[6]
To lythe[7] þe layes · þe louely foules made.
Murthe of her mouthes · made me þere to ſlepe;
þe merueilloufeſt meteles · mette me[8] þanne
Þat euer dremed wyȝte · in worlde, as I wene.
¶ A moche man, as me þouȝte · and lyke to my-ſelue
Come and called me · by my kynde[9] name.
" What artow," quod I þo · " þat þou my name knoweſt?"
" Þat þou woſt wel," quod he · " and no wyȝte bettere."

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[1] [times.] [2] [ſober, good man.] [3] [ſimilitude, example.]
[4] [lazineſs.] [5] [lime-tree.] [6] [a while.]
[7] [liſten to.] [8] [I dreamed.]
[9] [own; *i. e.* Chriſtian name of " Will."]

¶ "Wote I what þow art?" · "þought," ſeyde he þanne,
"I haue ſuwed[1] þe þis ſeuene ȝere · ſey þow me no rather?"
¶ "Art þow thought?" quod I þo · "þow coutheſt me wiſſe
Where þat dowel dwelleth · and do me þat to knowe?"
¶ "Dowel and dobet · and dobeſt þe thridde," quod he,
"Aren three faire vertues · and beth nauȝte fer to fynde.
Who-ſo is trewe of his tonge · and of his two handes,
And þorugh his laboure or þorugh his londe · his lyflode wynneth,[2]
And is truſti of his tailende[3] · taketh but his owne,
And is nouȝt dronkenlew[4] ne dedeignous · dowel hym folweth.
Dobet doth ryȝt þus · ac he doth moche more;
He is as low as a lombe · and loueliche of ſpeche,
And helpeth alle men · after þat hem nedeth;
þe bagges and þe bigurdeles · he hath to-broken[5] hem alle,
þhat þe Erl auarous · helde, and his heires;
And þus with Mammonaes moneie · he hath made hym frendes,
And is ronne in-to Religioun · and hath rendred[6] þe bible,
And precheth to the poeple · ſeynt Poules wordes,
Libenter ſuffertis inſipientes, cum ſitis ipſi ſapientes,
'And ſuffreth þe vnwiſe · with ȝow for to libbe,
And with gladde wille doth hem gode · for ſo god ȝow hoteth.'
¶ Dobeſt is aboue bothe · and bereth a biſſchopes croſſe,
Is hoked on þat one ende · to halie[7] men fro helle.
A pyke is on þat potente[8] · to pulte adown þe wikked,
þat wayten any wikkedneſſe · dowel to tene.
And dowel and dobet · amonges hem ordeigned
To croune one to be kynge · to reule hem bothe;
þat ȝif dowel or dobet · did aȝein dobeſt,
þanne ſhal þe kynge come · and caſten hem in yrens,
And but if dobeſt bede for hem · þei to be þere for euere.
¶ Thus dowel and dobet · and dobeſt þe thridde,
Crouned one to be kynge · to kepen hem alle,
And to reule þe Reume · bi her[9] thre wittes,
And none other-wiſe · but as þei thre aſſented."
¶ I thonked thouȝt þo · þat he me þus tauȝte;
"Ac ȝete ſauoureth me nouȝt þi ſeggyng · I coueite to lerne
How dowel, dobet, and dobeſt · don amonges þe peple."
¶ "But witte conne wiſſe þe," quod þouȝt · where þo[10] thre dwelle;
Ellis wote I none þat can · þat now is alyue."
¶ þouȝte and I thus · thre days we ȝeden,[11]
Diſputyng vppon dowel · day after other,
And ar we were ywar · with witte gan we mete.
He was longe and lene · liche to none other,
Was no pruyde on his apparaille · ne pouerte noyther,
Sadde of his ſemblaunt · and of ſoft chiere.
I dorſte meue no matere · to make hym to iangle,
But as I bad þouȝt þo · be mene bitwene,
And put forth ſomme purpos · to prouen his wittes,
What was dowel fro dobet · and dobeſt fram hem bothe.
¶ þanne þouȝt in þat tyme · ſeide þiſe wordes,
"Where dowel, dobet · and dobeſt ben in londe,
Here is wille wolde ywyte · yif witte couthe teche hym,
And whether he be man or [no] man · þis man fayne wolde aſpye,
And worchen as þei thre wolde · þis is his entente."

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[1] [followed.]
[2] [earns.]
[3] [The Oriel MS. has *tayling*, i.e. dealing, reckoning.]
[4] [drunken.]
[5] [broken in pieces.]
[6] [tranſlated.]
[7] [hale, draw.]
[8] [ſtaff.]
[9] [their.]
[10] [thoſe.]
[11] [went, travelled.]

PASSUS IX. (B-TEXT).

" Sire dowel dwelleth," quod witte · " nouȝt a day hennes,
In a caſtel þat kynde[1] made · of foure kynnes þinges;
Of erthe and eyre is it made · medled togideres,
With wynde and with water · witterly[2] enioyned.
Kynde hath cloſed þere-Inne · craftily with-alle,
A lemman[3] þat he loueth · like to hym-ſelue,
Anima ſhe hatte · ac enuye hir hateth,
A proude pryker of Fraunce · *prynceps huius mundi*,
And wolde winne hir awey · with wyles, and he myȝte.
¶ Ac kynde knoweth þis wel · and kepeth hir þe bettere,
And hath do hir with ſire dowel · is duke of þis marches.
Dobet is hir damoiſele · ſire doweles douȝter,
To ſerue this lady lelly[4] · bothe late and rathe.[5]
Dobeſt is aboue bothe · a biſſchopes pere;
Þat he bit, mote be do[6] · he reuleth hem alle;
Anima þat lady · is ladde bi his lerynge.
¶ Ac þe conſtable of þat caſtel · þat kepeth al þe wacche,
Is a wys kniȝte with-al · ſire Inwitte he hatte,
And hath fyue feyre ſones · bi his firſt wyf;
Sire ſewel and ſaywel · and herewel þe hende,
Sire worche-wel-wyth-þine-hande · a wiȝte man of ſtrengthe,
And ſire godfrey gowel · gret lordes for ſothe.
Þiſe fyue ben ſette · to ſaue þis lady *anima*,
Tyl kynde come or ſende · to ſaue hir for euere."
¶ " What kynnes thyng is kynde," quod I · " canſtow me telle?"
¶ " Kynde," quod witte, " is a creatour · of alle kynnes þinges;
Fader and fourmo*ur* · of al þat euere was maked;
And þat is þe gret god · þat gynnynge had neuere,
Lorde of lyf and of lyȝte · of lyſſe and of peyne.
Angeles and al þing · aren at his wille.
Ac man is hym moſte lyke · of marke[7] and of ſchafte;
For þorugh þe worde þat he ſpake · wexen forth beſtes,
Dixit, & facta ſunt;
¶ And made man likkeſt · to hym-ſelf one,
And Eue of his ribbe-bon · with-outen eny mene.
For he was ſynguler hym-ſelf · and ſeye *faciamus*,
As who ſeith, 'more mote here-to · þan my worde one;
My myȝte mote helpe · now with my ſpeche.'
Riȝte as a lorde ſholde make le*ttres* · and hym lakked p*ar*chemyn,
þough he couth write neuere ſo wel · ȝif he had no penne,
þe le*ttre*[s] for al þe lordſhip · I leue were neuere ymaked.
¶ And ſo it ſemeth bi hym · as þe bible telleth,
þere he ſeyde, *dixit, & facta ſunt;*
He moſte worche with his worde · and his witte ſhewe.
And in þis manere was man made · þorugh myȝte of god almiȝti,
With his worde and werkemanſchip · and with lyf to laſte.
And þus god gaf hym a gooſt[8] · of þe godhed of heuene,
And of his grete grace · graunted hym bliſſe,
And þat is lyf þat ay ſhal laſt · to al his lynage after.
And þat is þe caſtel þat kynde made · *caro* it hatte,
And is as moche to mene · as man with a ſoule;
And þat he wrouȝt with werke · and with worde bothe,
þorugh myȝte of þe maieſte · man was ymaked.

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[1] [nature.] [2] [verily, truly.] [3] [lover.]
[4] [loyally.] [5] [early.] [6] [What he bids, muſt be done.]
[7] [form, faſhion.] [8] [ſpirit.]

¶ Inwit and alle wittes · cloſed ben þer-inne,
For loue of þe lady *anima* · þat lyf is ynempned ;[1]
Ouer al in mannes body · he walketh and wandreth,
Ac in þe herte is hir home · and hir moſte[2] reſte.
Ac Inwitte is in þe hed · and to the herte he loketh,
What *anima* is lief or loth[3] · he lat[4] hir at his wille ;
For after þe grace of god · þe gretteſt is Inwitte.
* * * * * * *

Passus X. (B-text.)

Thanne hadde witte a wyf · was hote dame ſtudye,
þat lene was of lere · and of liche bothe.
She was wonderly wroth · þat witte me þus tauȝte,
And al ſtarynge dame ſtudye · ſternelich ſeyde,
" Wel artow wyſe," quod ſhe to witte · " any wyſdomes to telle
To flatereres or to folis · þat frantyk ben of wittes!"
And blamed hym and banned hym · and badde hym be ſtylle,
With ſuche wiſe wordes · to wiſſen any ſottes ;
And ſeyde, " *noli mittere*, man · margerye perlis
Amanges hogges, þat han · hawes at wille.
þei don but dryuele þer-on · draffe[5] were hem leuere[6]
þan al þe precious perre · þat in paradys wexeth.[7]
I ſey it bi ſuche," quod ſhe · " þat ſheweth bi her werkes,
þat hem were leuer[8] londe · and lordſhip on erthe,
Or richeſſe or rentis · and reſte at her wille,
þan alle þe ſothe ſawes · þat ſalamon ſeyde euere.
¶ Wiſdome and witte now · is nouȝt worth a carſe,[8]
But if it be carded with coueytiſe[9] · as clotheres kemben here wolle.
Who-ſo can contreue deceytes · an conſpire wronges,
And lede forth a loue-day[10] · to latte with treuthe ;
He þat ſuche craftes can · to conſeille is clepid ;
þei lede lordes with leſynges · and bilyeth treuthe.
¶ Iob þe gentel · in his geſtes witneſſeth,
þat wikked men, þei welden · þe welthe of þis worlde,
And þat þei ben lordes of eche a londe · þat oute of lawe libbeth ;
Quare impij viuunt? bene eſt omnibus, qui preuaricantur & inique agunt?
¶ þe ſauter ſeyth þe ſame · bi ſuche þat don ille,
Ecce ipſi peccatores habundantes; in ſeculo optinuerunt diuicias.
' Lo!' ſeith holy letterrure · ' whiche lordes beth þis ſhrewes!'
þilke þat god moſte gyueth · leſte good þei deleth,
And moſte vnkynde to þe comune · þat moſte catel weldeth ;[11]
Que perfeciſti, deſtruxerunt ; iuſtus autem quid fecit!
Harlotes for her harlotrye · may haue of her godis,
And iaperes and iogeloures[12] · and iangelers of geſtes.
¶ Ac he þat hath holy writte · ay in his mouth,
And can telle of Tobye · and of þe twelue apoſtles,
Or prechen of þe penaunce · þat pilat wrouȝt
To Iheſu þe gentil · þat Iewes to-drowe :—
Litel is he loued · þat ſuche a leſſoun ſcheweth,
Or daunted or drawe forth · I do it on god hym-ſelf!

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[1] [named.] [2] [greateſt, chief.] [3] [unwilling.] [4] [leadeth.]
[5] [dregs, refuſe; uſed by Chaucer.]
[6] [dearer to them; *i. e.* they would rather have.] [7] [grows.]
[8] [Some MSS. have *kerſe*, i. e. a water-creſs.] [9] [covetouſneſs.]
[10] [A day for the amicable ſettlement of differences was called a *love-day*.]
[11] [wields; *i. e.* poſſeſſes.] [12] [jugglers.]

¶ But þo[1] þat feynen hem folis · and with faityng[2] libbeth,
Aȝein þe lawe of owre lorde · and lyen on hem-ſelue,
Spitten and ſpewen · and ſpeke foule wordes,
Drynken and dryuelen · and do men for to gape,
Lickne men and lye on hem · þat leneth hem no ȝiftes,
Þei conne[3] namore mynſtralcye · ne muſyke, men to glade,
Than Munde þe mylnere · of *multa fecit deus!*
Ne were here vyle harlotrye · haue god my treuthe,
Shulde neuere Kyng ne kniȝt · ne chanoun of ſeynt Poules
ȝyue hem to her ȝereſȝiue · þe ȝifte of a grote!
¶ Ac murthe and mynſtralcye · amonges men is nouthe
Leccherye, loſengerye,[4] · and loſeles tales;
Glotonye and grete othes · þis murthe þei louieth.
¶ Ac if þei carpen[5] of cryſt · þis clerkis and þis lewed,
Atte mete in her murthes · whan mynſtralles ben ſtille,
Þanne telleth þei of þe trinite · a tale other tweyne,
And bringen forth a balled reſoun · and taken Bernard[6] to witneſſe,
And putten forth a preſumpſioun · to preue þe ſothe.
Þus þei dryuele at her deyſe[7] · þe deite to knowe,
And gnawen god with þe gorge[8] · whan her gutte is fulle.
¶ Ac þe careful[9] may crye · and carpen atte ȝate,
Bothe afyngred[10] and a-thurſt · and for chele[11] quake;
Is none to nymen hym nere · his noye[12] to amende,
But hoen on hym as an hounde · and hoten hym go þennes.
Litel loueth he þat lorde · þat lent hym al þat bliſſe,
Þat þus parteth with þe pore · a parcel whan hym nedeth.
Ne were mercy in mene men · more þan in riche,
Mendinanty meteles[13] · miȝte go to bedde.
God is moche in þe gorge · of þiſe grete mayſtres,
Ac amonges mene men · his mercy and his werkis;
And ſo ſeith þe ſauter · I haue yſeye it ofte,
Ecce audiuimus eam in effrata, inuenimus eam in campis ſilue.
Clerkes and other kynnes men · carpen of god faſte,
And haue hym moche in þe mouthe · ac mene men in herte.
¶ Freres and faitoures · han founde ſuche queſtiouns
To pleſe with proude men · ſithen þe peſtilence tyme,
And prechen at ſeint poules · for pure enuye of clerkis,
Þat folke is nouȝte fermed in þe feith · ne fre of her goodes,
Ne ſori for her ſynnes · ſo is pryde waxen
In religioun in alle þe rewme · amonges riche & pore,
Þat prayeres haue no power · þe peſtilence to lette.
And ȝette þe wrecches of þis worlde · is none ywar bi other,
Ne for drede of þe deth · withdrawe nouȝt her pryde,
Ne beth plentyuous to þe pore · as pure charite wolde,
But in gayneſſe and in glotonye · for-glotton her goode hem-ſelue,
And breken nouȝte to þe beggar · as þe boke techeth,
Frange eſurienti panem tuum, &c.
And þe more he wynneth and welt · welthes & riccheſſe,
And lordeth in londes · he laſſe good he deleth.
¶ Thobye telleth ȝow nouȝt ſo · take hede, ȝe riche,
How þe boke bible · of hym bereth witneſſe:
Si tibi ſit copia, habundanter tribue; ſi autem exiguum, illud impertiri ſtude libenter:—
Who-ſo hath moche, ſpene manliche · ſo meneth Thobie,

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[1] [thoſe.] [2] [deceit.] [3] [know.] [4] [flattery.]
[5] [ſpeak.] [6] [St. Bernard.] [7] daïs, high table. [8] [throat.]
[9] [poor.] [10] [very hungry.] [11] [cold.] [12] [trouble.]
[13] [Beggars ſupperleſs.]

And who-so litel weldeth · reule him þer-after;
For we haue no *lettre* of owre lyf · how longe it shal dure.
Suche lessoun*es* lordes shulde · louie to here,
And how he myȝte most meyne · manliche fynde.
¶ Nouȝt to fare as a fitheler or a frere · for to seke festes,
Homelich at other mennes houses · and hatyen her owne.
Elyng[1] is þe halle · vche daye in þe wyke,
þere þe lorde ne þe lady · liketh nouȝte to sytte.
Now hath vche riche a reule[2] · to eten bi hym-selue
In a pryue parloure · for pore mennes sake,
Or in a chambre with a chymneye · and leue þe chief halle,
þat was made for meles · men to eten Inne;
And al to spare to spille · þat spende shal an other.
¶ And whan þat witte was ywar · what dame studye tolde,
He bicome so confus · he couth nouȝte loke,
And as doumbe as deth · and drowe hym arrer*e*[3];
¶ And for no carpyng I couth after · ne knelyng to þe grounde,
I myȝte gete no greyne · of his grete wittis,
But al laughyng he louted · and loked vppon studye,
In signe þat I shulde · biseche hir of grace.
¶ And whan I was war of his wille · to his wyf gan I loute,
And seyde, "mercy, madame · ȝowr*e* man shal I worthe,
As longe as I liue · bothe late & rathe,
Forto worche ȝowre wille · þe while my lyf dureth,
With þat ȝe kenne me kyndely · to knowe what is dowel."
¶ "For þi mekenesse, man," q*uo*d she · "and for þi mylde speche,
I shal kenne þe to my cosyn · þat clergye is hoten.[4]
He hath wedded a wyf · with-Inne þis syx monethes,
Is sybbe[5] to þe seuene artz · scripture is hir name.
þei two, as I hope · after my techyng,
Shullen wissen þe to dowel · I dar it vndertake."
¶ þanne was I also fayne[6] · as foule[7] of faire morwe,
And gladder þan þe gleman[8] · þat golde hath to ȝifte,
And axed hir þe heighe weye · where þat clergye[9] dwelte,
"And telle me some token," q*uo*d I · "for tyme is þat I wende."
¶ "Axe þe heighe waye," q*uo*d she · "hennes to suffre-
Bothe-wel-&-wo · ȝif þat þow wolt lerne,
And ryde forth by riccheſſe · ac reſt þow nauȝt þerinne,
For if þow coupleſt þe þer-with · to clergye comeſtow neuere.
¶ And also þe likerouse launde · þat leccherye hatte,
Leue hym on þi left halue · a large myle or more,
Tyl þow come to a courte · kepe-wel-þi-tonge-
Fro-lesynges-and-lither[10]-speche-· and-likerouse-drynkes.
þanne shaltow se sobrete · and symplete-of-speche,
þat eche wiȝte be in wille · his witte þe to shewe,
And þus shaltow come to clergye · þat can many þinges.
¶ Saye hym þis signe · I sette hym to scole,
And þat I grete wel his wyf · for I wrote hir many bokes,
And sette hir to sapience · and to þe sauter glose.
Logyke I lerned hir · and many other lawes,
And alle þe musoun*s* in musike · I made hir to knowe.
¶ Plato þe poete · I put hym fyrste to boke,
Aristotle and other moo · to argue I tauȝte.
Grammer for gerles · I garte firſt wryte,
And bette hem with a baleis · but if þei wolde lerne.

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[1] [strange, deserted. Henry VIII. in a letter to Anne Bullen speaks of his *Elengnes* since her departure. Hearne's *Avesbury*, p. 360.] [2] [custom.]
[3] back. [4] named. [5] akin. [6] glad.
[7] bird. [8] harper. [9] learning. [10] wanton, bad.

Of alkinnes craftes · I contreued toles,
Of carpentrie, of kerueres · and compaſſed maſouns,
And lerned hem leuel and lyne · þough I loke dymme.
¶ Ac theologie hath tened me · ten ſcore tymes,
The more I muſe þere-Inne · þe miſtier it ſemeth,
And þe depper I deuyne · þe derker me it þinketh;
It is no ſcience for ſothe · forto ſotyle Inne;
A ful lethy þinge it were · ȝif þat loue nere.
Ac for it let beſt by loue · I loue it þe bettre;
For þere þat loue is leder · ne lacked neuere grace, &c.]

The artifices and perſuaſions of the monks to procure donations to their convents are thus humorouſly ridiculed, in a ſtrain which ſeems to have given riſe to Chaucer's *Sompnour's Tale*:—

Thanne he aſſoilled hir ſone · and ſithen he ſeyde,
"We han a wyndowe a wirchyng · wil ſitten vs ful heigh;
Woldeſtow glaſe þat gable · and graue þere-inne þi name,
Siker ſholde þi ſoule be · heuene to haue." [B. iii. 47.][1]

Covetiſe or Covetouſneſs is thus drawn in the true colours of ſatirical painting.

And þanne cam coueytiſe · can I hym nouȝte deſcryue,
So hungriliche and holwe · ſire Heruy hym loked.
He was bitelbrowed · and baberlipped alſo,
With two blered eyghen · as a blynde hagge;
And as a letheren purs · lolled his chekes,
Wel ſydder þan his chyn · þei chiueled for elde;
And as a bondman of his bacoun · his berde was bidraueled.
With an hode on his hed · a louſi hatte aboue,
And in a tauny tabarde[2] · of twelue wynter age,
Al totorne and baudy · and ful of lys crepynge;
But if þat a lous couthe · haue lopen þe bettre,
She ſholde nouȝte haue walked on þat welche · ſo was it thredebare.
"I haue ben coueytouſe," quod þis caityue · "I biknowe it here;
For ſome tyme I ſerued · Symme atte Stile,

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[1] Theſe, and the following lines, are plainly copied by Chaucer, viz.:—

"And I ſhall cover your kyrke, and your cloiſture do maken."

Chaucer, *Sompn. T.* v. 399, Morris edit. But with new ſtrokes of humour.

"'Yif me than of thy good to make our cloyſter,'
Quod he, 'for many a muſcle and many an oyſter
Hath ben oure foode, our cloyſter to arreyſe,
Whan other men han ben ful wel at eyſe;
And yit, God wot, unnethe the foundement
Parformed is, ne of oure pavyment
Is nought a tyle yit withinne our wones;
Bi God, we owe yit fourty pound for ſtones.'"

So alſo in the *Ploughman's Crede*, hereafter mentioned, l. 396, a friar ſays—

"So that thou mowe amenden our hous · with money other elles,
With ſom katell, other corne · or cuppes of ſiluer."

And again, l. 123—

"And mighteſtou amenden vs · with money of thyn owne,
Thou ſholdeſt cnely bifore Criſt · in compas of gold,
In the wide windowe · weſtwarde · wel nighe in the myddell."

That is, "your figure ſhall be painted in glaſs, in the middle of the weſt window," &c. But of this paſſage hereafter.

[2] tabard. A coat.

And was his prentis ypliȝte · his profit to wayte.
Firſt I lerned to lye · a leef other tweyne,
Wikkedlich to weye · was my furſt leſſou*n*.
To Wy[1] and to Wyncheſtre[2] I went to þe faire,

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[1] Wy is probably Weyhill in Hampſhire, where a famous fair ſtill ſubſiſts.

[2] Anciently, before many flouriſhing towns were eſtabliſhed, and the neceſſaries or ornaments of life, from the convenience of communication and the increaſe of provincial civility, could be procured in various places, goods and commodities of every kind were chiefly ſold at fairs, to which, as to one univerſal mart, the people reſorted periodically, and ſupplied moſt of their wants for the enſuing year. The diſplay of merchandiſe, and the conflux of cuſtomers at theſe principal and almoſt only emporia of domeſtic commerce, was prodigious; and they were often held on open and extenſive plains. One of the chief of them ſeems to have been that of St. Giles's hill or down near Wincheſter, to which our poet here refers. It was inſtituted and given as a kind of revenue to the biſhop of Wincheſter by William the Conqueror, who by his charter permitted it to continue for three days. But in conſequence of new royal grants, Henry III. prolonged its continuance to ſixteen days. Its juriſdiction extended ſeven miles round, and comprehended even Southampton, then a capital trading town: and all merchants who ſold wares within that circuit forfeited them to the biſhop. Officers were placed at a conſiderable diſtance, at bridges and other avenues of acceſs to the fair, to exact toll of all merchandiſe paſſing that way. In the meantime all ſhops in the city of Wincheſter were ſhut. In the fair was a court called the pavilion, at which the biſhop's juſticiaries and other officers aſſiſted, with power to try cauſes of various ſorts for ſeven miles round: nor among other ſingular claims could any lord of a manor hold a court-baron within the ſaid circuit without licence from the pavilion. During this time the biſhop was empowered to take toll of every load or parcel of goods paſſing through the gates of the city. On Saint Giles's eve the mayor, bailiffs, and citizens of the city of Wincheſter delivered the keys of the four city gates to the biſhop's officers who, during the ſaid ſixteen days, appointed a mayor and bailiff of their own to govern the city, and alſo a coroner to act within the ſaid city. Tenants of the biſhop, who held lands by doing ſervice at the pavilion, attended the ſame with horſes and armour, not only to do ſuit at the court there, but to be ready to aſſiſt the biſhop's officers in the execution of writs and other ſervices. But I cannot here enumerate the many extraordinary privileges granted to the biſhop on this occaſion, all tending to obſtruct trade and to oppreſs the people. Numerous foreign merchants frequented this fair; and it appears that the juſticiaries of the pavilion, and the treaſurer of the biſhop's palace of Wolveſey, received annually for a fee, according to ancient cuſtom, four baſins and ewers of thoſe foreign merchants who ſold brazen veſſels in the fair, and were called *mercatores diaunteres*. In the fair ſeveral ſtreets were formed, aſſigned to the ſale of different commodities, and called the Drapery, the Pottery, the Spicery, &c. Many monaſteries in and about Wincheſter had ſhops or houſes in theſe ſtreets, uſed only at the fair, which they held under the biſhop, and often let by leaſe for a term of years. One place in the fair was called *Speciarium Sancti Swythini*, or the Spicery of Saint Swithin's monaſtery. In the revenue rolls of the ancient biſhops of Wincheſter, this fair makes a grand and ſeparate article of reception, under this title: *Feria. Computus Feriæ ſancti Egidii.* But in the revenue roll of biſhop Will. of Waynflete [an. 1471], it appears to have greatly decayed: in which, among other proofs, I find mention made of a diſtrict in the fair being unoccupied, "*Ubi homines Cornubiæ ſtare ſolebant.*" From whence it likewiſe appears that different counties had their different ſtations. The whole reception to the biſhop this year from the fair amounted only to 45*l.* 18*s.* 5*d.* Yet this ſum, ſmall as it may ſeem, was worth upwards of 400*l.* Edward I. ſent a precept to the ſheriff of Hampſhire to reſtore to the biſhop this fair, which his eſcheator Malcolm de Harlegh had ſeized into the king's hands, without command of the treaſurer and barons of the exchequer, in the year 1292. *Regiſtr. Joh. de Pontiſſara, Epiſc. Wint.* fol. 195. After the charter of Henry III. many kings by charter confirmed this

With many manere marchandiſe · as my Maiſtre me hi3te;
Ne had þe grace of gyle · ygo amonge my ware,
It had be vnſolde þis ſeuene 3ere · ſo me god helpe!
Thanne drowe I me amonges draperes · my donet[1] to lerne,
To drawe þe lyſer alonge · þe lenger it ſemed;
Amonge þe riche rayes · I rendred a leſſoun, &c. [B. v. 188.]

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fair with all its privileges to the biſhops of Wincheſter. The laſt charter was of Henry VIII. to Biſhop Richard Fox and his ſucceſſors, in the year 1511. But it was followed by the uſual confirmation-charter of Charles II. In the year 1144, when Brian Fitz-count, lord of Wallingford in Berkſhire, maintained Wallingford Caſtle, one of the ſtrongeſt garriſons belonging to Maud the empreſs, and conſequently ſent out numerous parties for contributions and proviſions, Henry de Blois, biſhop of Wincheſter, enjoined him not to moleſt any paſſengers that were coming to his fair at Wincheſter, under pain of excommunication. *Omnibus ad feriam meam venientibus*, &c. *MSS. Dodſworth*, vol. 89, fol. 76, Bibl. Bodl. This was in King Stephen's reign. In that of Richard I., in the year 1194, the king grants to Portſmouth a fair laſting for fifteen days, with all the privileges of Saint Giles's fair at Wincheſter. Anders. *Hiſt. Com.* i. 197. In the year 1234, the eighteenth of Henry III., the fermier of the city of Wincheſter paid twenty pounds to Ailward chamberlain of Wincheſter Caſtle, to buy a robe at this fair for the king's ſon, and divers ſilver implements for a chapel in the caſtle. Madox, *Exch.* p. 251. It appears from [the *Northumb. Houſh. Book*], that the ſtores of his lordſhip's houſe at Wreſille, for the whole year, were laid in from fairs. "He that ſtandes charged with my lordes houſe for the houll yeir, if he may poſſible, ſhall be at all Faires where the groice emptions ſhall be boughte for the houſe for the houlle yeire, as wine, wax, beiffes, multons, wheite, and maltie," p. 407. This laſt quotation is a proof that fairs ſtill continued to be the principal marts for purchaſing neceſſaries in large quantities, which now are ſupplied by frequent trading towns: and the mention of "beiffes" and "multons," which were ſalted oxen and ſheep, ſhews that at ſo late a period they knew but little of breeding cattle. Their ignorance of ſo important an article of huſbandry is alſo an evidence that in the reign of Henry VIII. the ſtate of population was much lower among us than we may imagine.

In the ſtatutes of Saint Mary Ottery's college in Devonſhire, given by Biſhop Grandiſon the founder, the ſtewards and ſacriſt are ordered to purchaſe annually two hundred pounds of wax for the choir of the college, at this fair. "Cap. lxvii.—Pro luminaribus vero omnibus ſupradictis inveniendis, etiam ſtatuimus, quod ſeneſcalli ſcaccarii per viſum et auxilium ſacriſte, omni anno, in nundinis Wynton, vel alibi apud Toryngton et in partibus Barnſtepol, ceram ſufficientem, quam ad ducentas libras æſtimamus pro uno anno ad minus faciant provideri." Theſe ſtatutes were granted in the year 1338. MS. apud Regiſtr. Priorat. S. Swithin. Winton. In Archiv. Wolves. In the accompts of the Priories of Maxtoke in Warwickſhire, and of Biceſter in Oxfordſhire, under the reign of Henry VI., the monks appear to have laid in yearly ſtores of various yet common neceſſaries, at the fair of Sturbridge in Cambridgeſhire, at leaſt one hundred miles diſtant from either monaſtery. It may ſeem ſurpriſing, that their own neighbourhood, including the cities of Oxford and Coventry, could not ſupply them with commodities neither rare nor coſtly, which they thus fetched at a conſiderable expence of carriage. It is a rubric in ſome of the monaſtic rules *De Euntibus ad Nundinas*. See Dugd. Mon. Angl. ii. p. 746. It is hoped the reader will excuſe this tedious note, which at leaſt developes ancient manners and cuſtoms.

[1] Leſſon. Properly a *Grammar*, from *Ælius Donatus* the grammarian. *Teſtam. L.* p. 504, b. edit. Urr. "No paſſef to vertues of this Margarite, but therin al my *donet* can I lerne." In the ſtatutes of Wincheſter-college, [written about 1386,] grammar is called "Antiquus donatus," *i. e.* the *old donat*, or the name of a ſyſtem of grammar at that time in vogue, and long before. The French have a book entitled "*Le Donnet, traité de grammaire, baillé a feu roi Charles* viii." Among Rawlinſon's MSS. at Oxford, I have ſeen *Donatus optimus noviter compi-*

Our author, who probably could not get preferment, thus inveighs againſt the luxury and diverſions of the prelates of his age:

Ac now is religioun a ryder [1] a rowmer bi ſtretes,
A leder of louedayes [2] · and a londe-bugger,
A priker on a palfray · fro manere to manere,
An heep of houndes at his ers · as he a lorde were.[1]
And but if his knaue knele · þat ſhal his cuppe brynge,
He loureth on hym and axeth hym · who tau3te hym curteiſye? [3]

There is great picturesque humour in the following lines:

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latus, a manuſcript on vellum, given to Saint Alban's, by John Stoke, abbot, in 1450. In the introduction, or *lytell Proheme*, to Dean Colet's *Grammatices Rudimenta*, we find mention made of "certayne introducyons into latyn ſpeche called *Donates*," &c. Among the books written by Biſhop Pecock, there is the *Donat into chriſtian religion*, and the *Folower to the Donat*. Lewis's *Pecock*, p. 317. I think I have before obſerved, that John of Baſing, who flouriſhed in the year 1240, calls his Greek Grammar *Donatus Græcorum*. Pegge's *Weſeham*, p. 51. Wynkyn de Worde printed *Donatus ad Anglicanarum ſcholarum uſum*. [But ſee *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* art. *Children*.] Cotgrave (in v.) quotes an old French proverb, "Les diables eſtoient encores *a leur Donat*, *The devils were but yet in their grammar*."

[1] Walter de Suffield, biſhop of Norwich, bequeaths by will his pack of hounds to the king in 1256. Blomefield's *Norf.* ii. 347. See Chaucer's *Monkes Prol.* v. 165. This was a common topic of ſatire. It occurs again, fol. xxvii. a. See [the] *Teſtament of Love*, p. 492, col. ii. Urr. The archdeacon of Richmond, on his viſitation, comes to the priory of Bridlington in Yorkſhire, in 1216, with ninety-ſeven horſes, twenty-one dogs, and three hawks, Dugd. *Mon.* ii. 65.

[2] [love-days.]

[3] B. x. 306. The following prediction, although a probable concluſion, concerning a king, who after a time would ſuppreſs the religious houſes, is remarkable. I imagined it was foiſted into the copies, in the reign of Henry VIII. But it is in [all the] MSS. of this poem [which exhibit the *ſecond* verſion, many of which are] older than the year 1400.

"¶ Ac *þere ſhal come a kyng* · and confeſſe 3ow religiouſes,
And bete 3ow as þe bible telleth · for brekynge of 3owre reule,
And amende monyales · monkes and chanouns—
¶ And þanne Freres in here freitoure · ſhal fynden a keye
Of coſtantynes coffres · in which is þe catel
Þat Gregories god-children · han yuel diſpended.
¶ And þanne ſhal þe abbot of Abyndoun · and alle [his] iſſu for euere
Haue a knokke of a kynge · and incurable þe wounde." [B. x. 317.]

Again, where he alludes to the knights-templers, lately ſuppreſſed:

"Men of holy kirke
Shul tourne as templeres did, *the tyme approcheth faſte*."
[B. xv. 507.]

This, I ſuppoſe, was a favourite doctrine in Wickliffe's diſcourſes. I cannot help taking notice of a paſſage in *Piers Plowman*, which ſhews how the reigning paſſion for chivalry infected the ideas and expreſſions of the writers of this period. The poet is deſcribing the crucifixion, and ſpeaking of the perſon who pierced our Saviour's ſide with a ſpear. This perſon our author calls a knight, and ſays that he came forth "with his ſpere in hand, and juſted with Jeſus." Afterwards for doing ſo baſe an act as that of wounding a dead body, he is pronounced a diſgrace to knighthood: and [this "champioun chiualer, chief knyght of yow alle" is declared to have yielded himſelf recreant. B. xviii. 99.] This knight's name is Longis, and he is blind; but receives his ſight from the blood which ſprings from our Saviour's ſide. This miracle is recorded in the *Golden Legend*. He is called Longias, "A blinde knight men ycallid Longias," in Chaucer, *Lam. Mar. Magd.* v. 177.

Hunger in haſte þo · hent waſtour bi þe mawe,
And wronge hym ſo bi þe wombe · þat bothe his eyen wattered;
He buffeted þe Britoner · aboute þe chekes,
þat he loked like a lanterne · al his lyf after.[1]

And in the following, where the Vices are repreſented as converted and coming to confeſſion, among which is the figure of Envy:

Of a freres frokke · were þe forſleues.
And as a leke hadde yleye · longe in þe ſonne,
So loked he with lene chekes · lourynge foule. [B. v. 81.]

It would be tedious to tranſcribe other ſtrokes of humour, with which this poem abounds. Before one of the Viſions the poet falls aſleep, while he is bidding his beads. In another he deſcribes Antichriſt, whoſe banner is borne by Pride, as welcomed into a monaſtery with ringing of bells, and a ſolemn congratulatory proceſſion of all the monks as marching out to meet and receive him.[2]

Theſe images of mercy and truth are in a different ſtrain:

Out of þe weſt coſte · a wenche, as me thouȝte,
Cam walkynge in þe wey · to-helle-ward ſhe loked.
Mercy hiȝt þat mayde · a meke þynge with-alle,
A ful benygne buirde · and boxome of ſpeche.
Her ſuſter, as it ſemed · cam ſoftly walkynge,
Euene out of þe eſt · and weſtward ſhe loked.
A ful comely creature · treuth ſhe hiȝte,
For þe vertue þat hir folwed · aferd was ſhe neuere.
Whan þis maydenes mette · mercy and treuth,
Eyther axed other · of þis grete wonder,
Of þe dyne & of þe derkneſſe, &c.[3]

The imagery of Nature, or Kinde, ſending forth his diſeaſes from the planets, at the command of Conſcience, and of his attendants Age and Death, is conceived with ſublimity:

Kynd Conſcience tho herde · and cam out of the planets,
And ſent forth his foreioures · feures & fluxes,
Coughes, and cardiacles · crampes, and tothaches,
Rewmes, & radegoundes · and roynouſe ſcalles,
Byles, and bocches · and brennyng agues;
Freneſyes, & foule yueles · forageres of kynde,
Hadde yprykked and prayed · polles of peple,
þat largelich a legiou*n* · leſe her lyf ſone.
¶ There was—"harrow and help! · here cometh kynde,
With deth þat is dredful · to vndone vs alle!"
¶ The lorde that lyued after luſt · tho alowde cryde
After co*n*forte, a knyghte · to come and bere his baner*e*
¶ Elde þe hore · he was in þe vauntwarde,
And bare þe banere bifor deth · by riȝte he it claymed.
Kynde come after · with many kene ſores,
As pokkes and peſtilences · and moche poeple ſhente;
So kynde þorw corupciou*n*s · kulled ful manye.
¶ Deth cam dryuende after · and al to douſt paſshed
Knyges & knyȝtes · kayſeres and popes;
Many a louely lady · and le*m*manes of knyghtes
Swouned and ſwelted · for ſorwe of dethes dyntes.
¶ Conſcience of his curteiſye · to kynde he biſouȝte,
To ceſſe & ſuffre · and ſee where þei wolde

[1] [B. text; vi. 176.] [2] [B. xx. 57.] [3] [B. xviii. 113.]

Leue pryde pryuely · and be parfite criſtene.
¶ And kynde ceſſed tho · to ſe þe peple amende.[1]

Theſe lines at leaſt put us in mind of Milton's *Lazarhouſe*:[2]

. . . . . Immediately a place
Before his eyes appeared, ſad, noiſome, dark:
A lazar-houſe it ſeem'd, wherein were laid
Numbers of all diſeas'd: all maladies
Of gaſtly ſpaſm, or racking torture, qualms
Of heart-ſick agony, all feverous kinds,
Convulſions, epilepſies, fierce catarrhs,
Inteſtine ſtone, and ulcer, cholic pangs,
Demoniac phrenzy, moping melancholy,
And moon-ſtruck madneſs, pining atrophy,
Maraſmus, and wide-waſting Peſtilence:
Dropſies and aſthma, and joint-racking rheum.
Dire was the toſſing! Deep the groans! Deſpair
Tended the ſick, buſy from couch to couch;
And over them triumphant Death his dart
Shook, but delay'd to ſtrike, &c.

At length Fortune or Pride ſends forth a numerous army led by Luſt, to attack Conſcience.

And gadered a gret hoſte · al agayne CONSCIENCE:
This LECHERYE leyde on · with a laughyng chiere,
And with pryue ſpeche · and peynted wordes,
And armed hym in ydelneſſe · and in hiegh berynge.
He bare a bowe in his hande · and manye blody arwes,
Weren fethered with faire biheſte · and many a falſe truthe.[3]

Afterwards Conſcience is beſieged by Antichriſt and ſeven great giants, who are the ſeven capital or deadly ſins: and the aſſault is made by Sloth, who conducts an army of more than a thouſand prelates.

It is not improbable, that Langland here had his eye on the old French *Roman d'Antechriſt*, a poem written by Huon de Meri, about the year 1228. The author of this piece ſuppoſes that Antichriſt is on earth, that he viſits every profeſſion and order of life, and finds numerous partiſans. The Vices arrange themſelves under the banner of Antichriſt, and the Virtues under that of Chriſt. Theſe two armies at length come to an engagement, and the battle ends to the honour of the Virtues, and the total defeat of the Vices. The banner of Antichriſt has before occurred in our quotations from Longland. The title of Huon de Meri's poem deſerves notice. It is [*Le*] *Turnoyement de l'Antechriſt*. Theſe are the concluding lines:

Par ſon droit nom a peau cet livre
Qui treſbien s'avorde a l' eſcrit
Le *Tournoiement de l'Antechriſt*.

The author appears to have been a monk of St. Germain des Pres, near Paris.[4] This allegory is much like that which we find in the old dramatic Moralities. The theology of the middle ages abounded with conjectures and controverſies concerning Antichrſt, who at a very early period was commonly believed to be the Roman pontiff.[5]

[1] [B. xx. p. 372, edit. Skeat.] [2] *Par. L.* ii. 475. [3] [B. xx. 112.]
[4] [See ſome account of this poem in Mr. Wright's *St. Patrick's Purgatory*.]
[5] See this topic diſcuſſed with ſingular penetration and perſpicuity, by Dr. Hurd. in *Twelve Sermons Introductory to the Study of the Prophecies*, 1772, p. 206, *ſeq.*

SECTION IX.

TO the *Viſion of* [*William concerning*] *Pierce Plowman* has been commonly annexed a poem called *Pierce the Plowman's Crede*.[1]

The author, in the character of a plain uninformed perſon, pretends to be ignorant of his creed, to be inſtructed in the articles of which, he applies by turns to the four orders of Mendicant friars. This circumſtance affords an obvious occaſion of expoſing in lively colours the tricks of thoſe ſocieties. After ſo unexpected a diſappointment, he meets one Pierce or Peter, a ploughman, who reſolves his doubts, and teaches him the principles of true religion. In a copy of the [edition of the] *Crede*, [printed in 1561], preſented to me by the Biſhop of Glouceſter, and once belonging to Mr. Pope, the latter in his own hand has inſerted the following abſtract of its plan. "An ignorant plain man having learned his Pater-noſter and Ave-Mary, wants to learn his creed. He aſks ſeveral religious men of the ſeveral orders to teach it him. Firſt a friar Minor, who bids him beware of the Carmelites, and aſſures him they can teach him nothing, deſcribing their faults, &c. but that the friars Minors ſhall ſave him, whether he learns his creed or not. He goes next to the friars Preachers, whoſe magnificent monaſtery he deſcribes: there he meets a fat friar, who declaims againſt the Auguſtines. He is ſhocked at his pride, and goes to the Auguſtines. They rail at the Minorites. He goes to the Carmelites: they abuſe the Dominicans, but promiſe him ſalvation, without the creed, for money. He leaves them with indignation, and finds an honeſt poor Ploughman in the field, and tells him how he was diſappointed by the four orders. The ploughman anſwers with a long invective againſt them."

The language of the *Crede* is leſs embarraſſed and obſcure than that of the *Viſion*. But before I proceed to a ſpecimen, it may not

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[1] The firſt edition [was printed by Reynold Wolfe in 1553.] It was reprinted, and added to Rogers's, or the fourth, edition of the *Viſion*, 1561. It was evidently written after the year 1384. Wickliffe died in that year, and he is mentioned as no longer living, in ſignat.—C ii. edit. 1561 [l. 528]. Walter Britte or Brithe, a follower of Wickliffe, is alſo mentioned [l. 657] ſignat. C iii. [The *Crede* is in no ſenſe an appendage to the *Viſion*, but upon a totally different plan. The proper ſequel to the *Viſion* is the piece called the *Depoſition of Richard II.*, probably alſo by Langland. But *Pierce the Plowman's Crede* is by another author, a profeſſed follower of Wickliffe, written about A.D. 1394, in order to diſcredit the four orders of Mendicant Friars. The only points of connection with the *Viſion* are the title, which was imitated from it; the rhythm, and the fact that ſome have thought fit to print both poems in one volume, to the intenſe confuſion of haſty ſtudents, who mix the two together in a moſt unſcholarly faſhion.—*Skeat.*] Britte is placed by Bale in 1390. Cent. vi. 94. See alſo Fuller's *Worth.* p. 8, *Wales*, [and Pref. to edit. Skeat.] The reader will pardon this ſmall anticipation for the ſake of connection.

be perhaps improper to prepare the reader, by giving an outline of the conſtitution and character of the four orders of Mendicant friars, the object of our poet's ſatire: an enquiry in many reſpects connected with the general purport of this hiſtory, and which, in this place at leaſt, cannot be deemed a digreſſion, as it will illuſtrate the main ſubject, and explain many particular paſſages, of the *Plowman's Crede*.[1]

Long before the thirteenth century, the monaſtic orders, as we have partly ſeen in the preceding poem, in conſequence of their ample revenues, had degenerated from their primitive auſterity, and were totally given up to luxury and indolence. Hence they became both unwilling and unable to execute the purpoſes of their eſtabliſhment: to inſtruct the people, to check the growth of hereſies, or to promote in any reſpect the true intereſts of the church. They forſook all their religious obligations, deſpiſed the authority of their ſuperiors, and were abandoned without ſhame or remorſe to every ſpecies of diſſipation and licentiouſneſs. About the beginning therefore of the thirteenth century, the condition and circumſtances of the church rendered it abſolutely neceſſary to remedy theſe evils, by introducing a new order of religious, who being deſtitute of fixed poſſeſſions, by the ſeverity of their manners, a profeſſed contempt of riches, and an unwearied perſeverance in the duties of preaching and prayer, might reſtore reſpect to the monaſtic inſtitution, and recover the honours of the church. Theſe were the four orders of mendicant or begging friars, commonly denominated the Franciſcans, the Dominicans, the Carmelites, and the Auguſtines.[2]

Theſe ſocieties ſoon ſurpaſſed all the reſt, not only in the purity of their lives, but in the number of their privileges and the multitude of their members. Not to mention the ſucceſs which attends all novelties, their reputation aroſe quickly to an amazing height. The popes, among other uncommon immunities, allowed them the liberty of travelling wherever they pleaſed, of converſing with perſons of all ranks, of inſtructing the youth and the people in general, and of hearing confeſſions, without reſerve or reſtriction: and as on theſe occaſions, which gave them opportunities of appearing in public and conſpicuous ſituations, they exhibited more ſtriking marks of gravity and ſanctity than were obſervable in the deportment and conduct of the members of other monaſteries, they were regarded with the

[1] And of ſome perhaps quoted above from the *Viſion*. ["Of the creed there does not appear to exiſt any manuſcript older than the firſt printed edition."—*Wright*. But ſee Mr. Skeat's notice of a MS. in Trin. Coll. Camb. which, though a late tranſcript, is obviouſly exactly copied from a MS. of the firſt half of the fifteenth century.]

[2] The Franciſcans were often ſtyled friars-minors, or minorites, and greyfriars: the Dominicans, friars-preachers, and ſometimes black-friars; the Carmelites, white-friars; and the Auſtins, grey-friars. The firſt eſtabliſhment of the Dominicans in England was at Oxford in 1221; of the Franciſcans, at Canterbury. Theſe two were the moſt eminent of the four orders. The Dominican friary at Oxford ſtood in an iſland on the ſouth of the city, ſouth-weſt of the Franciſcan friary, the ſite of which is hereafter deſcribed.

higheſt eſteem and veneration throughout all the countries of Europe.

In the mean time they gained ſtill greater reſpect, by cultivating the literature then in vogue with the greateſt aſſiduity and ſucceſs. Giannone ſays, that moſt of the theological profeſſors in the univerſity of Naples, newly founded in the year 1220, were choſen from the Mendicants.[1] They were the principal teachers of theology at Paris, the ſchool where this ſcience had received its origin.[2] At Oxford and Cambridge reſpectively, all the four orders had flouriſhing monaſteries. The moſt learned ſcholars in the univerſity of Oxford, at the cloſe of the thirteenth century, were Franciſcan friars: and long after this period, the Franciſcans appear to have been the ſole ſupport and ornament of that univerſity.[3] Hence it was that Biſhop Hugh de Balſham, founder of Peter-houſe at Cambridge, orders in his ſtatutes given about the year 1280, that ſome of his ſcholars ſhould annually repair to Oxford for improvement in the ſciences.[4] That is, to ſtudy under the Franciſcan readers. Such was the eminence of the Franciſcan friary at Oxford, that the learned Biſhop Groſeteſte, in the year 1253, bequeathed all his books to that celebrated ſeminary.[5] This was the houſe in which the renowned Roger Bacon was educated; who revived in the midſt of barbariſm, and brought to a conſiderable degree of perfection, the knowledge of mathematics in England, and greatly facilitated many modern diſcoveries in experimental philoſophy.[6] The ſame fraternity is likewiſe ſaid to have ſtored their

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[1] *Hiſt. Nap.* xvi. 3.

[2] See Boul. *Hiſt. Academ. Paris*, iii. pp. 138, 240, 244, 248, &c.

[3] This circumſtance in ſome degree rouſed the monks from their indolence, and induced the greater monaſteries to procure the foundation of ſmall colleges in the univerſities for the education of their novices. At Oxford the monks had alſo ſchools which bore the name of their reſpective orders: and there were ſchools in that univerſity which were appropriated to particular monaſteries. Kennet's *Paroch. Ant.* p. 214. Wood, *Hiſt. Ant. Univ. Oxon.* i. 119. Leland ſays, that even in his time at Stamford, a temporary univerſity, the names of halls inhabited by the novices of Peterborough, Sempringham, and Vauldrey abbeys, were remaining. *Itin.* vi. p. 21. And it appears, that the greater part of the proceeders in theology at Oxford and Cambridge, juſt before the Reformation, were monks. But we do not find that, in conſequence of all theſe efforts, the monks made a much greater figure in literature. In this rivalry which ſubſiſted between the mendicants and the monks, the latter ſometimes availed themſelves of their riches: and with a view to attract popularity, and to eclipſe the growing luſtre of the former, proceeded to their degrees in the univerſities with prodigious parade. In the year 1298, William de Brooke, a Benedictine of St. Peter's abbey at Glouceſter, took the degree of doctor in divinity at Oxford. He was attended on this important occaſion by the abbot and whole convent of Glouceſter, the abbots of Weſtminſter, Reading, Abingdon, Eveſham, and Malmeſbury, with one hundred noblemen and eſquires, on horſes richly capariſoned. Theſe were entertained at a ſumptuous feaſt in the refectory of Glouceſter college. But it ſhould be obſerved, that he was the firſt of the Benedictine order that attained this dignity. Wood, *Hiſt. Ant. Univ. Oxon.* i. 25, col. 1. See alſo Dugdale, *Mon.* [edit. Stevens,] i. 70.

[4] "De ſcholaribus emittendis ad univerſitatem Oxonie pro doctrina." Cap. xviii.

[5] Leland. *Script. Brit.* p. 283. This houſe ſtood juſt without the city walls, near Little-gate. The garden called Paradiſe was their grove or orchard.

[6] It is probable that the treatiſes of many of Bacon's ſcholars and followers, col-

valuable library with a multitude of Hebrew manuſcripts, which they purchaſed of the Jews on their baniſhment from England.[1] Richard de Bury, Biſhop of Durham, author of *Philobiblon*, and the founder of a library at Oxford, is prolix in his praiſes of the Mendicants for their extraordinary diligence in collecting books.[2] Indeed it became difficult in the beginning of the fourteenth century to find any treatiſe in the arts, theology, or canon law, commonly expoſed to ſale: they were all univerſally bought up by the friars.[3] This is mentioned by Richard Fitzralph, archbiſhop of Armagh, in his diſcourſe before the Pope at Avignon in 1357; he was their bitter and profeſſed antagoniſt, and adds, without any intention of paying them a compliment, that all the Mendicant convents were furniſhed with a "grandis et nobilis libraria."[4] Sir Richard Whittington built the library of the Grey Friars in London, which was one hundred and twenty-nine feet long, and twelve broad, with twenty-eight deſks.[5] About the year 1430, one hundred marks were paid for tranſcribing the profound Nicholas de Lyra, in two volumes, to be chained in this library.[6] Leland relates that Thomas Wallden, a learned Carmelite, bequeathed to the ſame library as many MSS. of approved authors, written in capital Roman characters, as were then eſtimated at more than two thouſand pieces of gold.[7] He adds that this library even in his time exceeded all others in London for multitude of books and antiquity of copies.[8] Among many other inſtances which might be given of the learning of the Mendicants, there is one which greatly contributed to eſtabliſh their literary character. In the eleventh century, Ariſtotle's philoſophy had been condemned in the univerſity of Paris as heretical. About a hundred years afterwards, theſe prejudices began to ſubſide; and new tranſlations of Ariſtotle's writings were publiſhed in Latin by our countryman Michael Scotus, and others, with more attention to the original Greek, at leaſt without the pompous and perplexed

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lected by Thomas Allen in the reign of James I. ſtill remain among the MSS. of Sir Kenelm Digby in the Bodleian library.

[1] Wood, *ubi ſupr.* 1, 77, col. 2.

[2] *Philobibl.* cap. v. This book was written in 1344.

[3] Yet I find a decree made at Oxford, where theſe orders of friars flouriſhed ſo greatly, in the year 1373, to check the exceſſive multitude of perſons ſelling books in the univerſity without licence. *Vet. Stat. Univ. Oxon.* D. fol. 75. Archiv. Bodl.

[4] MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Propoſitio coram papa, &c. And MSS. C.C.C. Oxon. 182. Propoſitio coram, &c. See a tranſlation of this Sermon by Treviſa, MSS. Harl. 1900, 2. See f. 11. See alſo Browne's *append. Faſcic. Rer. expetend. fugiend.* ii. p. 466. I believe this diſcourſe has been printed twice or thrice at Paris. In which, ſays the archbiſhop, there were thirty thouſand ſcholars at Oxford in my youth, but now (1357) ſcarce ſix thouſand. At Bennet in Cambridge, there is a curious MS. of one of Fitzrauf's Sermons, in the firſt leaf of which there is a drawing of four devils, hugging four mendicant friars, one of each of the four orders, with great familiarity and affection. MSS. L. 16. This book belonged to Adam Eſton, a very learned Benedictine of Norwich, and a witneſs againſt Wickliffe at Rome, where he lived the greateſt part of his life, in 1370.

[5] Stow's *Surv. Lond.* p. 255, edit. 1599.

[6] Stow, *ibid.* p. 256, Dugd. *Monaſt.* [ed. Stevens] i. 112.

[7] Aurei.

[8] *Script. Brit.* p. 441, and *Collectan.* iii. p. 52.

circumlocutions which appeared in the Arabic verſions hitherto uſed. In the mean time ſprang up the Mendicant orders who, happily availing themſelves of theſe new tranſlations, and making them the conſtant ſubject of their ſcholaſtic lectures, were the firſt who revived the doctrines of this philoſopher, and acquired the merit of having opened a new ſyſtem of ſcience.[1] The Dominicans of Spain were accompliſhed adepts in the learning and language of the Arabians; and were employed by the kings of Spain in the inſtruction and converſion of the numerous Jews and Saracens who reſided in their dominions.[2]

The buildings of the Mendicant monaſteries, eſpecially in England, were remarkably magnificent, and commonly much exceeded thoſe of the endowed convents of the ſecond magnitude. As theſe fraternities were profeſſedly poor, and could not from their original inſtitution receive eſtates, the munificence of their benefactors was employed in adorning their houſes with ſtately refectories and churches: and for theſe and other purpoſes they did not want addreſs to procure abundance of patronage, which was facilitated by the notion of their ſuperior ſanctity. It was faſhionable for perſons of the higheſt rank to bequeath their bodies to be buried in the friary churches, which were conſequently filled with ſumptuous ſhrines and ſuperb monuments.[3] In the noble church of the Grey friars in London, finiſhed in the year 1325, but long ſince deſtroyed, four queens, beſides upwards of ſix hundred perſons of quality, were buried, whoſe beautiful tombs remained till the diſſolution.[4] Theſe interments imported conſiderable ſums of money into the mendicant

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[1] See Joann. Laun. *de varia Ariſtotel. Fortun. in Acad. Paris*, p. 78, edit. 1662.

[2] R. Simon's *Lett. Chois.* tom. iii. p. 112. They ſtudied the arts of popular entertainment. The Mendicants, I believe, were the only religious in England who acted plays. The *Creation of the World*, annually performed by the Grey friars at Coventry, is ſtill extant. And they ſeem to have been famous abroad for theſe exhibitions. De la Flamma, who flouriſhed about the year 1340, has the following curious paſſage in his chronicle of the Viſconti of Milan, publiſhed by Muratori. In the year 1336, ſays he, on the feaſt of Epiphany, the firſt feaſt of the three kings was celebrated at Milan by the convent of the friars Preachers. The three kings appeared crowned on three great horſes, richly habited, ſurrounded by pages, body-guards, and an innumerable retinue. A golden ſtar was exhibited in the ſky, going before them. They proceeded to the pillars of S. Lawrence, where King Herod was repreſented with his ſcribes and wiſe men. The three kings aſk Herod where Chriſt ſhould be born: and his wiſe men having conſulted their books, anſwer him at Bethlehem. On which, the three kings with their golden crowns, having in their hands golden cups filled with frankincenſe, myrrh, and gold, the ſtar ſtill going before, marched to the church of S. Euſtorgius with all their attendants, preceded by trumpets and horns, apes, baboons, and a great variety of animals. In the church, on one ſide of the high altar, there was a manger with an ox and an aſs, and in it the infant Chriſt in the arms of his mother. Here the three kings offer their gifts, &c. The concourſe of the people, of knights, ladies, and eccleſiaſtics, was ſuch as never before was beheld, &c. *Rer. Italic. Scriptor.* tom. xii. col. 1017. D. This feaſt in the ritual is called The feaſt of the Star. Joann. Epiſcop. Abrinc. *de Offic. Eccl.* p. 30.

[3] Their churches were eſteemed more ſacred than others.

[4] Weev. *Fun. Mon.* p. 388.

ſocieties. It is probable that they derived more benefit from caſual charity, than they would have gained from a regular endowment. The Franciſcans indeed enjoyed from the popes the privilege of diſtributing indulgences, a valuable indemnification for their voluntary poverty.[1]

On the whole, two of theſe Mendicant inſtitutions, the Dominicans and the Franciſcans, for the ſpace of nearly three centuries appear to have governed the European church and ſtate with an abſolute and univerſal ſway; they filled, during that period, the moſt eminent eccleſiaſtical and civil ſtations, taught in the univerſities with an authority which ſilenced all oppoſition, and maintained the diſputed prerogative of the Roman pontiff againſt the united influence of prelates and kings, with a vigour only to be paralleled by its ſucceſs. The Dominicans and Franciſcans were, before the Reformation, exactly what the Jeſuits have been ſince. They diſregarded their monaſtic character and profeſſion, and were employed not only in ſpiritual matters, but in temporal affairs of the greateſt conſequence; in compoſing the differences of princes, concluding treaties of peace, and concerting alliances; they preſided in cabinet councils, levied national ſubſidies, influenced courts, and managed the machinery of every important operation and event, both in the religious and political world.

From what has been here ſaid, it is natural to ſuppoſe that the Mendicants at length became univerſally odious. The high eſteem in which they were held, and the tranſcendent degree of authority which they had aſſumed, only ſerved to render them obnoxious to the clergy of every rank, to the monaſteries of other orders, and to the univerſities. It was not from ignorance, but from a knowledge of mankind, that they were active in propagating ſuperſtitious notions, which they knew were calculated to captivate the multitude, and to ſtrengthen the papal intereſt; yet at the ſame time, from the vanity of diſplaying an uncommon ſagacity of thought and a ſuperior ſkill in theology, they affected novelties in doctrine, which introduced dangerous errors, and tended to ſhake the pillars of orthodoxy. Their ambition was unbounded, and their arrogance intolerable. Their increaſing numbers became, in many ſtates, an enormous and unwieldy burthen to the commonwealth. They had abuſed the powers and privileges which had been intruſted to them; and the common ſenſe of mankind could not long be blinded or deluded by the palpable frauds and artifices, which theſe rapacious zealots ſo notoriouſly practiſed for enriching their convents. In England, the univerſity of Oxford reſolutely reſiſted the perpetual encroachments of the Dominicans;[2] and many of our theologiſts attacked all the four orders with great vehemence and ſeverity. Excluſively of the jealouſies and animoſities which naturally ſubſiſted between four rival inſtitutions, their viſionary refinements and love of diſputation introduced

[1] See Baluz. *Miſcellan.* tom. iv. 490, vii. 392.
[2] Wood, *ut ſupr.* i. 150, 154, 196.

among them the moſt violent diſſenſions. The Dominicans aimed at popularity by an obſtinate denial of the immaculate conception. Their pretended ſanctity became at length a term of reproach, and their learning fell into diſcredit. As polite letters and general knowledge increaſed, their ſpeculative and pedantic divinity gave way to a more liberal turn of thinking and a more perſpicuous mode of writing. Bale, who was himſelf a Carmelite friar, ſays that his order, which was eminently diſtinguiſhed for ſcholaſtic erudition, began to loſe their eſtimation about the year 1460. Some of them were imprudent enough to engage openly in political controverſy; and the Auguſtines deſtroyed all their repute and authority in England by ſeditious ſermons, in which they laboured to ſupplant the progeny of Edward IV., and to eſtabliſh the title of the uſurper Richard.[1] About the year 1530, Leland viſited the Franciſcan friary at Oxford, big with the hopes of finding in their celebrated library, if not many valuable books, at leaſt thoſe which had been bequeathed by the learned biſhop Groſeteſte. The delays and difficulties, with which he procured admittance into this venerable repoſitory, heightened his curioſity and expectations. At length, after much ceremony, being permitted to enter, inſtead of an ineſtimable treaſure, he ſaw little more than empty ſhelves covered with cobwebs and duſt.[2]

After ſo prolix an introduction, I cannot but give a large quotation from our *Crede*, the humour and tendency of which will now be eaſily underſtood; eſpecially as this poem is ſo curious and lively a picture of an order of men who once made ſo conſpicuous a figure in the world:[3]

> For firſt y fraynede þe freres · and þey me fulle tolden,
> Þat all þe frute of þe fayþ · was in here foure ordres,
> And þe cofres of criſtendam · & þe keye boþen,
> And þe lok [of beleve · lyeth] loken in her hondes.

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[1] Newcourt, *Repert.* i. 289.

[2] Leland deſcribes this adventure with ſome humour. "Contigit ut copiam peterem videndi bibliothecam Franciſcanorum, ad quod obſtreperunt aſini aliquot, rudentes nulli prorſus mortalium tam ſanctos aditus et receſſus adire, niſi Gardiano et ſacris ſui collegii baccalariis. Sed ego urgebam, et principis diplomate munitus, tantum non coegi, ut ſacraria illa aperirent. Tum unus e majoribus aſinis multa ſubrudens tandem fores ægre reſeravit. Summe Jupiter! quid ego illic inveni? Pulverem autem inveni, telas aranearum, tineas, blattas, ſitum denique et ſqualorem. Inveni etiam et libros, ſed quos tribus obolis non emerem."—*Script. Brit.* p. 286.

[3] [The Britiſh Muſeum contains but one MS. (King's MSS. 18. B. xvi.) of the *Crede*, and that of no early date. It agrees cloſely in orthography and matter with the printed copy, and is perhaps not much older.—*Price.* There is another MS. in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. Both MSS., as well as the old printed edition, are evidently derived from one and the ſame older MS., now loſt, of the early part of the fifteenth century. The Trinity MS. is a very faithful tranſcript, and far more correct than the Muſeum copy; both the MSS. copies are more correct than the printed edition. The *Crede*, as printed by Warton and his editors, has now been adjuſted to the *Early Engliſh Text Society's* edition, 1867, ed. by Rev. W. W. Skeat.]

þanne [wende] y to wyten · & wiþ a whiȝt y mette,
A Menoure in a morrow-tide · & to þis man I ſaide,
"Sire, for grete god[e]s loue · þe graiþ þou me telle,
Of what myddelerde man · miȝte y beſt lerne
My Crede? For I can it nouȝt · my kare is þe more;
& þerfore, for Criſtes loue · þi councell y praie.
A Carm me haþ y-couenaunt · þe Crede me to teche;
But for þou knoweſt Carmes well · þi counſaile y aſke."
Þis Menour loked on me · and lawȝyng he ſeyde,
"Leue Criſten man · y leue þat þou madde!
Whouȝ ſchulde þei techen þe God · þat con not hemſelue?
Þei ben but jugulers · and iapers, of kynde,
Lorels and Lechures · & lemmans holden;
Neyþer in order ne out · but vn-neþe lybbeþ,
And byiapeþ þe folke · wiþ geſtes of Rome!
It is but a faynt folk · i-founded vp-on iapes,
Þei makeþ hem Maries men[1] · (ſo þei men tellen),
And lieþ on our Ladie · many a longe tale.
And þat wicked folke · wymmen bi-traieþ,
And bigileþ hem of her good · wiþ glauerynge wordes,
And þerwiþ holden her hous · in harlotes werkes.
And, ſo ſaue me God! · I hold it gret ſynne
To ȝyuen hem any good · ſwiche glotones to fynde,
To maynteyne ſwiche maner men · þat mychel good deſtruyeþ.
Ȝet ſeyn they in here ſutilte · to ſottes in townes,
Þei comen out of Carmeli[2] · Criſt for to followen,
& feyneþ hem with holynes · þat yuele hem biſemeþ.
Þei lyuen more in lecherie · and lieth in her tales
Þan ſuen any god liife; · but [lurken] in her ſelles,
[And] wynnen werldliche god · & waſten it in ſynne.
And ȝif þei couþen her crede · oþer on Criſt leueden,
Þei weren nouȝt ſo hardie · ſwich harlotri vſen.
Sikerli y can nouȝt fynden · who hem firſt founded,
But þe foles foundeden hem-ſelf · freres of the Pye,
And maken hem mendynauns · & marre þe puple.
But what glut of þo gomes · may any good kachen,
He will kepen it hym-ſelf · & cofren it faſte,
And þeiȝ his felawes fayle good · for him he may ſteruen.
Her money may bi-queſt · & teſtament maken,
And no obedience bere · but don as [hem] luſte.
[And] ryȝt as Robertes men[3] raken aboute,
At feires & at ful ales · & fyllen þe cuppe,
And precheþ all of pardon · to pleſen the puple.

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[1] The Carmelites, ſometimes called the brethren of the Bleſſed Virgin, were fond of boaſting their familiar intercourſe with the Virgin Mary. Among other things, they pretended that the Virgin aſſumed the Carmelite habit and profeſſion: and that ſhe appeared to Simon Sturckius, general of their order, in the thirteenth century, and gave him a ſolemn promiſe, that the ſouls of thoſe Chriſtians who died with the Carmelite ſcapulary upon their ſhoulders ſhould infallibly eſcape damnation.

[2] The Carmelites pretended that their order was originally founded on Mount Carmel where Elias lived: and that their firſt convent was placed there, within an ancient church dedicated to the Virgin Mary in 1121.

[3] Robartes men, or Roberdſmen, were a ſet of lawleſs vagabonds, notorious for their outrages when *Pierce Plowman* was written, that is, about the year [1362]. The ſtatute Edw. III. (*an. reg.* 5. c. xiv.) ſpecifies "divers manſlaughters, felonies, and robberies, done by people that be called *Roberdeſmen*, Waſtours, and drawlatches." And the ſtatute (*an. reg.* 7. c. v.) ordains, that the ſtatute of King Edward concerning *Roberdſmen* and *Drawlacches* ſhall be rigorouſly obſerved.

Her pacience is all paſed · & put out to ferme,
And pride is in her pouerte · þat litell is to preiſen.
And at þe lulling of oure Ladye · þe wym*m*en to lyken,
And miracles of mydwyves · & maken wymmen to wenen
Þat þe lace of oure ladie ſmok · liȝteþ hem of children.
Þei ne prechen nouȝt of Powel · ne penaunce for ſynne,
But all of mercy & menſk · þat Marie maie helpen.
Wiþ ſterne ſtaues and ſtronge · þey ouer lond ſtrakeþ
Þider as her lemmans liggeþ · and lurkeþ in townes,
(Grey grete-hedede quenes · wiþ gold by þe eiȝen),
And ſeyn, þat here ſuſtren þei ben · þat ſoiourneþ aboute;
And þus about þey gon · & godes folke by-traieþ.
It is þe puple þat Powel · preched of in his tyme;
He ſeyde of ſwich folk · þat ſo aboute wente,
'Wepyng, y warne ȝow · of walkers aboute;
It beþ enemyes of þe cros · þat criſt opon þolede.
Swiche ſlomerers in ſlepe · ſlauþe is her ende,
And glotony is her God · wiþ g[l]oppyng of drynk,[1]
And gladnes in glees · & gret ioye y-maked;
In þe ſchendyng of ſwiche · ſchall mychel folk lawȝe.'
Þ*er*fore, frend, for þi feyþ · fond to don betere,
Leue nouȝt on þo loſels · but let hem forþ paſen,
For þei ben fals in her feiþ · & fele mo oþere."
"Alas! frere," quaþ I þo · "my purpos is i-failed,
Now is my counfort a-caſt! · canſtou no bote,
Where y myȝte meten wiþ a man · þat myȝte me [wiſſen]
For to conne my Crede · Criſt for to ſolwen?"
"CERTEYNE, ſelawe," quaþ þe frere · "wiþ-outen any faile.
Of all men opon mold · we Menures moſt ſcheweþ
Þe pure Apoſtell[e]s life · wiþ penance on erþe,
And ſuen hem in ſaunctite · & ſuffren well harde.
We haunten none tauernes · ne hobelen abouten;
At marketts & myracles · we medleþ vs nevere;
We hondlen no money · but menelich faren,
And haven hunger at [the] meate · at ich a mel ones.
We hauen forſaken the worlde · & in wo lybbeþ.
In penaunce & pouerte · & precheþ þe puple,
By enſample of oure life · ſoules to helpen;
And in pouertie praien · for all oure parteners
Þat ȝyueþ vs any good · god to honouren,
Oþer bell oþer booke · or breed to our fode,
Oþer catell oþer cloþ · to coveren wiþ our bones,
Money or money-worthe; · here mede is in heven.
For we buldeþ a burwȝ · a brod and a large,
A Chirche and A Chapaile · with chambers a-lofte,
Wiþ wide windowes y-wrouȝt · & walles well heye,
Þat mote bene portreid and paynt · & pulched ful clene[2]
Wiþ gaie glittering glas · glowing as þe ſonne.
And myȝteſtou amenden vs · wiþ money[3] of þyn owne,
Þou chuldeſt cnely bifore Criſt · in compas of gold
In þe wide windowe weſtwarde · wel niȝe in the myddell,[4]
And ſeynt Fraunces him-ſelf · ſchall folden the in his cope,

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[1] In the *Liber Pœnitentialis* there is this injunction, "Si monachus per ebrietatem *vomitum fecerit*, triginta dies *pœniteat*." MSS. James V. 237, Bibl. Bodl.

[2] Muſt be painted and beautifully adorned. *Mote* is often uſed in Chaucer for muſt.

[3] If you would help us with your money.

[4] Your figure kneeling to Chriſt ſhall be painted in the great weſt window. This was the way of repreſenting benefactors in painted glaſs. See *ſupr.*

And preſente the to the trynitie · and praie for thy ſynnes;
Þi name ſchall noblich ben wryten · & wrouȝt for the nones,
And, in remembrance of þe · y-rade þer for euer.[1]
And, broþer, be þou nouȝt aferd; · [bythenk in] thyn herte,
Þouȝ þou conne nouȝt þi Crede · kare þou no more.
I ſchal aſoilen þe, ſyre · & ſetten it on my ſoule,
And þou maie maken þis good · þenk þou non oþer."
"SIRE," y ſaide, "in certaine · y ſchal gon & aſaye;"—
And he ſette on me his honde · & aſoilede me clene,
And þeir y parted him fro · wiþ-outen any peine,
In couenant þat y come aȝen · Criſt he me be-tauȝte.
Þanne ſaide y to my-ſelf · "here ſemeþ litel trewþe!
Firſt to blamen his broþer · and bacbyten him foule,
Þeire-as curteis Criſt · clereliche ſaide,
'Whow myȝt-tou in thine broþer eiȝe · a bare mote loken,
And in þyn owen eiȝe · nouȝt a bem toten?
See fyrſt on þi-ſelf · and ſiþen on anoþer,
And clenſe clene þi ſyȝt · and kepe well þyn eiȝe,
And for anoþer manȝes eiȝe · ordeyne after.'
And alſo y ſey coueitiſe · catel to fongen,
þat Criſt haþ clerliche forboden · & clenliche deſtruede,
And ſaide to his ſueres · forſoþe on þis wiſe,
'Nouȝt þi neiȝbours good · couet yn no tyme.'
But charite & chaſtete · ben chaſed out clene,
But Criſt ſeide, 'by her fruyt · men ſhall hem ful knowen.'"
Þanne ſaide y, "certeyn, ſire · þou demeſt full trewe!"
Þanne þouȝt y to frayne þe firſt · of þis foure ordirs,
And preſede to þe prechoures · to proven here wille.
[Ich] hiȝede to her houſe · to herken of more;
And whan y cam to þat court · y gaped aboute.
Swich a bild bold, y-buld · opon erþe heiȝte
Say i nouȝth in certeine · ſiþþe a longe tyme.
Y ȝemede vpon þat houſe · & ȝerne þeron loked,
Whouȝ þe pileres weren y-peynt · and pulched ful clene,
And queynteli i-coruen · wiþ curiouſe knottes,
Wiþ wyndowes well y-wrouȝt · wide vp o-lofte.
And þanne y entrid in · and even-forþ went,
And all was walled þat wone · þouȝ it wid were,
Wiþ poſternes in pryuytie · to paſen when hem liſte;
Orcheȝardes and erberes · eueſed well clene,
And a curious cros · craftly entayled,
Wiþ tabernacles y-tiȝt · to toten all abouten.
Þe pris of a plouȝ-lond · of penyes ſo rounde
To aparaile þat pyler · were pure lytel.
Þanne y munte me forþ · þe mynſtre to knowen,
And a-waytede a woon · wonderlie well y-beld,
Wiþ arches on eueriche half · & belliche y-corven,
Wiþ crochetes on corners · wiþ knottes of golde,
Wyde wyndowes y-wrouȝt · y-written full þikke,
Schynen wiþ ſchapen ſcheldes[2] · to ſchewen aboute,

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[1] Your name ſhall be written in our table of benefactors for whoſe ſouls we pray. This was uſually hung up in the church. Or elſe he means, Written in the windows, in which manner benefactors were frequently recorded.

Moſt of the [later] printed copies read *praid.* Hearne, in a quotation of this paſſage, reads *yrad. Gul. Newbrig.* p. 770. He quotes [the] edition of 1553. "Your name ſhall be richly written in the windows of the church of the monaſtery which men will read there for ever." This ſeems to be the true reading [unqueſtionably.]

[2] That is, coats of arms of benefactors painted in the glaſs. So in an ancient

Wiþ merkes of marchauntes[1] · y-medled bytwene,
Mo þan twenty and two · twyes y-nowmbred.
Þer is none heraud þat haþ · half ſwich a rolle,
Riȝt as a rageman · haþ reckned hem newe.
Tombes opon tabernacles · tyld opon lofte,
Houſed[2] in hirnes · harde ſet abouten,
Of armede alabauſtre · clad for þe nones,
[Made vpon marbel · i*n* many maner wyſe,
Knyghte*s* i*n* her coniſante*s*[3] · clad for þe nones,]

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roll in verſe, exhibiting the deſcent of the family of the lords of Clare in Suffolk, preſerved in the Auſtin friary at Clare, and written in the year 1356.

"Dame Mault, a lady full honorable
Borne of the Ulſters, as ſheweth ryfe
Hir armes of glaſſe in the eaſtern gable.
———— So conjoyned be
Ulſtris armes and Gloceſtris thurgh and thurgh,
As ſhewith our Wyndowes in houſes thre,
Dortur, chapiter-houſe, and fraitour, which ſhe
Made out the grounde both plancher and wall."

Dugdale cites this roll, *Mon. Angl.* i. p. 535. As does Weever, who dates it in 1460. *Fun. Mon.* p. 734. But I could prove this faſhion to have been of much higher antiquity.

[1] By merkes of merchauntes we are to underſtand their ſymbols, ciphers, or badges, drawn or painted in the windows. [A great variety of them may be ſeen in *Current Notes.*] Of this paſſage I have received the following curious explication from Mr. Cole, rector of Blechley in Bucks, a learned antiquary in the heraldic art. "Mixed with the arms of their founders and benefactors ſtand alſo the marks of tradeſmen and merchants, who had no Arms, but uſed their Marks in a Shield like Arms. Inſtances of this ſort are very common. In many places in Great Saint Mary's church in Cambridge ſuch a Shield of Mark occurs: the ſame that is to be ſeen in the windows of the great ſhop oppoſite the Conduit on the Market-hill, and the corner houſe of the Petty Curry. No doubt, in the reign of Henry VII., the owner of theſe houſes was a benefactor to the building, or glazing Saint Mary's church. I have ſeen like inſtances in Briſtol cathedral; and the churches at Lynn are full of them."—In an ancient ſyſtem of heraldry in the Britiſh Muſeum, I find the following illuſtration, under a ſhield of this ſort. "Theys be none armys, bvt a Marke as Marchaunts vſe, for every mane may take hyme a Marke, but not armys, without an herawde or purcyvaunte." MSS. Harl. 2259, 9, fol. 110.

[2] Hurnes, interpreted, in the ſhort Gloſſary to the *Crede*, Caves, that is, in the preſent application, niches, arches. See *Gloſs. Rob. Glouc.* p. 660, col. i. Hurn, is angle, corner. From the Saxon Þýnn, Angulus. Chaucer, *Frankel. T.* v. 393.

"Seeken in every halke [nook], and every herne."

And again, *Chan. Yem. Prol.* ver. 105.

"Lurking in hernes and in lanes blynde."

Read the line, thus pointed.

"Houſed in hurnes hard ſet abouten."

The ſenſe is therefore: "The tombs were within lofty-pinnacled tabernacles, and encloſed in a multiplicity of thick-ſet arches." Hard is cloſe, or thick. This conveys no bad idea of a Gothic ſepulchral ſhrine.

[3] In their proper habiliments. In their cogniſances, or ſurcoats of arms. So again, ſignat. C ii b.

"For though a man in her minſtre a maſſe wolde heren,
His ſight ſhall alſo byſet on ſondrye workes,
The pennons, and the poinells, and pointes of ſheldes
Withdrawen his devotion and duſken his harte."

That is, the banners, atchievements, and other armorial ornaments, hanging over the tombs.

All it ſemed ſeyntes · y-ſacred open erþe;
And louely ladies y-wrouȝt · leyen by her ſydes
In many gay garmentes · þat weren gold-beten.
Þouȝ þe tax of ten ȝer · were trewly y-gadered,
Nolde it nouȝt maken þat hous · half, as y trowe.
Þanne kam I to þat cloiſter · & gaped abouten
Whouȝ it was pilered and peynt · & portred well clene,
All y-hyled wiþ leed · lowe to þe ſtones,
And y-paued wiþ peynt til · iche poynte after oþer;
Wiþ kundites of clene tyn · cloſed all aboute,
Wiþ lauoures of latun · louelyche y-greithed.
I trowe þe gaynage of þe ground · in a gret ſchire
Nolde aparaile þat place · oo poynt til other ende.
Þanne was þe chaptire-hous wrouȝt · as a greet chirche,
Coruen and couered · and queyntliche entayled;
Wiþ ſemlich ſelure · y-ſet on lofte;
As a Parlement-hous · y-peynted aboute.[1]

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[1] That they painted the walls of rooms, before tapeſtry became faſhionable, I have before given inſtances, *Obſervat. Spens.* vol. ii. § p. 232. I will here add other proofs. In an old French romance on the *Miracles of the Virgin*, liv. i. Carpent. *Suppl. Lat. Gl. Du Cang.* v. *Lambroiſſare.*

"Lors mouſtiers tiennent ors et ſales,
Et lor cambres, et lor grans ſales,
Font lambroiſſier, paindre et pourtraire."

Gervaſius Dorobernenſis, in his account of the burning of Canterbury Cathedral in the year 1174, ſays, that not only the beam-work was deſtroyed, but the ceiling underneath it, or concameration called cœlum, being of wood beautifully painted, was alſo conſumed. "Cœlum inferius egregie depictum," &c. p. 1289. *Dec. Script.* 1652. And Stubbes, *Actus Pontif. Eboracenſium*, ſays that Archbiſhop Aldred, about 1060, built the whole church of York from the preſbytery to the tower, and "ſuperius opere pictorio quod Cœlum vocant auro multiformiter intermixto, mirabili arte conſtruxit." p. 1704. *Dec. Script.* ut ſupr. There are many inſtances in the pipe-rolls. The roof of the church of Caſſino in Italy is ordered to be painted in 1349, like that of St. John Lateran at Rome. *Hiſt. Caſſin.* tom. ii. p. 545, col. i. Dugdale has printed an ancient French record, by which it appears that there was a hall in the caſtle of Dover called Arthur's hall, and a chamber called Geneura's chamber. *Monaſt.* ii. 2. I ſuppoſe, becauſe the walls of theſe apartments were reſpectively adorned with paintings of each. Geneura is Arthur's queen. In the pipe-rolls, Hen. III., we have this notice, A.D. 1259. "Infra portam caſtri et birbecanam, etc. ab exitu Cameræ Roſamundæ uſque capellam ſancti Thomæ in Caſtro Wynton." *Rot. Pip. Hen. III.* an. 43.—This I once ſuppoſed to be a chamber in Wincheſter caſtle, ſo called becauſe it was painted with the figure or ſome hiſtory of fair Roſamond. But a Roſamond-chamber was a common apartment in the royal caſtles, perhaps in imitation of her bower at Woodſtock, literally nothing more than a chamber, which yet was curiouſly conſtructed and decorated, at leaſt in memory of it. The old proſe paraphraſt of the Chronicle of Robert of Glouceſter ſays, "Boures hadde the Roſamonde a bout in Engelonde, which this kynge [Hen. II.] for hir ſake made: atte Waltham biſhopes, in the caſtelle of Wyncheſter, atte park of Fremantel, atte Marteleſton, atte Woodeſtoke, and other fele [many] places." *Chron.* edit. Hearne, 479. This paſſage indeed ſeems to imply, that Henry II. himſelf provided for his fair concubine a bower, or chamber of peculiar conſtruction, not only at Woodſtock, but in all the royal palaces: which, as may be concluded from the pipe-roll juſt cited, was called by her name. Leland ſays, that in the ſtately caſtle of Pickering in Yorkſhire, "in the firſt court be a foure Toures, of the which one is caullid Roſamundes Toure." *Itin.* fol. 71. Probably becauſe it contained one of theſe bowers or chambers. Or, perhaps we ſhould read Roſamundes Boure. Compare Walpole's *Anecd. Paint.* i. pp. 10, 11.

Þanne ferd y into fraytour · and fond *þer*e an oþer,
An halle for an heyȝ kinge · an houſholde to holden,
Wiþ brode bordes aboute · y-benched wel clene,
Wiþ windowes of glas · wrouȝt as a Chirche.
Þanne walkede y ferrer · & went all abouten,
And ſeiȝ halles full hyȝe · & houſes full noble,
Chambers wiþ chimneyes · & Chapells gaie;
And kychens for an hyȝe kinge · in caſtells to holden,
And her dortour y-diȝte · wiþ dores ful ſtronge;
Fermery and fraitur · with fele mo houſes,
And all ſtrong ſton wall · ſterne opon heiþe,
Wiþ gaie garites & grete · & iche hole y-glaſed;
[*And oþer*e] houſes y-nowe · to herberwe þe queene.
And ȝet þiſe bilderes wilne beggen · a bagg-ful of wheate
Of a pure pore man · *þat* maie oneþe paie
Half his rente in a ȝer · and half ben behynde!
Þanne turned y aȝen · whan y hadde all y-toted,
And fond in a freitour · a frere on a benche,
A greet cherl & a grym · growen as a tonne,
Wiþ a face as fat · as a full bledder,
Blowen bretfull of breþ · & as a bagge honged
On boþen his chekes, & his chyn · wiþ a chol lollede,
As greet as a gos eye · growen all of grece;
Þat all wagged his fleche · as a quyk myre.
His cope *þat* biclypped him · wel clene was it folden,
Of double worſtede y-dyȝt · doun to þe hele;
His kyrtel of clene whijt · clenlyche y-ſewed;
Hyt was good y-now of ground · greyn for to beren.
I hayſſede *þat* herdeman · & hendliche y ſaide,
"Gode ſyre, for Godes loue · canſtou me graiþ tellen
To any worþely wijȝt · *þat* [wiſſen] me couþe
Whou y ſchulde conne my Crede · Criſt for to folowe,
Þat leuede lelliche him-ſelf · & lyuede *þer*after,
Þat feynede non falſhede · but fully Criſt ſuwede?
For ſich a certeyn man · ſyker wold y troſten,
Þat he wolde telle me þe trewþe · and turne to none oþer.
And an Auſtyn þis ender daie · egged me faſte;
Þat he wolde techen me wel · he plyȝt me his treuþe,
And ſeyde me, 'ſerteyne · ſyþen Criſt died
Oure ordir was [euelles] · & erſt y-founde.'"
"Fyrſt, felawe!" quaþ he · "fy on his pilche!
He is but abortijf · eked wiþ cloutes!
He holdeþ his ordynaunce · wiþe hores and þeues,
And purchaſeþ hem pryuileges · wiþ penyes ſo rounde;
It is a pur pardoners craft · proue & aſaye!
For haue þei þi money · a moneþ *þer*after,
Certes, þeiȝ þou come aȝen · he nyl þe nouȝt knowen.
But, felawe, *our* foundement · was firſt of þe oþere,
And we ben founded fulliche · wiþ-outen fayntiſe;
And we ben clerkes y-cnowen · cunnynge in ſcole,
Proued in proceſſion · by proceſſe of lawe.
Of oure ordre *þer* beþ · bichopes wel manye,
Seyntes on ſundry ſtedes · *þat* ſuffreden harde;
And we ben proued þe prijs · of popes at Rome,
And of greteſt degre · as godſpelles telleþ."

I muſt not quit our Ploughman without obſerving, that ſome other ſatirical pieces anterior to the Reformation bear the adopted name of *Piers the Plowman*. Under the character of a ploughman the religious are likewiſe laſhed in a poem written in apparent imitation of

Langland's *Viſion*, and [falſely] attributed to Chaucer. I mean the *Plowman's Tale*.[1] The meaſure is different, and it is in rhyme. But it has Langland's alliteration of initials; as if his example had, as it were, appropriated that mode of verſification to the ſubject, and the ſuppoſed character which ſupports the ſatire.[2] All theſe poems [or rather, the *Crede* and the *Tale*] were, for the moſt part, founded on the doctrines newly broached by Wickliffe:[3] who maintained, among other things, that the clergy ſhould not poſſeſs eſtates, that the eccleſiaſtical ceremonies obſtructed true devotion, and that Mendicant friars, the particular object of our *Plowman's Crede*, were a public and inſupportable grievance. But Wickliffe, whom Mr. Hume pronounces to have been an enthuſiaſt, like many other reformers, carried his ideas of purity too far, and, as at leaſt it appears from the two firſt

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[1] [In the] *Plowman's Tale* this Crede is alluded to, v. 3005:

"And of *Freris* I have *before*
Told in a making of a *Crede*;
And yet I could tell worſe and more."

This paſſage at leaſt brings the *Plowman's Tale* below the *Crede* in time. But ſome have thought, very improbably, that this Crede is *Jack Upland*. [Internal evidence clearly ſhows that the author of the *Plowman's Tale* was alſo author of the *Crede*, as he claims to have been. In imitation of Langland, he named one of his poems the *Plowman's Crede*, and the other the *Plowman's Tale*. The probable date of the former is A. D. 1394, and of the latter A. D. 1395.]

[2] It is extraordinary that we ſhould find in this poem one of the abſurd arguments of the puritans againſt eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments, v. 2253:

"For Chriſt made no cathedralls,
Ne with him was no Cardinalls."

But ſee what follows, concerning Wickliffe.

[3] It is remarkable, that they touch on the very topics which Wickliffe had juſt publiſhed in his *Objections of Freres*, charging them with fifty hereſies. As in the following: "Alſo Freres buildin many great churches, and coſty waſt houſes and cloiſteres, as it wern caſteles, and that withouten nede," &c. Lewis's *Wickliff*, p. 22. I will here add a paſſage from Wickliffe's tract entitled *Why poor Prieſts have no Benefices*. Lewis, App. Num. xix. p. 289. "And yet they [lords] wolen not preſent a clerk able of kunning of god's law, but a kitchen clerk, or a penny clerk, or wiſe in building caſtles, or worldly doing, though he kunne not reade well his ſauter," &c. Here is a manifeſt piece of ſatire on Wykeham, biſhop of Wincheſter, Wickliffe's cotemporary; who is ſuppoſed to have recommended himſelf to Edward III. by rebuilding the caſtle of Windſor. This was a recent and notorious inſtance. But in this appointment the king probably paid a compliment to that prelate's ſingular talents for buſineſs, his activity, circumſpection, and management, rather than to any ſcientific and profeſſed ſkill in architecture which he might have poſſeſſed. It ſeems to me that he was only a ſuperviſor or comptroller on this occaſion. It was common to depute churchmen to this department, from an idea of their ſuperior prudence and probity. Thus John, the prior of St. Swithin's at Wincheſter in 1280, is commiſſioned by brief from the king to ſuperviſe large repairs done by the ſheriff in the caſtle of Wincheſter and the royal manor of Wolmer. *MS. Regiſtr. Priorat.* Quat. 19, fol. 3. The biſhop of S. David's was maſter of the works at building King's College. Hearne's *Elmh.* p. 353. Alcock, biſhop of Ely, was comptroller of the royal buildings under Henry VII. Parker's *Hiſt. Cambr.* p. 119. He, like Wykeham, was a great builder, but not therefore an architect. Richard Williams, dean of Lichfield, and chaplain to Henry VIII. bore the ſame office. MSS. Wood, Lichfield, D. 7. Aſhmol. Nicholas Townley, clerk, was maſter of the works at Cardinal College. MS. Twyne, 8, f. 351. See alſo Walpole, *Anecd. Paint.* i. p. 40.

of theſe opinions, under the deſign of deſtroying ſuperſtition, his undiſtinguiſhing zeal attacked even the neceſſary aids of religion. It was certainly a lucky circumſtance that Wickliffe quarrelled with the Pope. His attacks on ſuperſtition at firſt probably proceeded from reſentment. Wickliffe, who was profeſſor of divinity at Oxford, finding on many occaſions not only his own province invaded, but even the privileges of the univerſity frequently violated by the pretenſions of the Mendicants, gratified his warmth of temper by throwing out ſome ſlight cenſures againſt all the four orders, and the popes their principal patrons and abettors. Soon afterwards he was deprived of the wardenſhip of Canterbury hall by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who ſubſtituted a monk in his place. Upon this he appealed to the Pope, who confirmed the archiepiſcopal ſentence, by way of rebuke for the freedom with which he had treated the monaſtic profeſſion. Wickliffe, highly exaſperated at this uſage, immediately gave a looſe to his indignation, and without reſtraint or diſtinction attacked in numerous ſermons and treatiſes not only the ſcandalous enormities of the whole body of monks, but even the uſurpations of the pontifical power itſelf, with other eccleſiaſtical corruptions. Having expoſed theſe palpable abuſes with a juſt abhorrence, he ventured ſtill farther, and proceeded to examine and refute with great learning and penetration the abſurd doctrines which prevailed in the religious ſyſtem of his age: he not only exhorted the laity to ſtudy the Scriptures, but tranſlated the Bible into Engliſh for general uſe and popular inſpection. Whatever were his motives, it is certain that theſe efforts enlarged the notions of mankind, and ſowed thoſe ſeeds of a revolution in religion, which were quickened at length and brought to maturity by a favourable coincidence of circumſtances, in an age when the increaſing growth of literature and curioſity naturally led the way to innovation and improvement. But a viſible diminution of the authority of the eccleſiaſtics, in England at leaſt, had been long growing from other cauſes. The diſguſt which the laity had contracted from the numerous and arbitrary encroachments both of the court of Rome and of their own clergy, had greatly weaned the kingdom from ſuperſtition; and conſpicuous ſymptoms had appeared, on various occaſions, of a general deſire to ſhake off the intolerable bondage of papal oppreſſion.

SECTION X.

LANGLAND'S peculiarity of ſtyle and verſification ſeems to have had many imitators. One of theſe is a nameleſs author on the faſhionable hiſtory of Alexander the Great: and his poem on this ſubject is inſerted at the end of the beautiful Bodleian copy of the French *Roman d'Alexandre*, before mentioned, with this reference:[1] *Here fayleth a proſſeſſe of this romaunce of Alixaunder the whiche proſſeſſe that fayleth ye ſchulle fynde at the ende of thys boke ywrete in Engeliche ryme.* It is imperfect, and begins and proceeds thus:[2]

How Alexander partyd thennys.[3]

When this weith at his wil weduring hadde,
Ful rathe rommede he rydinge thederre;
To Oridrace with his oſt Alixandre wendus:
There wilde contre was wiſt, and wondurful peple,
That weren proved ful proude, and prys of hem helde;
Of bodi went thei bare withoute any wede,
And had grave on the ground many grete cavys;
There here wonnynge was wynturus and ſomerus.
No ſyte nor no ſur ſtede ſothli thei ne hadde,
But holus holwe in the grounde to hide hem inne;
The proude Genoſophiſtiens[4] were the gomus called,

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[1] It is in a different hand, yet with Saxon characters. See ad calc. cod. f. 209. It has miniatures in water colours. [See Mr. Skeat's *Eſſay on Alliterative Poetry* in the third volume of the lately-edited Percy folio MS. (1868).—F.]

[2] There is a poem in the [Bodleian library,] complete in the former part, which is [certainly] the ſame. [Sir F. Madden aſſigns the former to the reign of Henry VI. That gentleman alſo informs us that in the Bodleian is a fragment of anothers and quite different alliterative romance of Alexander, compoſed, he believe, by the perſon who wrote the Engliſh alliterative romance of *William and the Werwolf*, ed. 1832.] MSS. Aſhm. 44. It has twenty-ſeven paſſus, and begins thus:

"Whener folker faſtid and fed, fayne wolde thei her
Some farand thing," &c.

[3] [Printed in Weber's collection, 1810.] At the end are theſe rubrics, with void ſpaces, intended to be filled:

"How Alexandre remewid to a flood that is called Phiſon."
"How king Duidimus ſente lettres to king Alexandre."
"How Duidimus enditid to Alexaundre of here levyng."
"How he ſpareth not Alexandre to telle hym of hys governance."
"How he telleth Alexandre of his maumetrie."
"How Alexandre ſente aunſwere to Duidimus by lettres."
"How Duidimus ſendyd an anſwere to Alexandre by lettre."
"How Alexandre ſente Duidimus another lettre."
"How Alexandre pight a pelyr of marbyl ther."

[The laſt of theſe rubrics only is followed by a void ſpace in the Bodleian copy; the former being filled up with ſuch verſification as is given in Mr. Warton's text, which led Ritſon to conſider it a much earlier compoſition than Piers Plowman.—*Park.*]

[4] Gymnoſophiſts.

Now is that name to mene the nakid wiſe.
Wan the kiddeſte of the cavus, that was kinge holde,
Hurde tydinge telle and toknynge wiſte,
That Alixaundre with his oft atlede thidirre,
To beholden of hom hure hieȝeſt prynce,
Than waies of worſhipe wittie and quainte
With his lettres he let to the lud ſende.
Thanne ſouthte thei ſone the foreſaide prynce,
And to the ſchamleſe ſchalk ſchewen hur lettres.
Than rathe let the rink reden the ſonde,
That newe tythingeit tolde in this wiſe:
The gentil Geneoſophiſtians, that gode were of witte,
To the emperour Alixandre here aunſweris wreten.
That is worſchip of word worthi to have,
And is conquerer kid in contres manie.
Us is ſertefyed, ſeg, as we ſoth heren
That thou haſt ment with thi man amongis us ferre
But yf thou kyng to us come with caere to fiȝte
Of us getiſt thou no good, gome, we the warne.
For what richeſſe, rink, us might you us bi-reve,
Whan no wordliche wele is with us founde?
We ben ſengle of us ſilfe, and ſemen ful bare,
Nouht welde we nowe, but naked we wende,
And that we happili her haven of kynde
May no man but God maken us tine.
Thei thou fonde with thi folke to fighte with us alle,
We ſchulle us kepe on cauȝt our cavus withinne.
Nevere werred we with wiȝth upon erthe;
For we ben hid in oure holis or we harme laache.
Thus ſaide ſothli the ſonde that thei ſente hadde,
And al ſo cof as the king kende the ſawe,
New lettres he let the ludus bitake,
And with his ſawes of ſoth he ſikerede hem alle,
That he wolde faire with his folke in a faire wiſe,
To biholden here home, and non harme wurke.
So hath the king to hem ſente, and ſithen with his peple,
Kaires cofli til hem, to kenne of hure fare.
But whan thai ſieu the ſeg with ſo manye ryde,
Thei war agriſen of hys grym, and wende gref tholie;
Faſt heiede thei to holis, and hidden there,[1]
And in the cavus hem kept from the king ſterne, &c.

Another piece, written in Langland's manner, is entitled, [*The Deſtruction of Jeruſalem*]. This was a favourite ſubject, as I have before obſerved, drawn from the Latin hiſtorical romance, which paſſes under the name of *Hegeſippus de Excidio Hieruſalem:*

In Tyberyus tyme the trewe emperour[2]

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[1] [In the Bodleian Library, MS. Greaves 60, is a fragment of another alliterative romance on the ſubject of Alexander, totally different from the former one, and which I have good grounds to believe was compoſed by the ſame poet who wrote the Engliſh alliterative romance of *William and the Werwolf*, edited by me for the Roxburghe Club, in 1832.—M.]

[2] [The preſent text has been collated with the Cott. MS. Calig. A. ii. The orthographical differences between this and the Laud MS. are numerous though not important. All its readings improving the ſenſe have been adopted; though this perhaps would have been wholly ſuperfluous, had the original tranſcript been correctly made.—*Price.*]

Syr Seſar hym [ſelf ſeſed [1]] in Rome
Whyl Pylot was provoſt under that prynce ryche
And [jewes [2]] juſtice alſo in Judens londis
Herode under his empire as heritage wolde
King of Galile was ycallid, whan that Criſt deyad
They [3] Seſar ſakles wer, that oft ſyn hatide
Throw Pilet pyned he was and put on the rode
A pyler was down py3t [4] upon the playne erthe
His body [bowndone [5]] therto beten with ſcourgis,
Whippes of [wherebole [6]] bywent his white ſides
Til he al on rede blode ran as rayn on the ſtrete;
[Sith [7]] ſtockyd hym an a ſtole with ſtyf menes hondis,
Blyndfelled hym as a be and boffetis hym ra3te
3if you be a prophete of pris, prophecie, they ſayde
Which man her aboute [bolled [8]] the laſte,
A ſtrange thorn crown was thraſte on his hed
[They [9]] caſten [up a grete] cry [that hym on] cros ſlowen,
For al the harme that he had, haſted he no3t
On hym the vyleny to venge that hys venys broſten,
Bot ay taried on the tyme, 3if they [turne [10]] wolde
Gaf [hem [11]] ſpace that him ſpilede they [hit ſpedde [12]] lyte
[Fourty wynter [13]] as y fynde, and no fewer, &c.[14]

Notwithſtanding what has been ſuppoſed above, it is not quite cer-

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[1] ſuls ſayſed. [2] ſewen.

[3] This is the orthography obſerved for both *though* and *they*. It occurs again below: "they it," though it.

[4] pygt was don. [5] bouden.

[6] quyrbole;—which might have ſtood, ſince it only deſtroys the alliteration to the eye.

[7] Warton read "Such;" the Cotton MS. "And ſythen ſette on a ſete;" whence the genuine reading of the Laud MS. was obvious.

[8] bobette, Cot. MS.

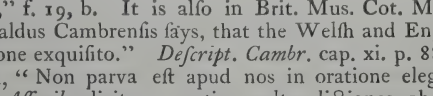
[9] . . . caſten hym with a cry and on a croſs ſlowen.

[10] tone, which if intended for atone (like dure for endure, ſperſt for diſperſed, &c.) might be allowed to ſtand. The probability is that it is an erroneous tranſcript for torne.

[11] he. [12] he ſpedde.

[13] Yf aynt was. Perhaps: xl. wynterit was, &c.

[14] Laud. . . 22, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Ad calc. "Hic tractatur bellum Judaicum apud Jeruſalem," f. 19, b. It is alſo in Brit. Mus. Cot. MSS. *Calig.* A. ii. fol. 109-123. Gyraldus Cambrenſis ſays, that the Welſh and Engliſh uſe alliteration "in omni ſermone exquiſito." *Deſcript. Cambr.* cap. xi. p. 889. O'Flaherty alſo ſays of the Iriſh, "Non parva eſt apud nos in oratione elegantiæ ſchema, quod Paromæon, *i. e. Aſſimile*, dicitur: quoties multæ dictiones, ab eadem litera incipientes, ex ordine collocantur." *Ogyg.* part iii. 30, p. 242. [An objection has been taken to the antiquity of the Welſh poetry, from its ſuppoſed want of alliteration. But this is not the caſe. For the alliteration has not been perceived by thoſe ignorant of its conſtruction, which is to make it in the middle of words, and not at the beginning, as in this inſtance:



This information was imparted to Mr. Douce by the ingenious Edward Williams, the Welſh bard.—*Park.* See alſo, ſays Sir F. Madden, Conybeare's *Illuſtr. of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, (1826) Introduction.]

tain that Langland was the firſt who led the way in this ſingular ſpecies of verſification. His *Viſion* was written on a popular ſubject, and [was formerly] the only poem, compoſed in this capricious ſort of metre, which [exiſted in print]. It is eaſy to conceive how theſe circumſtances contributed to give him the merit of an inventor on this occaſion.

Percy has exhibited ſpecimens of two or three other poems belonging to this claſs.[1] One of theſe is entitled *Death and Life:* it conſiſts of two hundred and twenty-nine lines, and is divided into two parts or *Fitts*. It begins thus:

> Chriſt, chriſten king, that on the croſſe tholed,
> Hadd paines & paſſyons to deffend our ſoules;
> Give us grace on the ground the greatlye to ſerve
> For that royall red blood that rann from thy ſide.

The ſubject of this piece is a *Viſion*, containing a conteſt for ſuperiority between *Our lady Dame Life*, and the *ugly fiend Dame Death:* who with the ſeveral attributes and concomitants are perſonified in a beautiful vein of allegorical painting. Dame Life is thus forcibly deſcribed:

> Shee was brighter of her blee then was the bright ſonn:
> Her rudd redder then the roſe that on the riſe hangeth:
> Meekely ſmiling with her mouth, & merry in her lookes;
> Ever laughing for love, as ſhee like wold:
> & as ſhe came by the bankes, the boughes eche one
> They lowted to that Ladye & layd forth their branches;
> Bloſſomes and burgens breathed full ſweete,
> Flowers flouriſhed in the frith where ſhee forth ſtepedd,
> And the graſſe that was gray greened belive.

The figure of Death follows, which is equally bold and expreſſive. Another piece of this kind, alſo quoted by Dr. Percy, is entitled *Chevelere Aſſigne*, or *De Cigne*, that is, *Knight of the Swan*.[2] Among the Royal MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum, there is a French metrical romance on this ſubject, entitled *L'Yſtoire du Chevalier au Signe*,[3] [of which *Le Chevelere Aſſigne* is an abridgment]. Our Engliſh poem begins thus:[4]

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[1] *Eſſay on the Metr. of P. P. Vis.* p. 8, *ſeq.* [The poem is printed in Biſhop Percy's folio MS. 1868, vol. iii.—F.]

[2] MS. Cotton. Caligula, A. 2. Printed by Mr. E. V. Utterſon, for the Roxburghe Club, 1820, and again by Mr. H. H. Gibbs for the Early Engliſh Text Society, 1868, with a ſeries of photographs from a very curious ivory-caſket in the editor's family, containing various illuſtrations of the ſtory.]

[3] 15 E. vi. 9. fol. And in the Royal library at Paris, MS. 7192. *Le Roman du Chevalier au Cigne en vers.* Montf. Cat. MSS. ii. p. 789. [There are ſix romance sin the cycle. M. Paullin Paris has edited *Le Chanſon d'Antioche.* See *Hiſtoire Litteraire de la France*, tome 22.—F.]

[4] See MSS. Cott. Calig. A. ii. f. 109. 123.

[The celebrated Godfrey of Bullogne was ſaid to have been lineally deſcended from the Chevalier au Cigne. *Melanges d'une Gr. Biblioth.* vol. v. c. iii. p. 148. The tradition is ſtill current in the Duchy of Cleves, and forms one of the moſt intereſting pieces in Otmar's Volksſagen. It muſt have obtained an early and general circulation in Flanders; for Nicolaes de Klerc, who wrote at the com-

Alle-weldynge god whenne it is his wylle,
Wele he wereth his werke with his owne honde:
For ofte harmes were hente · that helpe we ne myȝte;
Nere the hyȝnes of hym that lengeth in heuene
For this, &c.

This alliterative meaſure, unaccompanied with rhyme, and including many peculiar Saxon idioms appropriated to poetry, remained in uſe ſo low as the ſixteenth century. In [the newly-edited Percy MS.] there is one of this claſs called *Scottiſh Feilde*, containing a very circumſtantial narrative of the battle of Flodden fought in 1513.

[There is alſo an Engliſh romance in proſe, entitled *The Knight of the Swanne*, of which there ſeems to have been an edition by W. de Worde in 1512. It is a tranſlation by Robert Copland, the induſtrious typographer, of chapters 1-38 of a French romance entitled "La Genealogie avecques les Geſtes & Nobles Faitz darmes du tres preux & renomme prince Godeffroy de Boulion & de ſes cheualereux freres Baudouin et Euſtace: yſſus & deſcendus de la très noble & illuſtre lignée du vertueux Chevalier au Cyne." *The Knight of the Swanne* was reprinted by William Copland about 1560, and it is included in a modern collection.][1]

In ſome of the earlieſt of our ſpecimens of old Engliſh poetry,[2] we have long ago ſeen that alliteration was eſteemed a faſhionable and favourite ornament of verſe. For the ſake of throwing the ſubject into one view, and further illuſtrating what has been here ſaid concerning it, I chooſe to cite in this place a very ancient hymn to the Virgin Mary, where this affectation profeſſedly predominates.[3]

I.

Hail beo yow[4] Marie, moodur and may,
Mylde, and meke, and merciable;

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mencement of the 14th century (1318), thus refers to it in his *Brabandſche Yeeſten:*

"Om dat van Brabant die Hertoghen
Voormaels dicke ſyn beloghen
Alſe dat ſy quamen metten Swane
Daar by hebbics my genomen ane
Dat ic die waerheit wil out decken
Ende in Duitſche Rime vertrecken,

i.e. becauſe *formerly* the dukes of Brabant have been much belied, to wit, *that they came with a Swan*, I have undertaken to diſcloſe the truth, and to propound it in Dutch Rhyme. See Van Wynut *ſupra*, p. 270. The French romance upon this ſubject, conſiſting of about 30,000 verſes, was begun by one Renax or Renaux, and finiſhed by Gandor de Douay.—*Price.*]

[1] [Thoms' *Early Proſe Romances*, 1828, iii.]

[2] See ſect. i.

[3] Among the Cotton MSS. there is an [Early Engliſh] alliterative hymn to the Virgin Mary. *Ner.* A. xiv. f. 240, cod. membran. 8vo. "On ȝoƀ ureiſun to ure lefdi." That is, *A good prayer to our lady.*

"Criſtes milƀe moƀer ſeynte Marie
Mines hues leonie, mi leoue leſƀi."

[4] See ſome pageant-poetry, full of alliteration, written in the reign of Henry VII., Leland, *Coll.* iii. App. 180, edit. 1770.

Heyl folliche fruit of ſothfaſt fay,
Agayn vche ſtryf ſtudefaſt and ſtable!
Heil ſothfaſt ſoul in vche a ſay,
Undur the ſon is non ſo able.
Heil logge that vr lord in lay,
The formaſt that never was founden in fable,
Heil trewe, trouthfull, and tretable,
Heil cheef i choſen of chaſtite,
Heil homely, hende, and amyable
To preye for us to thi ſone ſo fre! AVE.

II.

Heil ſtern, that never ſtinteth liht;
Heil buſh, brennyng that never was brent;
Heil rihtful rulere of everi riht,
Schadewe to ſchilde that ſcholde be ſchent.
Heil, bleſſed be yowe bloſme briht,
To trouthe and truſt was thine entent;
Heil mayden and modur, moſt of miht,
Of all miſcheves and amendement;
Heil ſpice ſprong that never was ſpent,
Heil trone of the trinitie;
Heil ſoiene[1] that god us ſone to ſent
Yowe preye for us thi ſone fre! AVE.

III.

Heyl hertely in holineſſe.
Heyl hope of help to heighe and lowe,
Heyl ſtrength and ſtel of ſtabylneſſe,
Heyl wyndowe of hevene wowe,
Heyl reſon of rihtwyſneſſe,
To vche a caityf comfort to knowe,
Heyl innocent of angerneſſe,
Vr takel, vr tol, that we on trowe,
Heyl frend to all that beoth fortth flowe
Heyl liht of love, and of bewte,
Heyl brihter then the blod on ſnowe,
Yow preye for us thi ſone ſo fre! AVE.

IV.

Heyl mayden, heyl modur, heyl martir trowe,
Heyl kyndly i knowe confeſſour,
Heyl evenere of old lawe and newe,
Heyl buildor bold of criſtes bour,
Heyl roſe higeſt of hyde and hewe,
Of all ffruytes feireſt fflour,
Heyl turtell truſtieſt and trewe,
Of all trouthe thou art treſour,
Heyl puyred princeſſe of paramour,
Heyl bloſme of brere brihteſt of ble,
Heyl owner of eorthly honour,
Yowe preye for us thi ſone ſo fre! AVE, &c.

V.

Heyl hende, heyl holy empereſſe,
Heyle queene corteois, comely, and kynde,
Heyl diſtruyere of everi ſtriſſe,
Heyl mender of everi monnes mynde,
Heil bodi that we ouht to bleſſe,
So feythful frend may never mon fynde,

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[1] F. Seyen. *Scyon.*

Heil levere and lovere of largeneſſe
Swete and ſweteſt that never may ſwynde,
Heil botenere of everie bodi blynde,
Heil borgun brihtes of all bounte,
Heyl trewore then the wode bynde,
Yow preye for us thi ſone ſo fre! AVE.

VI.

Heyl modur, heyl mayden, heyl hevene quene,
Heyl gatus of paradys,
Heyl ſterre of the ſe that ever is ſene,
Heyl riche, royall, and ryhtwys,
Heyl burde i bleſſed mote yowe bene,
Heyl perle of al perey the pris,
Heyl ſchadewe in vche a ſchour ſchene,
Heyl fairer thae that flour de lys,
Heyl cher choſen that never nas chis
Heyl chef chamber of charite
Heyl in wo that ever was wis
Yowe preye for us thi ſone ſo fre! Ave, &c. &c.[1]

Theſe rude ſtanzas remind us of the Greek hymns aſcribed to Orpheus, which entirely conſiſt of a cluſter of the appellations appropriated to each divinity.

SECTION XI.

ALTHOUGH this work is profeſſedly confined to England, yet I cannot paſs over [a Scotiſh poet] of this period who ha[s] adorned the Engliſh language by a ſtrain of verſification, expreſſion, and poetical imagery, far ſuperior to [his] age; and who conſequently deſerve[s] to be mentioned in a general review of the progreſs of our national poetry. [His name] is John Barbour, archdeacon of Aberdeen. He was educated at Oxford; and Rymer has printed an inſtrument for his ſafe paſſage into England, in order to proſecute his ſtudies in that univerſity, in the years 1357 and 1365.[2] David Bruce, king of Scotland, gave him a penſion for life, as a reward for his poem called the [*Brus*]. It was printed at [Edinburgh about 1570,[3] and often afterwards].[4]

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[1] MS. Vernon. f. 122. In this manuſcript are ſeveral other pieces of this ſort. The Holy Virgin appears to a prieſt who often ſang to her, and calls him her *joculator*. MSS. James, xxvi. p. 32.

[2] *Fœd.* vi. 31, 478.

[3] Tanner, *Bibl.* p. 73. [See our *Liſt of Early Engliſh Poems*, ſupra. Mr. Henry Bradſhaw aſſigns to Barbour two works hitherto unknown to have been by him: 1. Fragments of a *Troy-Book*, mixed up with ſome copies of Lydgate's *Troy-book;* 2. Nearly 40,000 lines of *Lives of Saints* (MSS. Camb. Univ. and Queen's Coll. Oxford).—F.]

[4] [Mr. D. Laing has a copy, wanting the title, of a 4to edit., which he aſſigns to this date. Extracts have now been taken from Mr. Skeat's new edition for the Early Engliſh Text Society, of which only Part I. (ten books) has yet appeared, 1870.

[The following is the account of the battle of Methven, near Perth, and the firſt diſcomfiture of King Robert :] [1]

On a*th*ir ſyd *th*us war *th*ai yhar,[2]
And till aſſemble[3] all redy war.
*Th*ai ſtraucht *thar* ſper*is*, on a*th*ir ſyd,
And ſwa ruydly gan Samyn[4] ryd,
That ſper*is* [all] to-fruſchyt[5] war,
And feyle men dede, and woundyt ſar;
The blud owt at *thar* byrnys[6] breſt.
For *the* beſt, and *the* worthieſt,
That wilfull war to wyn honour,
Plungyt in *the* ſtalwart ſtour,
And rowt*is* ruyd about *th*aim dang.[7]
Men my*ch*t haiff ſeyn in-to *that* thrang
Kny*ch*t*is that* wy*ch*t and hardy war,
Wndyr horſs feyt defoulyt *thar*;
Sum woundyt, and ſum all ded :
The greſs woux[8] off *the* blud all rede,
And *th*ai, *that* held on horſs, in hȳ[9]
Swappyt owt ſwerd*is* ſturdyly;
And ſwa fell ſtrakys gave and tuk,
That all the renk[10] about *th*aim quouk.
The bruyſſis folk full hardely
Schawyt *thar* gret chewalry :
And he him-ſelff, atour *the* lave,[11]
Sa hard and hewy dynt*is* gave,
That quhar he come *th*ai maid hi*m* way.
His folk *th*aim put in hard aſſay,
To ſtynt[12] *thar* fais mekill my*ch*t,
*That th*en ſo fayr had off *the* fy*ch*t,
*That th*ai wan feild ay mar & mar :
The king*is* ſmall folk ner wencuſyt ar.
And quhen *the* king his folk has ſene
Begyn to faile, for propyr tene,[13]
Hys aſſen3he[14] gan he cry;
And in *the* ſtour ſa hardyly
He ruſchyt, *that* all *the* ſemble[15] ſchuk :
He all till-hewyt[16] *that* he our-tuk;
And dang on *th*aim quhill he my*ch*t drey.[17]
And till his folk he cr*i*yt hey;
"On *th*aim! On *th*aim! *th*ai feble faſt!
*Th*is bargane neu*ir* may lang*ar* laſt!"
And with *that* word ſa wilfully
He dang on, and ſa hardely,
That quha had ſene him in *that* fy*ch*t
Suld hald him for A douchty kny*ch*t.
Bot tho*ch*t[18] he wes ſtout and hardy,

In all the preceding editions of Warton, the account of Blind Harry's *Wallace* has been improperly inſerted in the preſent ſection; it has now been transferred to its correct place.]

[1] [Skeat's ed. pp. 38-42. "On the 19th June, 1306, the new king was completely defeated near Methven by the Engliſh Earl of Pembroke (Sir Aymer de Valence.)"—Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather*.]

[2] [ready.] [3] [to encounter.] [4] [together.]
[5] [all broken in pieces; the word *all* is ſupplied from Hart's edition, 1616.]
[6] [breaſt-plates.] [7] [dealt ſtern ſtrokes about them.]
[8] [graſs became.] [9] [haſte.] [10] [ring; Hart prints *rinke*.]
[11] [above the reſt.] [12] [ſtop.] [13] [very grief.] [14] [battle-cry.]
[15] [aſſembly.] [16] [hewed in pieces.] [17] [hold out.] [18] [though.]

And o*th*ir als off his cumpany,
*Th*ar my*ch*t na worſchip *th*ar availȝe;[1]
For *th*ar ſmall folk begouth to failȝe,
And fled all ſkalyt[2] her and *thar*.
Bot *th*e gude, at enchaufyt[3] war
Off Ire, abade and held *th*e ſtour
To conquyr *th*aim endles honour.
And quhen *ſchir* Amer[4] has ſene
*Th*e ſmall folk fle all bedene,[5]
And ſa few abid to fy*ch*t,
He releyt[6] to him mony A kny*ch*t;
And in *th*e ſtour ſa hardyly
He ruſchyt w*ith* hys chewalry,
That he ruſchyt[7] his fayis Ilkane.
Schir Thomas Randell[8] *thar* wes tane,
*That th*en wes A ȝoung bacheler;
And *ſchir* Alexand*er* fraſeyr;
And *ſchir* dauid *th*e breklay,
Inchm*er*tyne, and hew de le hay,
And ſom*er*weil,[9] and o*thir* ma;
And *th*e king him-ſelff alſua
Wes ſet in-till full hard aſſay,
Throw *ſchir* philip *th*e mowbray,[10]
That raid till him full hardyly,
And hynt hys rengȝe,[11] and ſyne gan cry
"Help! help! I have *th*e new-maid king!"
W*ith th*at come gyrdand, in A lyng,[12]
Cryſtall off Seytoun,[13] quhen he ſwa
Saw *th*e king ſeſyt w*ith* his fa;
And to philip ſic rout he raucht,[14]
*That th*ocht he wes of mekill maucht,
He gert him galay[15] diſyly;
And haid till erd gane fullyly,
Ne war he hynt him by his ſted;
*Th*en off his hand *th*e brydill yhed;[16]
And *th*e king his e*n*ſſenȝe[17] gan cry,
Releyt[18] his men *th*at war him by,
That war ſa few *that th*ai na mycht
Endur *th*e forſs mar off *th*e fycht.
*Th*ai p*ri*kyt *th*en out off *th*e preſs;
And *th*e king, *th*at angry wes,
For he his men ſaw fle him fra,
Said *th*en: "lordingis, ſen It is ſwa
That vre[19] ry*n*nys agane ws her,
Gud Is we paſs off *thar* daunger,[20]
Till god ws ſend eftſonys g*r*ace:
And ȝeyt may fall, giff *th*ai will chace,
Quyt *th*aim torn[21] but ſu*m*-dele we ſall."
To *th*is word *th*ai aſſentyt all,
And fra *th*aim walopyt[22] owyr mar.

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[1] [avail.] [2] [diſperſed.] [3] [good ones, that enraged.]
[4] [Sir Aymer de Valence.] [5] [quickly.] [6] [rallied.]
[7] [overthrew.] [8] [Randolph.]
[9] [Sir David Barclay, Inchmartin, Hugh de la Haye, and Somerville.]
[10] [Philip de Mowbray.] [11] [caught his rein.]
[12] [charging in a direct line.] [13] [Sir Chriſtopher Seton.] [14] [blow he gave.]
[15] [made him ſtagger.] [16] [went.] [17] [war-cry.] [18] [rallied.] [19] [fortune.]
[20] [out of their power to harm.] [21] [requite them a turn.] [22] [galloped.]

*Th*ar fayis alſua wery war,
That off *th*aim all *thar* chaſſyt nane:
Bot *with* *priſoneris*, *that* *th*ai had tane,
Rycht to *th*e toune[1] *th*ai held *thar* way,
Ry*cht* glaid and Ioyfull off *thar* pray.

[As a further ſpecimen of the poem, the opening of the deſcription in the fifth book of Bruce's "hanſaling in Carrik, at his firſt arriuing" may be ſufficient:][2]

This wes in were,[3] quhen vynt*ir*-tyde
Vith his blaſtis, hydwiſs to byde,
Wes ourdriffin:[4] and byrdis ſmale,
As thriſtill and *th*e nychtingale,
Begouth[5] rycht meraly to ſyng,
And for to mak in *th*air ſynging
Syndry notis, and ſound*is* ſer*e*,[6]
And melody pleaſande to her*e*.
And *th*e treis begouth to ma
Burgeonys[7] and bry*cht* blwmys alſua,
To vyn *th*e heling of *th*ar hevede,[8]
That vikkit vynt*ir* had *th*ame revede;
And al grewis[9] begouth to ſpryng.

[To the latter half of the fifteenth century we muſt refer another Scotiſh writer, Andrew of Wyntown, who compoſed the *Original Chronicle of Scotland*. Wyntown was born in all probability at the cloſe of the fourteenth, or beginning of the fifteenth century; but the exact date is wanting. It is difficult to allow that he ſaw the light during the reign of David II. (1329-71), ſince Dunbar, in his *Lament for the Makaris*, compoſed moſt probably not earlier than the year 1500, ſeems to refer to this author as one whom he had known, and who at that time had not been very long deceaſed.[10] A tolerably copious account of Wyntoun and his writings is readily acceſſible elſewhere;[11] and his *Original Chronicle of Scotland* has been printed entire by Macpherſon.][12]

About the preſent period, hiſtorical romances of recent events ſeem to have commenced. Many of theſe appear to have been written by heralds.[13] In the library of Worceſter college at Oxford, there is a poem in French, reciting the achievements of Edward the Black Prince, who died in the year 1376. It is in the ſhort verſe of romance, and was written by the prince's herald, who attended cloſe by his perſon in all his battles, according to the eſtabliſhed mode of thoſe times. This was Chandos Herald, frequently mentioned in Froiſſart. In this piece, which is of conſiderable length, the names

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[1] [Perth.] [2] [Skeat's edit. p. 105.] [3] [ſpring.] [4] [overpaſt.]
[5] [began.] [6] [various.] [7] [buds.]
[8] [to get the covering of their head. *Hevede* is clearly the reading, though ſpelt *hede* in the Cambridge, and *hewid* in the Edinburgh MS.]
[9] [growing things; the Edinb. MS. has *greſſys*, graſſes.]
[10] [Works by Laing, 1834, i. 213.]
[11] [Irving's *Hiſtory of Scotiſh Poetry*, edit. 1861, chap. v.]
[12] [1795, 2 vols. large 8vo. A new edition by Dr. Laing has been promiſed.]
[13] See Le Pere Meneſtrier, *Cheval. Ancien.* c. v. p. 225.

of the Engliſhmen are properly ſpelled, the chronology exact, and the epitaph,[1] forming a ſort of peroration to the narrative, the ſame as was ordered by the prince in his will.[2] This poem, indeed, may ſeem to claim no place here, becauſe it happens to be written in the French language: yet, excluſive of its ſubject, a circumſtance I have mentioned, that it was compoſed by a herald, deſerves particular attention, and throws no ſmall illuſtration on the poetry of this era. There are ſeveral proofs which indicate that many romances of the fourteenth century, if not in verſe, at leaſt thoſe written in proſe, were the work of heralds. As it was their duty to attend their maſters in battle, they were enabled to record the moſt important tranſactions of the field with fidelity. It was cuſtomary to appoint none to this office but perſons of diſcernment, addreſs, experience, and ſome degree of education.[3] At ſolemn tournaments they made

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[1] It is a fair and beautiful MS. on vellum. It is an oblong octavo, and formerly belonged to Sir William Le Neve Clarencieux herald. [It has been edited by the Rev. H. O. Coxe, M.A. the preſent keeper of Bodley, for the Roxburghe Club, 1842.]

[2] The hero's epitaph is frequent in romances. In the French romance of [*Le Petit Jean de*] *Saintre*, written about this time, his epitaph is introduced.

[3] Le Pere Meneſtrier, *Cheval Ancien.* ut ſupr. p. 225, ch. v. "Que l'on croyoit avoir *l'Eſprit*," &c. Feron ſays that they gave this attendance in order to make a true report. *L'Inſtit. des Roys et Herauds*, p. 44, a. See alſo Favin. p. 57. See a curious deſcription, in Froiſſart, of an interview between the Chandois-herald, mentioned above, and a marſhal of France, where they enter into a warm and very ſerious diſpute concerning the *devices d'amour* borne by each army. Liv. i. ch. 161.

[A curious collection of German poems, evidently compiled from theſe heraldic regiſters, was formerly diſcovered in the library of Prince Sinzendorf. The reader will find an account of them and their author Peter Suchenwirt (who lived at the cloſe of the fourteenth century) in the 14th volume of the *Vienna Annals of Literature* (*Jahrbücher der Literatur*, Wien. 1821). They are noticed here for their occaſional mention of Engliſh affairs. The life of Burkhard v. Ellerbach recounts the victory gained by the Engliſh at the battle of Creſſy; in which this terror of Pruſſian and Saracen infidels was left for dead on the field, "the blood and the graſs, the green and the red, being ſo completely mingled in one general maſs," that no one perceived him. Friedrich v. Chreuzpeckh ſerved in Scotland, England, and Ireland. In the latter country he joined an army of 60,000 (!) men, about to form the ſiege of a town called Trachtal (?); but the army broke up without an engagement. On his return thence to England, the fleet in which he ſailed fell in with a Spaniſh ſquadron, and deſtroyed or captured ſix-and-twenty of the enemy. Theſe events occurred between the years 1332-36. Albrecht v. Nürnberg followed Edward III. into Scotland, and appears to have been engaged in the battle of Halidown-hill. But the "errant knight" moſt intimately connected with England was Hans v. Traun. He joined the banner of Edward III. at the ſiege of Calais, during which he was engaged in cutting off ſome ſupplies ſent by ſea for the relief of the beſieged. He does ample juſtice to the valour and heroic reſiſtance of the garriſon, who did not ſurrender till their ſtock of leather,[1] rope and ſimilar materials,—which had long been their only food,—was exhauſted. Rats were ſold at a crown each. In the year 1356 he attended the Black Prince in the campaign which preceded the battle of Poictiers; and on the morning of that eventful fight, Prince Edward honoured him with the important charge of bearing the Engliſh ſtandard. The battle is deſcribed with conſiderable animation. The hoſtile armies advanced

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[1] [The original reads "ſchuch, ſil, chvnt und hewt;" the two laſt I interpret "kind und haut."]

an eſſential part of the ceremony. Here they had an opportunity of obſerving accoutrements, armorial diſtinctions, the number and appearance of the ſpectators, together with the various events of the turney, to the beſt advantage: and they were afterwards obliged to compile an ample regiſter of this ſtrange mixture of foppery and ferocity.[1] They were neceſſarily connected with the minſtrels at public feſtivals, and thence acquired a facility of reciting adventures. A learned French antiquary is of opinion, that anciently the French heralds, called Hiraux, were the ſame as the minſtrels, and that they ſung metrical tales at feſtivals.[2] They frequently received fees or largeſs in common with the minſtrels.[3] They travelled into different countries, and ſaw the faſhions of foreign courts, and foreign tournaments. They not only committed to writing the proceſs of the liſts, but it was alſo their buſineſs, at magnificent feaſts, to deſcribe the number and parade of the diſhes, the quality of the gueſts, the brilliant dreſſes of the ladies, the courteſy of the knights, the revels, diſguiſings, banquets, and every other occurrence moſt obſervable in the courſe of the ſolemnity. Spenſer alludes expreſsly to theſe heraldic details, where he mentions the ſplendour of Florimel's wedding:

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on foot, the archers forming the vanguard. "This was not a time," ſays the poet, "for the interchange of chivalric civilities, for friendly greetings and cordial love: no man aſked his fellow for a violet or a roſe;* and many a hero, like the oſtrich, was obliged to digeſt both iron and ſteel, or to overcome in death the ſenſations inflicted by the ſpear and the javelin. The field reſounded with the claſh of ſwords, clubs, and battle-axes; and with ſhouts of Nater Dam and Sand Jors." But Von Traun, mindful of the truſt repoſed in him, ruſhed forward to encounter the ſtandard-bearer of France: "He drove his ſpear through the vizer of his adverſary—the enemy's banner ſank to the earth never to riſe again—Von Traun planted his foot upon its ſtaff; when the king of France was made captive, and the battle was won." For his gallantry diſplayed on this day Edward granted him a penſion of a hundred marks. He is afterwards mentioned as being intruſted by Edward III. with the defence of Calais during a ten weeks' ſiege; and at a ſubſequent period as croſſing the channel, and capturing a (French?) ſhip, which he brought into an Engliſh port and preſented to Edward.—*Price.* The Poems were publiſhed at Vienna in 1827 by Primiſſer under the title: Peter Suchenwirt *Werke aus dem vierzehuten Jahr-hunderte.* With an introduction, notes, and a gloſſary. See alſo Hormayr's *Taſchenbuch für die vaterlandiſche Geſchichte.* Vienna, 1828.—*Rye.*]

[1] "L'un des principaux fonctions des Herauts d'armes etoit ſe trouver au jouſts, &c. ou ils gardoient les ecus pendans, recevoient les noms et les blaſons des chevaliers, en tenoient regiſtre, et en compoſoient recueils," &c. Meneſtr. *Orig. des Armoir.* p. 180. See alſo p. 119. Theſe regiſters are mentioned in Perceforeſt, xi. 68, 77.

[2] Carpentier, *Suppl. Du-Cang. Gloſs. Lat.* p. 750, tom. ii.

[3] Thus at St. George's feaſt at Windſor we have, "Diverſis heraldis et miniſtrallis," &c. Ann. 21 Ric. ii. 9 Hen. vi. apud Anſtis, *Ord. Gart.* i. 56, 108. And again, *Exit. Pell. M. ann.* 22 *Edw.* iii. "Magiſtro Andreæ Roy Norreys, [a herald,] Lybekin le Piper, et Hanakino filio ſuo, et ſex aliis meneſtrallis regis in denariis eis liberatis de dono regis, in ſubſidium expenſarum ſuarum, lv. *s.* iv. *d.*"—*Exit. Pell. P. ann.* 33 *Edw.* ii. "Willielmo Volaunt regi heraldorum et miniſtrallis exiſtentibus apud Smithfield in ultimo haſtiludio de dono regis, x *l.*" I could give many other proofs.

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* [So I interpret "umb veyal (veilchen) noch umb roſen."]

To tell the glorie of the feaſt that day,
The goodly ſervyſe, the devicefull ſights,
The bridegromes ſtate, the brides moſt rich aray,
The pride of Ladies, and the worth of knights,
The royall banquet, and the rare delights,
Were worke fit for an herauld, not for me:[1]—

I ſuſpect that Chaucer, not perhaps without ridicule, glances at ſome of theſe deſcriptions, with which his age abounded; and which he probably regarded with leſs reverence, and read with leſs edification, than did the generality of his cotemporary readers:

What ſchuld I telle of the realté[2]
Of this mariage, or which cours goth biforn,
Who bloweth in a trompe or in an horn?

Again, in deſcribing Cambuſcan's feaſt:

Of which if I ſchal tellen al tharray,[3]
Than wold it occupie a ſomeres day;
And eek it needith nought for to devyſe
At every cours the ordre and the ſervyſe.
I wol nat tellen of her ſtraunge ſewes,
Ne of her ſwannes, ne here heroun-ſewes.

And at the feaſt of Theſeus, in the *Knight's Tale:*

The mynſtralcye, the ſervyce at the feſte,[4]
The grete yiftes to the moſt and leſte,
The riche aray of Theſeus paleys,
Ne who ſat firſt ne laſt upon the deys,
What ladies fayreſt ben or beſt daunſynge,
Or which of hem can daunce beſt or ſynge,
Ne who moſt felyngly ſpeketh of love;
What haukes ſitten on the perche above,
What houndes lyen in the floor adoun:
Of al this make I now no mencioun.

In the *Flower and the Leaf*, the [author] has deſcribed in eleven long ſtanzas the proceſſion to a ſplendid tournament, with all the prolixity and exactneſs of a herald.[5] The ſame affectation, derived from the ſame ſources, occurs often in Arioſto.

It were eaſy to illuſtrate this doctrine by various examples. The famous French romance of [Le Petit Jean de] *Saintre* was evidently the performance of a herald. [Jean de] Saintre, the knight of the piece, was a real perſon, and, according to Froiſſart, was taken priſoner at the battle of Poitiers in 1356.[6] But the compiler confounds chronology, and aſcribes to his hero many pieces of true hiſtory belonging to others. This was a common practice in theſe books. Some authors have ſuppoſed that this romance appeared before the year 1380.[7] But there are reaſons to prove, that it was written by Antony de la Sale, a Burgundian, author of a book of Ceremonies, from his name very quaintly entitled *La Sallade*, and

[1] *F. Q.* v. iii. 3 [edit. Morris, 1869, p. 306.]
[2] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 191, ver. 605.]
[3] [*Ibid.* ii. 356, ver. 55.]
[4] [*Ibid.* ii. 68, ver. 1339.]
[5] From ver. 204 to ver. 287.
[6] Froiſſart, *Hiſt.* i. p. 178.
[7] Byſshe, *Not. in Upton. Milit. Offic.* p. 56. Meneſtrier, *Orig. Arm.* p. 23.

frequently cited by our learned antiquary Selden.[1] This Antony came into England to ſee the ſolemnity of the queen's coronation in the year 1445.[2] I have not ſeen any French romance which has preſerved the practices of chivalry more copiouſly than this of *Saintre*. It muſt have been an abſolute maſter-piece for the rules of tilting, martial cuſtoms, and public ceremonies prevailing in its author's age. In the library of the [College] of Arms, there remains a very accurate deſcription of a feaſt of Saint George, celebrated at Windſor in 1471.[3] It appears to have been written by the herald Blue-Mantle Purſuivant. Meneſtrier ſays, that Guillaume Rucher, herald of Henault, has left a large treatiſe, deſcribing the tournaments annually celebrated at Liſle in Flanders.[4] In the reign of Edward IV., John Smarte, a Norman, garter king at arms, deſcribed in French the tournament held at Bruges, for nine days, in honour of the marriage of the duke of Burgundy with Margaret the king's daughter.[5] There is a French poem [on the ſiege of the Caſtle of Karlaverock in the year] 1300.[6] This was [probably, however, the production of Walter of Exeter, whom Carew ſuppoſes to have written the original Latin proſe romance of *Guy of Warwick*.] The author thus deſcribes the banner of John of Brittany, [nephew of the duke]:

Baniere avoit cointe et paree
De or et de azur eſchequeree
Au rouge ourle o iaunes lupars
Dermine eſtoit la quarte pars.[7]

The pompous circumſtances of which theſe heraldic narratives

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[1] *Tit. Hon.* p. 413, &c. [2] Anſt. *Ord. Gart.* ii. 321.

[3] MSS. Offic. Arm. M. 15, fol. 12, 13.

[4] "Guillaume Rucher, heraut d'armes du titre de Heynaut, a fait un gros volume des rois de l'Epinette a Liſle en Flanders; c'eſt une ceremonie, ou un feſte, dont il a decrit les jouſtes, tournois, noms, armoiries, livrees, et equipages de divers ſeigneurs, qui ſe rendoient de divers endroits, avec le catalogues de rois de cette feſte." Meneſtr. *Orig. des Armoir*, p. 64.

[5] See many other inſtances in MS. Harl. 69, entit. *The Booke of certaine Triumphes*. See alſo Appendix to the [laſt] edition of Leland's *Collectanea*.

[6] MSS. Cott. [Caligula, A xviii. *The Siege of Carlaverock*, in the xxviii Edward I. A. D. MCCC: &c., from a MS. in the handwriting of Robert Glover the herald. Edited by H. N. Nicolas, Lond. 1828, 4to. In ſome copies the plates of arms are coloured. A reprint of the poem, with the roll of arms emblazoned, appeared in 1860, from which text the preſent extract has been taken, that of Warton being incorrect. The piece itſelf is alſo inſerted from a collation of the two known copies in the *Antiquarian Repertory*, edit. 1807, iv. 469. See alſo Black's *Illuſtrations of Ancient State and Chivalry*, 1840, and *A Booke of Precedence*, &c. edit. Furnivall, 1869. The Britiſh Muſeum has quite lately (Dec. 1870) acquired a curious volume of French and Latin pieces on this ſubject.]

[7] The biſhop of Glouceſter [ſays Warton] has moſt obligingly condeſcended to point out to me another ſource, to which many of the romances of the fourteenth century owed their exiſtence. Montfaucon, in his *Monumens de la Monarchie Françoiſe*, has printed the "Statuts de l'Ordre du Saint Eſprit au droit deſir ou du Noeud etabli par Louis d'Anjou roi de Jeruſalem et Sicile en 1352-3-4," tom. ii. p. 329. This was an annual celebration "au Chaſtel de l'Euf enchanti du merveilleux peril." The caſtle, as appears by the monuments which accompany theſe ſtatutes, was built at the foot of the obſcure grot of the enchantments of Virgil. The ſtatutes are as extraordinary as if they had been drawn up by Don Quixote himſelf, or his aſſeſſors, the curate and the barber. From the ſeventh chapter we learn that

conſiſted, and the minute prolixity with which they were diſplayed, ſeemed to have infected the profeſſed hiſtorians of this age. Of this there are various inſtances in Froiſſart, who had no other deſign than to compile a chronicle of real facts. I will give one example out of many. At a treaty of marriage between our Richard II. and Iſabel daughter of Charles V. king of France, the two monarchs, attended with a noble retinue, met and formed ſeveral encampments in a ſpacious plain, near the caſtle of Guynes. Froiſſart expends many pages in relating at large the coſtly furniture of the pavilions, the riches of the ſide-boards, the profuſion and variety of ſumptuous liquors, ſpices, and diſhes, with their order of ſervice, the number of the attendants, with their addreſs and exact diſcharge of duty in their reſpective offices, the preſents of gold and precious ſtones made on both ſides, and a thouſand other particulars of equal importance, relating to the parade of this royal review.[1] On this account, Caxton, in his exhortation to the knights of his age, ranks Froiſſart's hiſtory, as a book of chivalry, with the romances of Lancelot and Percival, and recommends it to their attention, as a manual equally calculated to inculcate the knightly virtues of courage and courteſy.[2] This indeed was in an age when not only the courts of princes, but the caſtles of barons, vied with one another in the luſtre of their ſhews; when tournaments, coronations, royal interviews, and ſolemn feſtivals, were the grand objects of mankind. Froiſſart was an eye-witneſs of many of the ceremonies which he deſcribes. His paſſion ſeems to have been that of ſeeing magnificent ſpectacles, and of hearing reports concerning them.[3] Although a canon of two churches, he paſſed his life in travelling from court to court, and from caſtle to caſtle.[4] He thus, either from his own obſervation or the credible information of others, eaſily procured ſuitable materials for a hiſtory, which profeſſed only to deal in ſenſible objects, and thoſe of the moſt ſplendid and conſpicuous kind. He was familiarly known to two kings of England and one of Scotland.[5] But the court which he

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the knights who came to this yearly feſtival at the *chatel de l'euf*, were obliged to deliver in writing to the clerks of the chapel of the caſtle their yearly adventures. Such of theſe hiſtories as were thought worthy to be recorded, the clerks are ordered to tranſcribe in a book, which was called "Le livre des avenements aux chevaliers, &c. Et demeura le dit livre toujours en la dicte chapelle." This ſacred regiſter certainly furniſhed from time to time ample materials to the romance-writers. And this circumſtance gives a new explanation to a reference which we ſo frequently find in romances: I mean, that appeal which they ſo conſtantly make to ſome authentic record. [Warton's epiſcopal informant was, of courſe, his friend Warburton.]

[1] See Froiſſart's *Cronycle*, tranſlated by Lord Berners, 1523, vol. ii. f. 242.

[2] [*Book of the ordre of chyualry or knyghthode* (circâ 1484).]

[3] His father was a painter of armories. This might give him an early turn for ſhews. See Sainte-Palaye, *Mem. Lit.* tom. x. p. 664, edit. 4to.

[4] He was originally a clerk of the chamber to Philippa, queen of Edward III. He was afterwards canon and treaſurer of Chimay in Henault, and of Liſle in Flanders; and chaplain to Guy earl of Caſtellon. Labor. *Introd. a l'Hiſt. de Charles VI.* p. 69. Compare alſo Froiſſart's *Chron.* ii. f. 29, 305, 319. And Bullart, *Academ. des Arts et des Scienc.* i. p. 125, 126.

[5] *Cron.* ii. f. 158, 161.

moſt admired was that of Gaſton, Comte de Foix, at Orlaix in Bearn; for, as he himſelf acquaints us, it was not only the moſt brilliant in Europe, but the grand centre for tidings of martial adventures.[1] It was crowded with knights of England and Arragon. In the meantime it muſt not be forgotten that Froiſſart, who from his childhood was ſtrongly attached to carouſals, the muſic of minſtrels, and the ſports of hawking and hunting,[2] cultivated the poetry of the troubadours, and was a writer of romances.[3] This turn, it muſt be confeſſed, might have ſome ſhare in communicating that romantic caſt to his hiſtory which I have mentioned. During his abode at the court of the Comte de Foix, where he was entertained for twelve weeks, he preſented to the earl his collection of the poems of the duke of Luxemburg, conſiſting of ſonnets, balades, and virelays. Among theſe was included a romance, compoſed by himſelf, called *Meliade[s] or The Knight of the Sun of Gold.* Gaſton's chief amuſement was to hear Froiſſart read this romance[4] every evening after ſupper.[5] At his introduction to Richard II. he preſented that brilliant monarch with a book beautifully illuminated, engroſſed with his own hand, bound in crimſon velvet, and embelliſhed with ſilver boſſes, claſps, and golden roſes, comprehending all the matters of Amours and Moralities, which in the courſe of twenty-four years he had compoſed.[6] This was in 1396. When he left

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[1] *Cron.* ii. f. 30. This was in 1381.

[2] See *Mem. Lit.* ut ſupr. p. 665.

[3] Speaking of the death of King Richard, Froiſſart quotes a prediction from the old French proſe romance of Brut, which he ſays was fulfilled in that cataſtrophe, liv. iv. c. 119. Froiſſart will be mentioned again as a poet.

[4] I take this opportunity of remarking, that romantic tales or hiſtories appear at a very early period to have been read as well as ſung at feaſts. So Wace in the *Roman du Rou*, in the Britiſh Muſeum, above mentioned:

> "Doit l'en les vers et les regeſtes
> Et les eſtoires *lire* as feſtes."

[5] Froiſſart brought with him for a preſent to Gaſton Comte de Foix four greyhounds, which were called by the romantic names of Triſtram, Hector, Brut, and Roland. Gaſton was ſo fond of hunting, that he kept upwards of ſix hundred dogs in his caſtle. Sainte-Palaye, *ut ſupr.* pp. 676, 678. He wrote a treatiſe on hunting, printed [about 1507. See Brunet, *dern.* edit. art. *Phebus.*] In illuſtration of the former part of this note, Creſcimbeni ſays, "Che in molte nobiliſſime famiglie Italiane, ha 400 e più anni, paſſarono' i nomi de' *Lancillotti*, de' *Triſtani*, de *Galvani*, di *Galeotti*, delle [Iſoulde], delle *Genevre*, e d'altri cavalieri, à dame in eſſe Tavola Roitonda operanti," &c. *Iſtor. Volg. Poes.* vol. i. lib. v. p. 327.

[6] I ſhould think that this was his romance of *Meliadus*. Froiſſart ſays, that the king at receiving it aſked him what the book treated of. He anſwered *d'Amour*. The king, adds our hiſtorian, ſeemed much pleaſed at this, and examined the book in many places, for he was fond of reading as well as ſpeaking French. He then ordered Richard Crendon, the chevalier in waiting, to carry it into his privy chamber, *dont il me fit bonne chere*. He gave copies of the ſeveral parts of his chronicle, as they were finiſhed, to his different patrons. Le Laboureur ſays, that Froiſſart ſent fifty-ſix quires of his *Roman au Croniques* to Guillaume de Bailly, an illuminator; which, when illuminated, were intended as a preſent to the king of England. *Hiſt.* ch. vi. En *la vie de Louis duc d'Anjou*, p. 67, *ſeq.* See alſo *Cron.* i. iv. c. i.—iii. 26. There are two or three fine illuminated copies of Froiſſart

England the ſame year,[1] the king ſent him a maſſive goblet of ſilver, filled with one hundred nobles.[2]

As we are approaching to Chaucer, let us here ſtand ſtill, and take a retroſpect of the general manners. The tournaments and carouſals of our ancient princes, by forming ſplendid aſſemblies of both ſexes, while they inculcated the moſt liberal ſentiments of honour and heroiſm, undoubtedly contributed to introduce ideas of courteſy, and to encourage decorum. Yet the national manners ſtill retained a great degree of ferocity, and the ceremonies of the moſt refined courts in Europe had often a mixture of barbariſm which rendered them ridiculous. This abſurdity will always appear at periods when men are ſo far civilized as to have loſt their native ſimplicity, and yet have not attained juſt ideas of politeneſs and propriety. Their luxury was inelegant, their pleaſures indelicate, their pomp cumberſome and unwieldy. In the meantime it may ſeem ſurpriſing that the many ſchools of philoſophy which flouriſhed in the middle ages ſhould not have corrected and poliſhed the times. But as their religion was corrupted by ſuperſtition, ſo their philoſophy degenerated into ſophiſtry. Nor is it ſcience alone, even if founded on truth, that will poliſh nations. For this purpoſe, the powers of imagination muſt be awakened and exerted, to teach elegant feelings, and to heighten our natural ſenſibilities. It is not the head only that muſt be informed, but the heart muſt alſo be moved. Many claſſic authors were known in the thirteenth century, but the ſcholars of that period wanted taſte to read and admire them. The pathetic or ſublime ſtrokes of Virgil would be but little reliſhed by theologiſts and metaphyſicians.

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among the Royal MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum. Among the ſtores of Henry VIII. at his manor of Beddington in Surrey, I find the faſhionable reading of the times exemplified in the following books, *viz.* "*Item*, a great book of parchmente written and lymned with gold of graver's work *De confeſſione Amantis*, with xviii. other bookes, Le premier volume de Lancelot, Froiſſart, Le grant voiage de Jeruſalem, Enguerain de Monſtrellet," &c. MSS. Harl. 1419, f. 382. Froiſſart was here properly claſſed.

[1] Froiſſart ſays, that he accompanied the king to various palaces, "A Elten, a Ledos, a Kinkeſtove, a Cenes, a Certeſée et a Windſor." This is, Eltham, Leeds, Kingſton, Chertſey, &c. *Cron.* liv. iv. c. 119, p. 348. The French are not much improved at this day in ſpelling Engliſh places and names.

Perhaps by *Cenes*, Froiſſart means Shene, the royal palace at Richmond.

[2] *Cron.* f. 251, 252, 255, 319, 348. Bayle, who has an article on Froiſſart, had no idea of ſearching for anecdotes of Froiſſart's life in his *Chronicle*. Inſtead of which, he ſwells his notes on this article with the contradictory accounts of Moreri, Voſſius, and others, whoſe diſputes might have been all eaſily ſettled by recurring to Froiſſart himſelf, who has interſperſed in his hiſtory many curious particulars relating to his own life and works.

SECTION XII.

THE moſt illuſtrious ornament of the reign of Edward III. and of his ſucceſſor Richard II. was Geoffrey Chaucer, a poet with whom the hiſtory of our poetry is by many ſuppoſed to have commenced, and who has been pronounced, by a critic of unqueſtionable taſte and diſcernment, to be the firſt Engliſh verſifier who wrote poetically.[1] He was born [about] the year [1340, and was probably in his youth a page of Elizabeth, wife of Prince Lionel, third ſon of Edward III.]:[2] but the livelineſs of his parts, and the native gaiety of his diſpoſition, ſoon recommended him to the patronage of a magnificent monarch, and rendered him a very popular and acceptable character in the brilliant court which I have above deſcribed. In the meantime he added to his accompliſhments by frequent tours into France and Italy, which he ſometimes viſited under the advantages of a public character. Hitherto our poets had been perſons of a private and circumſcribed education, and the art of verſifying, like every other kind of compoſition, had been confined to recluſe ſcholars. But Chaucer was a man of the world; and from this circumſtance we are to account, in great meaſure, for the many new embelliſhments which he conferred on our language and our poetry. The deſcriptions of ſplendid proceſſions and gallant carouſals with which his works abound are a proof that he was converſant with the practices and diverſions of polite life. Familiarity with a variety of things and objects, opportunities of acquiring the faſhionable and courtly modes of ſpeech, connections with the great at home, and a perſonal acquaintance with the vernacular poets of foreign countries, opened his mind, and furniſhed him with new lights.[3] In Italy he [is ſaid to have met] Petrarch, at the wedding of Violante, daughter of Galeazzo, duke of Milan, with the duke of Clarence; and it is [even alleged] that Boccaccio was of the party.[4] Although Chaucer had undoubtedly ſtudied the works of theſe celebrated writers, and particularly of Dante, before this, yet it ſeems likely that theſe excurſions gave him a new reliſh for their compoſitions, and enlarged his knowledge of the Italian fables. His travels likewiſe enabled him to cultivate the Italian and [French] languages with

[1] Johnſon's *Diction.* Pref. p. 1.

[2] [*New Facts in the Life of Geoffrey Chaucer*, by E. A. Bond, *Fortnightly Rev.*, Aug. 15, 1866.]

[3] The earl of Saliſbury, beheaded by Henry IV., could not but patronize Chaucer. I do not mean for political reaſons. The earl was a writer of verſes, and very fond of poetry. On this account his acquaintance was much cultivated by the famous Chriſtina of Piſa, whoſe works, both in proſe and verſe, compoſe ſo conſiderable a part of the old French literature. She uſed to call him, "Gracieux chevalier, aimant dictiez, et lui-meme gracieux dicteur." See M. Boivin, *Mem. Lit.* tom. ii. p. 767, *ſeq.* 4to.

[4] Froiſſart was alſo preſent. *Vie de Petrarque*, 1766, iii. 772. I believe Paulus Jovius is the firſt who mentions this anecdote. *Vit. Galeas.* ii. p. 152.

the greateſt ſucceſs, and induced him to poliſh the aſperity, and enrich the ſterility of his native verſification with ſofter cadences, and a more copious and variegated phraſeology. [This attempt was] authorized by the recent and popular examples of Petrarch in Italy and [Jean de Meun and others] in France.[1] The revival of learning in moſt countries appears to have firſt owed its riſe to tranſlation. At rude periods the modes of original thinking are unknown, and the arts of original compoſition have not yet been ſtudied. The writers, therefore, of ſuch periods are chiefly and very uſefully employed in importing the ideas of other languages into their own. They do not venture to think for themſelves, nor aim at the merit of inventors, but they are laying the foundations of literature; and while they are naturalizing the knowledge of more learned ages and countries by tranſlation, they are imperceptibly improving the national language. This has been remarkably the caſe, not only in England, but in France and Italy. [To mention only a few inſtances: Laȝamon tranſlated and enlarged Wace; Robert of Brunne tranſlated William of Waddington, Wace, and Langtoft; and] in the year 1387, John Treviſa, canon of Weſtbury in Glouceſterſhire and a great traveller, not only finiſhed a tranſlation of the Old and New Teſtaments at the command of his munificent patron, Thomas Lord Berkley,[2] but alſo tranſlated Higden's *Polychronicon* and other Latin pieces.[3] But theſe tranſlations would have been alone inſufficient to have produced or ſuſtained any conſiderable revolution in our language: the great work was reſerved for Gower and Chaucer. Wickliffe had alſo tranſlated the Bible;[4] and in other reſpects his attempts to bring about a reformation in religion at this time proved beneficial to Engliſh literature. The orthodox divines of this period generally wrote in Latin: but Wickliffe, that his arguments might

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[1] [Not Alain Chartier, as Warton ſays; for Alain Chartier was born at Bayeux not later than 1395, and did not compoſe his firſt work till after the battle of Agincourt (25 Oct. 1415); it was *Le Livre des Quatre Dames*. He was ſent to Scotland on an embaſſy in June or July, 1428. See *Memoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, tome xxviii. and *Revue Critique*, Aug. 28, 1869.—F. The example of Chartier could not have been, conſequently, of much ſervice to our Chaucer!]

[2] See Wharton, *Append. Cav.* p. 49.

[3] Such as Bartholomew Glanville *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, lib. xix. and Vegetius *De Arte Militari*. MSS. Digb. 233. Bibl. Bodl. In the ſame manuſcript is Ægidius Romanus *De Regimine Principum*, a tranſlation by [Occleve. It was edited for the Roxburghe Club, by Mr. T. Wright, 1860.] He alſo tranſlated ſome pieces of Richard Fitzralph, archbiſhop of Armagh. See *ſupr.* He wrote a tract, prefixed to his verſion of the *Polychronicon*, on the utility of tranſlations: *De Utilitate Tranſlationum, Dialogus inter Clericum et Patronum.* See more of his tranſlations in MSS. Harl. 1900. I do not find his *Engliſh Bible* in any of our libraries, nor do I believe that any copy of it now remains. Caxton mentions it in the preface to his edition of the Engliſh *Polychronicon.* See Lewis's *Wickliffe*, p. 66, 329, and Lewis's *Hiſtory of the Tranſlations of the Bible*, p. 66.

[4] It is obſervable that he made his tranſlation from the vulgate Latin verſion of Jerom. See MS. Cod. Bibl. Coll. Eman. Cant. 102. [There is nothing in the MS. to warrant the ſtatement in the former editions as to the work having been finiſhed in 1383, which date is ſimply added in a note written in a ſecond hand.—*Madden.*]

be familiarized to common readers and the bulk of the people, was obliged to compoſe in Engliſh his numerous theological treatiſes againſt the papal corruptions. Edward III. while he perhaps intended only to baniſh a badge of conqueſt, greatly contributed to eſtabliſh the national dialect, by aboliſhing the uſe of the Norman tongue in the public acts and judicial proceedings, as we have before obſerved, and by ſubſtituting the natural language of the country. But Chaucer manifeſtly firſt taught his countrymen to write Engliſh, and formed a ſtyle by naturalizing words from the [Langue d'Oye],[1] at that time the [richeſt] dialect of any in Europe, and the beſt adapted to the purpoſes of poetical expreſſion.

It is certain that Chaucer abounds in claſſical alluſions; but his poetry is not formed on the ancient models. He appears to have been an univerſal reader, and his learning is ſometimes miſtaken for genius; but his chief ſources were the French and Italian poets. From theſe originals two of his capital poems, the *Knight's Tale*,[2] and the *Romaunt of the Roſe* [if his] are imitations or tranſlations. The firſt of theſe is taken from Boccaccio. [Chaucer, out of the 2250 lines of his *Knight's Tale*, has tranſlated 270 (leſs than one-eighth) from the 9054 of Boccaccio's original: 374 more lines

[1] The ingenious editor of the *Canterbury Tales* treats the notion, that Chaucer imitated the Provençal poets, as totally void of foundation. He ſays, "I have not obſerved in any of his writings a ſingle phraſe or word, which has the leaſt appearance of having been fetched from the South of the Loire. With reſpect to the manner and matter of his compoſitions, till ſome clear inſtance of imitation be produced, I ſhall be ſlow to believe, that in either he ever copied the poets of Provence; with whoſe works, I apprehend, he had very little, if any acquaintance," vol. i. *Append. Pref.* p. xxxvi. I have advanced the contrary doctrine, at leaſt by implication: and I here beg leave to explain myſelf on a ſubject materially affecting the ſyſtem of criticiſm that has been formed on Chaucer's works. I have never affirmed that Chaucer imitated the Provençal bards; although it is by no means improbable that he might have known their tales. But as the peculiar nature of the Provençal poetry entered deeply into the ſubſtance, caſt, and character, of ſome of thoſe French and Italian models, which he is allowed to have followed, he certainly may be ſaid to have copied, although not immediately, the *matter* and *manner* of theſe writers. I have called his *Houſe of Fame* originally a Provençal compoſition. I did not mean that it was written by a Provençal troubadour: but that Chaucer's original was compounded of the capricious mode of fabling, and that extravagant ſtyle of fiction, which conſtitute the eſſence of the Provençal poetry. As to the *Flower and the Leaf*, which Dryden pronounces to have been compoſed *after their manner*, it is framed on the old allegoriſing ſpirit of the Provençal writers, refined and disfigured by the fopperies of the French poets in the fourteenth century. The ideas of theſe fablers had been ſo ſtrongly imbibed, that they continued to operate long after Petrarch had introduced a more rational method of compoſition.

[2] Chaucer alludes to ſome book whence this tale was taken, more than once, viz. v. 1. "Whilom, as *olde ſtories* tellin us." v. 1465. "As *olde bookes* to us ſaine, that *all this ſtorie telleth more plain*." v. 2814. "Of ſoulis fynd I nought in this *regiſtre*." That is, this hiſtory, or narrative. See alſo v. 2297. In the *Legend of good women*, where Chaucer's works are mentioned, is this paſſage, v. 420.

"And al the love of Palamon and Arcite
Of Thebis, *though the ſtoreis knowen lite*."

[The laſt words ſeem to imply that it had not made itſelf very popular.—*Tyrwhitt.*]

bear a general likeneſs to the Italian poets, and 132 more, a ſlight likeneſs.[1]]

Boccaccio was the diſciple of Petrarch: and although principally known and deſervedly celebrated as a writer or inventor of tales, he was by his cotemporaries uſually placed in the third rank after Dante and Petrarch. But Boccaccio having ſeen the Platonic ſonnets of his maſter Petrarch, in a fit of deſpair committed [a portion of his own] to the flames,[2] except [only certain pieces, of which perhaps] his good taſte had taught him to entertain a more favourable opinion, [one] thus happily reſcued from deſtruction [was formerly] ſo little known even in Italy, as to have left its author but a ſlender proportion of that eminent degree of poetical reputation which he might have juſtly claimed from ſo extraordinary a performance. It is an heroic poem, in twelve books, entitled *La Teſeide*, and written in the octave ſtanza, called by the Italians *ottava rima*, which Boccaccio adopted from the old French chanſons, and here firſt introduced among his countrymen.[3] It was printed at Ferrara, but with ſome deviations from the original, and even miſrepreſentations of the ſtory, in 1475.[4] [It was reprinted without date in 4to, and again in 1528. The poem has alſo been tranſlated into Italian and French proſe.]

Whether Boccaccio was the inventor of the ſtory of this poem [ſeems rather doubtful]. It is certain that Theſeus was an early hero of romance.[5] He was taken from that grand repoſitory of the Grecian heroes, the *Hiſtory of Troy*, [compoſed from various materials] by Guido de Colonna. In the royal library at Paris there is a MS. entitled, *Roman de Theſeus et de Gadifer*.[6] Probably, this is the French romance, [printed at Paris in two folio volumes in 1534.[7]] Gadifer, with whom Theſeus is joined in this ancient tale, written probably by a troubadour of Picardy, is a champion in the oldeſt French romances.[8] He is mentioned frequently in the *Roman d'Alexandre*. In the romance of *Perceforreſt*, he is called king of Scotland, and ſaid to be crowned by Alexander the Great.[9] [But this Theſeus, as Mr. Douce has pointed out, is a different perſon altogether from the claſſical hero, being the ſon of Floridas, king of

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[1] [*Temporary Preface*, by F. J. F., pp. 104-5.]

[2] Goujet, *Bibl. Fr.* tom. vii. p. 328.

[3] See Creſcimbeni *Iſtor. Volgar. Poes.* vol. i. l. i. p. 65.

[4] [See the correct title in Brunet, laſt edit. i. 1016-17. A purer text of the poem appeared in 1819, 8vo, in which it was taken from a MS. The *Theſeid* forms vol. 9 of the collected edit. of Boccaccio, publiſhed at Florence, 1827-31, 13 vols. 8vo.]

[5] In Lydgate's *Temple of Glas*, among the lovers painted on the wall is Theſeus killing the Minotaur. I ſuppoſe from Ovid, or from Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Fairfax, 16.

[6] MSS. Bibl. Reg. Paris. tom. ii. 974. E.

[7] [See the full and correct title in the laſt edition of Brunet, v. 808. There was a later edition about 1550.]

[8] The chevaliers of the courts of Charles V. and VI. adopted names from the old romances, ſuch as Lancelot, Gadifer, Carados, &c. *Mem. Anc. Cheval.* i. p. 340.

[9] [See Brunet, *dern.* edit. in v. *Perceforeſt*. This tedious ſtory was printed at Paris in 1528, in ſix folio volumes, uſually bound in three.]

Cologne, in the year 682.] There is in the ſame library a MS. called by Montfaucon *Hiſtoria Theſei in lingua vulgari*, in ten books.[1] The Abbé Goujet obſerves, that there is in ſome libraries of France an old French tranſlation of Boccaccio's *Theſeid*, from which Anna de Graville formed the French poem of *Palamon and Arcite*, at the command of Queen Claude, wife of Francis I., about the year 1487. Either the tranſlation uſed by Anna de Graville, or her poem, is perhaps the ſecond of the MSS. mentioned by Montfaucon. Boccaccio's *Theſeid* has alſo been tranſlated into Italian proſe by Nicolas Granuci, and printed at Lucca in 157[9].[2] In the *Dedication* to this work, which was printed about one hundred years after the Ferrara edition of the *Theſeide* appeared, Granucci [wrongly and even ignorantly, as we are much inclined to think], mentions Boccaccio's work as a tranſlation from the barbarous Greek poem cited below.[3] Boccaccio himſelf mentions the ſtory of Palamon and Arcite. This may ſeem to imply that the ſtory exiſted before his time: unleſs he artfully intended to recommend his own poem on the ſubject by ſuch an alluſion. It is where he introduces two lovers ſinging a portion of this tale:—"Dioneo e Fiametta gran pezza canterono inſieme d'Arcite e di Palamone."[4] By Dioneo Boccaccio repreſents himſelf; and by Fiametta, his miſtreſs, Mary of Arragon, a natural daughter of Robert, king of Naples.

I confeſs I am of opinion, that Boccaccio's *Theſeid* is [to a great extent] an original compoſition [though baſed on, and improved from, the *Thebais* of Statius]. But there is a Græco-barbarous poem extant on this ſubject, which, if it could be proved to be antecedent in point of time to the Italian poem, would degrade Boccaccio to a mere tranſlator on this occaſion. It is a matter that deſerves to be examined at large, and to be traced with accuracy.

This Greek poem is [by no means ſo well] known as Boccaccio's. It is entitled Θησευς και Γαμοι της Εμηλιας. It was printed at Venice in 1529.[5] It is often cited by Du Cange in his Greek gloſſary under the title, *De Nuptiis Theſei et Æmiliæ*. The heads of the chapters are adorned with rude wooden cuts of the ſtory. I once ſuſpected that Boccaccio, having received this poem from ſome of his learned friends among the Grecian exiles, who being driven from Conſtantinople took refuge in Italy about the fourteenth century, tranſlated it into Italian. Under this ſuppoſition, I was indeed ſurpriſed to find

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[1] Bibl. MSS. *ut ſupr.*

[2] [But ſee Brunet, i. 1017.] The *Theſeid* has alſo been tranſlated into French proſe, 1597, 12mo.—[*Ibid.*] Jeanne de la Fontaine tranſlated into French verſe this poem. She died 1536. Her tranſlation was never printed. It is applauded by Joannes Secundus, *Eleg.* xv.

[3] *Dedicaz.* fol. 5. "Volendo far coſa, que non ſio ſtata fatta da loro, pero mutato parere mi dicoli a ridurre in proſa queſto Innamoramento, Opera di M. Giovanni Boccaccio, quale egli tranſporto dal Greco in octava rima per compiacere alla ſua Fiametta," &c. See Sloane MS. 1614. Brit. Mus.

[4] Giorn. vii. Nov. 10, p. 348, edit. 1548. Chaucer himſelf alludes to this ſtory, *Bl. Kn.* v. 369. Perhaps on the ſame principle.

[5] A MS. of it is in the Royal Library at Paris, Cod. 2569. Du Cange, *Ind. Auct. Gloſſ. Gr. Barb.* ii. p. 65, col. 1.

the ideas of chivalry and the ceremonies of a tournament minutely deſcribed, in a poem which appeared to have been written at Conſtantinople. But this difficulty was ſoon removed, when I recollected that the [Latins, in which name we include the French, Flemings, Italians, and] Venetians, had been in poſſeſſion of that city for more than one hundred years, Baldwin, earl of Flanders, having been elected emperor of Conſtantinople in 1204.[1] Add to this, that the word, τερνεμεντον, a tournament, occurs in the Byzantine hiſtorians.[2] From the ſame communication likewiſe, I mean the Greek exiles, I fancied Boccaccio might have procured the ſtories of ſeveral of his tales in the *Decameron:* as, for inſtance, that of *Cymon and Iphigenia*, where the names are entirely Grecian, and the ſcene laid in Rhodes,

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[1] About which period it is probable that the anonymous Greek poem, called the *Loves of Lybiſter and Rhodamna*, was written. This appears by the German name Frederic, which often occurs in it, and is greciſed, with many other German words. In a MS. of this poem which Cruſius ſaw, were many paintings and illuminations; where, in the repreſentation of a battle, he obſerved no guns, but javelins and bows and arrows. He adds, "et muſicæ teſtudines." It is written in the iambic meaſure mentioned below. It is a ſeries of wandering adventures with little art or invention. Lybiſter, the ſon of a Latin king, and a Chriſtian, ſets forward accompanied with an hundred attendants in ſearch of Rhodamna, whom he had loſt by the ſtratagems of a certain old woman ſkilled in magic. He meets Clitophon ſon of a king of Armenia. They undergo various dangers in different countries. Lybiſter relates his dream concerning a partridge and an eagle; and how from that dream he fell in love with Rhodamna daughter of Chyſes a pagan king, and communicated his paſſion by ſending an arrow, to which his name was affixed, into a tower, or caſtle, called Argyrocaſtre, &c. See Cruſius, *Turko-Græcia*, p. 974. But we find a certain ſpecies of erotic romances, ſome in verſe and ſome in proſe, exiſting in the Greek empire, the remains and the dregs of Heliodorus, Achilles Tatius, Xenophon the Epheſian, Charito, Euſtathius or Eumathius, and others, about or rather before the year 1200. Such are the *Loves of Rhodante and Doſicles*, by Theodorus Prodromus, who wrote about the year 1130. This piece was imitated by Nicetas Eugenianus in the *Loves of Charicell and Droſilla.* See Labb. *Bibl. Nov. Manuſcript.* p. 220. *The Loves of Callimachus and Chryſorrhoe*, *The Erotic hiſtory of Hemperius*, *The hiſtory of the Loves of Florius and Platzaflora*, with ſome others, all by anonymous authors, and in Græco-barbarous iambics, were written at Conſtantinople, [and were probably tranſlations from another language.] See Neſſel. i. p. 342-343. Meurs. *Gloſs. Gr. Barb.* v. Βανεντ. And Lambecc. v. p. 262, 264.

[2] As alſo Τορνε, *Haſtiludium.* Fr. *Tournoi.* And Τουρνεσειν, *haſtiludio contendere.* Johannes Cantacuzenus relates, that when Anne of Savoy, daughter of Amadeus, the fourth earl of Savoy, was married to the Emperor Andronicus, junior, the Frankiſh and Savoyard nobles, who accompanied the princeſs, held tilts and tournaments before the court at Conſtantinople; which, he adds, the Greeks learned of the Franks. This was in 1326. *Hiſt. Byzant.* l. i. cap. 42. But Nicetas ſays, that when the Emperor Manuel [Comnenus] made ſome ſtay at Antioch, the Greeks held a ſolemn tournament againſt the Franks. This was about 1160. *Hiſt. Byzant.* l. iii. cap. 3. Cinnamus obſerves, that the ſame Emperor Manuel altered the ſhape of the ſhields and lances of the Greeks to thoſe of the Franks. *Hiſt.* lib. iii. Nicephorus Gregoras, who wrote about the year 1340, affirms that the Greeks learned this practice from the Franks. *Hiſt. Byzant.* l. x. p. 339, edit. fol. Genev. 1615. The word Καβαλλαριοι, knights, chevaliers, occurs often in the Byzantine hiſtorians, even as early as Anna Comnena, who wrote about 1140. *Alexiad*, lib. xiii. p. 411. And we have in J. Cantacuzenus, "την Καβαλαριων παρειχε τιμην:"—He conferred the honour of Knighthood. This indeed is ſaid of the Franks. *Hiſt.* ut ſupr. l. iii. cap. 25. And in the Greek poem now under conſideration, one of the titles is, "Πως εποιησεν ὁ Θεσευς τους δυο Θηβαιους Καβαλαριους:"—How Theſeus dubbed the two Thebans knights. Lib. vii. ſignatur γνιι fol. vers.

Cyprus, Crete, and other parts of Greece belonging to the imperial territory.[1] But, to ſay no more of this, I have at preſent no ſort of doubt of what I before aſſerted, that Boccaccio is the writer and inventor of this piece. Our Greek poem is in fact a literal tranſlation from the Italian *Theſeid*. The writer has tranſlated the prefatory epiſtle addreſſed by Boccaccio to the *Fiametta*. It conſiſts of twelve books, and is written in Boccaccio's octave ſtanza, the two laſt lines of every ſtanza rhyming together. The verſes are of the iambic kind, and ſomething like the *Verſus Politici*, which were common among the Greek ſcholars a little before, and long after, Conſtantinople was taken by the Turks in 1453. It will readily be allowed, that the circumſtance of the ſtanzas and rhymes is very ſingular in a poem compoſed in the Greek language, and is alone ſufficient to prove this piece to be a tranſlation from Boccaccio. I muſt not forget to obſerve, that the Greek is extremely barbarous, and of the loweſt period of that language.

It was a common practice of the learned and indigent Greeks, who frequented Italy and the neighbouring ſtates about the fifteenth and ſixteenth centuries, to tranſlate the popular pieces of Italian poetry, and the romances or tales moſt in vogue, into theſe Græco-barbarous iambics.[2] *Paſtor Fido* was thus tranſlated. The romance of *Alexander the Great* was alſo tranſlated in the ſame manner by Demetrius Zenus, who flouriſhed in 1530, under the title of Αλεξανδρευς ὁ Μακεδων, and printed at Venice in 1529.[3]

In the very year, and at the ſame place, when and where our Greek poem on Theſeus, or Palamon and Arcite, was printed, *Apollonius of Tyre*, another famous romance of the middle ages, was tranſlated in the ſame manner, and entitled Διηγησις ὡραιωτατη Απολλωνιου του εν Τυρῳ[4] ρημαδα.[5] The ſtory of King Arthur they alſo reduced into the ſame language. The French hiſtory or [rather] romance

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[1] Giorn. v. Nov. 1.

[2] That is *verſus politici* above mentioned, a ſort of looſe iambic. See Langius, *Philologia Græco-barbara*. Tzetzes's Chiliads are written in this verſification. See Du Cange, *Gl. Gr.* ii. col. 1196.

[3] Crus. *ut ſupr.* pp. 373, 399.

[4] That is, Rythmically, poetically, *Gr. Barb.*

[5] Du Cange mentions, "Μεταγλωττισμα απο Λατινικης εις Ραμαικην διηγησις πολληπαθους Απολλωνιου του Τυρου." *Ind. Auct. Gloſs. Gr. Barb.* ii. p. 36, col. b. Compare Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.* vi. 821. Firſt printed at Venice [in 1534. See Brunet, i. 350-1, where other editions are quoted.] In the works of Velſerus there is *Narratio Eorum quæ Apollonio regi acciderunt*, &c. He ſays it was firſt written by ſome Greek author. Velſeri Op. p. 697, edit. 1682. The Latin is in Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Laud, 39.—Bodl. F. 7, and F. 11.45. In the preface, Velſerus, who died 1614, ſays that he believes the original in Greek ſtill remains at Conſtantinople, in the library of Manuel Eugenicus. Montfaucon mentions a noble copy of this romance, written in the xiii^th^. century, in the royal library at Paris. Bibl. MSS. p. 753. Compare MSS. Langb. Bibl. Bodl. vi. p. 15. *Geſta Apollonii*, &c. There is a [verſion] in [Anglo-]Saxon of the romance. Wanley's Catal. *apud* Hickes, ii. 146, [printed by Thorpe, 1834, 8vo.] See Martin. Cruſii *Turco Græc.* p. 209, edit. 1594. Gower recites many ſtories of this romance in his *Confeſſio Amantis*. He calls Apollonius "a yonge, a freſhe, a luſtie knight." See lib. viii. fol. 175, b.—185, a. But he refers to Godfrey of Viterbo's *Pantheon*, or univerſal Chronicle, called alſo *Me-*

of *Bertrand du Gueſcelin*, printed at Abbeville in 1487,[1] and that of *Beliſaire* or *Beliſarius*, they rendered in the ſame language and metre, with the titles Διηγησις εξαιρετος Βελθανδρου του Ρωμαιου,[2] and Ἱστορικη εξηγησις περι Βελλισαριου, &c.[3] Boccaccio himſelf, in the *Decameron*,[4]

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moriæ Sæculorum, partly in proſe, partly verſe, from the creation of the world to the year 1186. The author died in 1190.

"—A Cronike in daies gone
The which is cleped Panteone," &c.

fol. 175, a. [There is a fragment of 140 lines of a fifteenth-century Engliſh verſe tranſlation of this romance in MS. Douce 216.—F. Another is in the poſſeſſion of Sir Thomas Philipps. Neither has any connection with the Engliſh (proſe) verſion of *Apollonius of Tyre*, executed by Robert Copland, and printed in 1510. The Duke of Devonſhire's copy of the latter, purchaſed at the Roxburghe ſale in 1812, ſeems to be unique. It has been lately (1870) reprinted in facſimile by Aſhbee. Reſpecting *Apollonius of Tyre*, ſee the preſent work *infra*, Collier's *Shakeſpeare's Library*, 1843, and Halliwell's *New Boke about Shakeſpeare and Stratford-on-Avon*, 1850, where the Philipps fragment is printed for the firſt time. It formerly belonged to Dr. Farmer.] The play called *Pericles Prince of Tyre*, attributed to Shakeſpeare, is taken from this ſtory of Apollonius as told by Gower, who ſpeaks the prologue. It exiſted in Latin before the year 900. See Barth. *Adverſar.* lviii. cap. i. Chaucer calls him "of Tyre Apolloneus" (*Prol. Man. L. Tale*, ver. 82), and quotes from this romance:

"How that the curſed kyng Anteochus
Byreft his doughter of hir maydenhede,
That is ſo horrible a tale as man may reede,
Whan he hir threw upon the pament."

[But Shakeſpeare is alſo ſuppoſed to have been indebted to Lawrence Twyne's compilation: "The Patterne of painefull Aduentures," firſt publiſhed probably in 1576, and reprinted from a later ed. in the firſt vol. of *Shakeſpeare's Library*, 1843.] In the Britiſh Muſeum there is *Hiſtoire d'Apollin roy de Thir.* MSS. Reg. 20 C. ii. 2. With regard to the French editions of this romance, [the oldeſt is probably that of Geneva, *ſine ulla nota*, folio. See Brunet, i. 351. Thoſe of 1530 and *ſans date* (Paris, Jehan Boufont) are later, curtailed, and of courſe leſs valuable.] At length the ſtory appeared in a modern dreſs by M. le Brun, under the title of *Avantures d'Apollonius de Thyr*, printed in 1710, and again the following year. In the edition of the *Geſta Romanorum*, printed at Rouen in 1521, and containing 181 chapters, [as well as in that of 1488 and others,] the hiſtory of Apollonius of Tyre occurs, ch. 153. This is the firſt of the additional chapters.

[1] At the end of *Le Triumphe des neuf Preux:* that is, *The Nine Worthies.* [Compare Brunet, i. 44, with *ibid.* ii. 869.]

[2] See Du Cange, *Gl. Gr. Barb.* ii. *Ind. Auctor.* p. 36, col. b. This hiſtory contains Beltrand's or Bertrand's amours with Χρυσαπζα, Chryſatſa, the king of Antioch's daughter.

[3] See Lambecc. *Bibl Cæſar.* lib. v. p. 264. It is remarkable that the ſtory of *Date obolum Beliſario* is not in Procopius, but in this romance. Probably Vandyck got this ſtory from a modernized edition of it, called *Belliſaire ou le Conquerant*, Paris, 1643. It, however, is ſaid in the title-page to be taken from Procopius. It was written by [François de Grenaille, ſieur de Chateaunieres.]

[4] They ſometimes applied their Greek iambics to the works of the ancient Greek poets. Demetrius Zenus, above mentioned, tranſlated Homer's Βατραχομυομαχια; and Nicolaus Lucanus the *Iliad*. The firſt was printed at Venice, and afterwards reprinted by Cruſius, *Turco-Græc.* p. 373; the latter was alſo printed at Venice, 1526. This Zenus is ſaid to be the author of the Γαλεωμυομαχια, or *Battle of the Cats and Mice.* See Crus. *ubi ſupr.* 396, and Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* i. 264, 223. [But the true writer was Theodorus Prodronus.—*Rye.*] On account of the Græco-barbarous books, which began to grow common, chiefly in Italy about the year 1520, Sabius above-mentioned, the printer of many of them, publiſhed a Græco-barbarous lexicon at Venice, 1527: [*Introduttorio nuovo intitolato Corona preciosa*, &c. See Brunet, *dern.* edit. v. 7, and *ibid.* ii. 293.] It is a mixture of

mentions the ſtory of Troilus and Creſſida in Greek verſe, which I ſuppoſe had been tranſlated by ſome of the fugitive Greeks with whom he was connected, from a romance on that ſubject, many ancient copies of which now remain in the libraries of France.[1] The ſtory of *Florius and Platzflora*, a romance which Ludovicus Vives with great gravity condemns under the name of *Florian and Blanca-Flor*, as one of the pernicious and unclaſſical popular hiſtories current in Flanders about the year 1523,[2] of which there are old editions in French, Spaniſh,[3] and perhaps Italian, is likewiſe extant very early in Greek iambics, moſt probably as a tranſlation into that language.[4] I could give many others, but I haſten to lay before my readers ſome ſpecimens both of the Italian and the Greek *Palamon and Arcite*:[5] only premiſing that both have about a thouſand verſes

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modern and ancient Greek words, Latin and Italian. It was reprinted at Venice [in 1543, of which there was a re-iſſue in] 1546.

[1] See *Le Roman de Troylus*, [a proſe French copy of the *Filoſtrato*, in *Nouvelles Françoiſes du XIV^me^ Siècle*, 1858,] and Montfaucon, *Bibl. MSS.* p. 792, 793, &c. &c. There is, "L'Amore di Troleo et Griſeida, ove ſi tratta in buone parte la Guerra di Troja," d'Angelo Leonico, Ven. 1553, in octave rhyme.

[2] Lud. Viv. *de Chriſtiana Femina*, lib. i. cap. *cui tit. Qui non legendi Scriptores*, &c. He lived at Bruges. He mentions other romances common in Flanders, *Leonela and Canamor*, *Curias and Florela*, and *Pyramus and Thiſbe*.

[3] *Flores y Blancaflor*. En Alcala, 1512, 4to. See Brunet's remarks, ii. 1300. This Spaniſh verſion was tranſlated into French, under the title:] *Hiſtoire Amoreuſe de Flores et de Blanchefleur*, traduite de l'Eſpagnol par Jacques Vincent. Paris, 1554, 8vo. *Florimont et Paſſeroze*, traduite de l'Eſpagnol en proſe Françoiſe, Lyon, 15—, 8vo. There is a French edition at Lyons, 1571; it was, perhaps, originally Spaniſh. [Compare Brunet, ii. 1307.]

The tranſlation of *Flores and Blanca[f]lore* in Greek iambics might alſo be made in compliment to Boccaccio. Their adventures make the principal ſubject of his *Philocopo:* but the ſtory exiſted long before, as Boccaccio himſelf informs us, lib. i., edit. [1827-31.] Flores and Blancaflore are mentioned as illuſtrious lovers by Matfres Eymengau de Bezers, a poet of Languedoc, in his *Breviari d'Amor*, dated 1288. MSS. Reg. 19 C. i. fol. 199. This tale was probably enlarged in paſſing through the hands of Boccaccio. [The two different verſions of the French thirteenth century romance of *Florice and Blancheflore* (Bibl. Imperiale, No. 6987; Paulin-Paris, vol. 3, pp. 215-16) have been printed at Berlin in 1844, and at Paris in 1856. Read in the latter M. du Méril's excellent introduction. Several MSS. of the Engliſh verſion are extant. There is a copy in the Auchinleck MS. printed in *Antient Engliſh Poetry*, 1857; in Cotton. MS. Vitellius, D, 111, printed by Early Engl. Text Society (with *King Horn*), 1866; and at Cambridge, printed (probably very badly) in Hartſhorne's *Ancient Metrical Tales*, 1829. The Cotton. MS. is ſadly mutilated.—F.]

[A German romance on this ſubject was tranſlated by Konrad Flecke from the French of Robert d'Orleans, in the early part of the thirteenth century. The ſubject is referred to at an earlier period by ſeveral Provençal poets, and this, coupled with the theatre of its events, makes Warton's conjecture extremely probable that it is of Spaniſh origin.—*Price.* For the fulleſt account of the bibliography of this popular romance ſee Hoffmann's *Horæ Belgicæ*, 1830, part 3. See alſo art. *Aſſenede* in the *Dict. Soc. Uſeful Knowledge.—Rye.*]

[4] [Dr. Wagner is editing a Middle-Greek *Floris* for the Philological Society.—F.]

[5] [Warton was indebted, he tells us, to Mr. Stanley for the uſe of the Greek *Theſeus*, printed at Venice in 1529, with woodcuts. Another copy was at that time in the hands of Ramſay the painter. The firſt edition of the original Italian, Ferrara, 1475, folio, was in Dr. Aſkew's collection. Conſul Smith's copy was bought for King George III. Another copy is at Althorp, and a fourth ſold at

in each of the twelve books, and that the two firſt books are introductory; the firſt containing the war of Theſeus with the Amazons, and the ſecond that of Thebes, in which Palamon and Arcite are taken priſoners. Boccaccio thus deſcribes the Temple of Mars:

Ne' campi tracii ſotto i cieli iberni
Da tempeſta continova agitati
Dove ſchieré di nembi ſempiterni
Da venti or qua ed or la traſmutati
In varii luoghi ne guazzori verni
E d' acqua globi per freddo aggroppati
Gittati ſono, e neve tuttavia,
Che 'n ghiacchio a mano a man' s' indura e cria:

E 'n una ſelva ſteril di robuſti
Cerri, dov' eran folti ed alti molte,
Nodoſi ed aſpri, rigidi e vetuſti,
Che d' ombra eterna ricuoprono il volto
Del triſto ſuolo, e in fra gli antichi fuſti,
Da ben mille furor ſempre ravvolto
Vi ſi ſentia grandiſſimo romore,
Ne v' era beſtia encora nè paſtore

In queſta vide la ca' dello iddio
Armipotente, e queſta è edificata
Tutta d' acciaio ſplendido e pulio,
Dal quale era dal ſol riverberata
La luce, che aborriva il luogho rio:
Tutta di ferro era la ſtretta entrata
E le porte eran d' eterno diamante
Ferrate d' ogni parte tutte quante,

E le colonne di ferro cuſtei
Vide, che l' edificio ſoſtenieno
Li gl' Impeti dementi parve a lei
Veder, che fier fuor della uſcieno,
Ed il cieco Peccare, ed ogni Omei
Similemente quivi ſi vedieno;
Videvi l' Ire roſſe come fuoco,
E la Paura pallida in quel loco.

E con gli occulti ferri i Tradimenti
Vide, e le Inſidie con giuſta apparenza:
Li Diſcordia ſedeva, e ſanguinenti
Ferri avie in mano, e d' ogni differenza;
E tutti i luoghi pareano ſtrepenti
D' aſpre minacce e di crudele intenza:
E 'n mezzo il loco la Virtù triſtiſſima
Sedie di degne lode poveriſſima.

Videvi ancora l' allegro Furore,
E oltre a ciò con volto ſanguinoſo
La Morte armata vide e lo Stupore;
Ed ogni altare quivi era copioſo
Di ſangue ſol nelle battaglie fuore
De' corpi uman cacciato, e luminoſo
Era ciaſcun di fuoco tolto a terre
Arſe e disfatte per le triſte guerre.

Ed era il tempio tutto iſtoriato[1]

Hibbert's ſale in 1829 for £160. See Dibdin's *Biblioth. Spencer.* iv. 84, and Brunet, i. 1015-16.]

[1] Thus, στορισματα means paintings, properly hiſtory-paintings, and ἱστορειν, and

Da ſottil mano e di ſopra e d' intorno
E ciò che pria vi vide diſegnato
Eran prede di notte e di giorno
Tolti alle terre, e qualunque isforzato
Fu era quivi in abito muſorno:
Vedevanſi le genti incatenate,
Porti di ferro e fortezze ſpezzate

Videvi ancor le navi bellatrici,
I vôti carri, e li volti guaſtati,
E li miſeri pianti ed infelici,
Ed ogni forza cogli aſpetti elati,
Ogni ſedita ancor ſi vedea lici:
E ſangui colle terre meſcolati:
E 'n ogni loco nell' aſpetto fiero
Si vedea Marte torbido ed altiero, &c.[1]

The Temple of Venus has theſe imageries:

Poi vide preſſo a ſè paſſar Bellezza
Senz' ornamento alcun sè riguardando,
E vide gir con lei Piacevolezza,
E l' una e l' altra ſeco commendano;
Poi con lor vide ſtarſi Giovinezza
Deſtra ed adorna molto feſteggiando:
E d' altra parte vide il folle Ardire
Luſinghe e Ruffianie inſieme gire.

E 'n mezzo il loco in ſu alte colonne
Di rame vide un tempio, al qual d' intorno
Danzando giovinetti vide e donne,
Qual da sè belle: e qual d' abito adorno,
Diſcinte e ſcalze, in capelli e gonne,
Che in queſto ſolo diſpendeano il giorno:
Poi ſopra il tempio vide volitare
Paſſere molte e columbe rucchiare.

Ed all' entrata del tempio vicina
Vide che ſi ſedeva pianamente
Madonna Pace, e in mano una cortina
'Nanzi alla porta tenea lievemente:
Appreſſo a lei in viſta aſſai tapina
Pacienza ſedea diſcretamente,

ανιχορειν, is to *paint*, in barbarous Greek. There are various examples in the Byzantine writers. In middle Latinity *Hiſtoriographus* ſignifies literally a painter. Perhaps our hiſtoriographer royal was originally the king's illuminator. Ἱστοριογραφος μουσιατωρ occurs in an inſcription publiſhed by Du Cange, *Diſſertat. Joinv.* xxvii. p. 319. Where μουσιατωρ implies an artiſt who painted in moſaic work called μουσαιον, or μουσιον, *muſivum*. In the Greek poem before us Ἱστοριτας is uſed for a painter, lib. ii.:

Εκ την παρουσαν την ζωην ὁλεποικειν ο Ἱστοριτας.

In the middle Latin writers we have *depingere hiſtorialiter*, to paint with hiſtories or figures, viz. "Forinſecus dealbavit illud [delubrum,] intrinſecus autem *depinxit hiſtorialiter*." Dudo, *De Act. Norman.* l. iii. p. 153. Dante uſes the Italian word before us in the ſame ſenſe. Dante, *Purgat.* Cant. x.:

"Quivi era hiſtoriata l'alta gloria
Del Roman Principe."

Ἱστορια frequently occurs, ſimply for picture or repreſentation in colours. Nilus Monach. lib. iv. *Epiſt.* 61. Και ἱστοριας πτηνων και ἑρπετων και βλαστηματων. "Pictures of birds, ſerpents, and plants." And in a thouſand other inſtances.

[1] L. vii. [Ed. 1827-31, ix. 221-3. In all the former editions, the extract, as well as that which ſucceeds, was ſo disfigured by errors, as to be abſolutely unintelligible.]

Pallida nell' aſpecto: e d' ogni parte
D' intorno a lei vide Promeſſe ad arte.
Poi dentro al tempio entrata, di ſoſpiri
Vi ſenti un tumulto, che girava
Focoſo tutto di caldi diſiri:
Queſto gli altari tutti aluminaua
Di nuove fiamme nate di martiri,
De' qua' ciaſcun di lagrime grondava,
Moſſe da una dona cruda e ria,
Che vide li, chiamata Geloſia. &c.[1]

It is highly probable that Boccaccio learned many anecdotes of Grecian hiſtory and Grecian fable, not to be found in any Greek writer now extant, from his preceptors Barlaam, Leontius, and others, who had lived at Conſtantinople, while the Greek literature was yet flouriſhing. Some of theſe are perhaps ſcattered up and down in the compoſition before us, which contains a conſiderable part of the Grecian ſtory; and eſpecially in his Treatiſe of the Genealogies of the Gods.[2] Boccaccio himſelf calls his maſter Leontius an inexhauſtible archive of Grecian tales and fables, although not equally converſant with thoſe of the Latins.[3] He confeſſes that he took many things in his book of the genealogies of the gods from a vaſt work entitled *Collectivum*, now loſt, written by his cotemporary Paulus Peruſinus, the materials of which had in great meaſure been furniſhed by Barlaam.[4] We are informed alſo, that Peruſinus made

[1] [*Ibid.* pp. 230-1.] Some of theſe ſtanzas are thus expreſſed in the Græco-barbarous tranſlation:

Εἰς τοῦτον εἶδε τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸν οἶκον τὸν μεγάλον,
ἀπαρμματα πολλὰ σκληρὰ, κτισμένος ἦτον ὅλος.
Ὁ λόλαμπρος γὰρ ἦτοναι, ἔλαμπεν ὡς τὸν ἥλιον,
ὅταν ὁ ἥλιος ἔκρουε, ἄστραπτεν ὡς τὸν φέγγος.
Ο τόπος ὅλος ἔλαμπεν, ἐκτὴν λαμπρότητάντου,
τὸ ἔμπατου ὁλοσίδηρον, καὶ τὰ στενώματάτου.
Ἀπὸ διαμάντη πόρτεστου, ἦσαν καὶ τὰ καρφία,
σηδερομένεαις δυνατὰ, ἀπάπασαν μερία.

Κολόναις ἦσαν σιδηρὲς, πολλὰ χοντρὲς μεγάλαις,
ἀπάνωτους ἐβάστεναν, ὅλον τὸν οἶκον κεῖνον.
Ἐκεῖδε τὴν βουρκότηταν, τὸν λογισμὸν ἐκείνων,
ὁποκτὴν πόρταν βγένασι, ἄγροι καὶ θυμομένοι.
Καὶ τὴν τυφλὴ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν καὶ τὸ οὐαὶ καὶ ὄχου
ἐκεῖσε ἐφαινόντησαν, ὅμοιον σὰν καὶ τ' ἄλλα.
Καὶ ταῖς ὀργαῖς ἐσκεύθηκεν, κόκιναις ὡς φωτία,
τὸν φόβον εἶδε λόχλομον, ἐκεῖσε σμίαν μερία.

Μετὰ κοιφὰ τὰ σίδερὰ, εἶδε δημηγερσίαις,
καὶ ταῖς φαλσίαις πουγίνονται, καὶ μοίαζουν δικαιοσούνες.
Ἐκεῖτον ἀσυνβασία, μεταῖς διαφωνίαις,
ἐβάσα εἰς τὸ χέρητης, σίδερα ματομένα.
Ὅλος ὁ τόπος ἔδειχνε, ἄγριος καὶ χολιασμένος,
ἀγρίους γὰρ φοβερισμοὺς, κιωμότατην μαλέαν.
Μέσα τον τόπον τούτονε, ἡ χάρπα τυχεμένη,
ἐκάθετον ὁ πόπρεπε, νὰ ἔναι παινεμένη.

[2] In fifteen books. Firſt printed in 1481, fol. And in Italian by Betuſſi, Venet. 1553. In French at Paris, 1531, fol. In the interpretation of the fables he is very prolix and jejune.

[3] *Geneal. Deor.* lib. xv. cap. vi.

[4] "Quicquid apud Græcos inveniri poteſt, adjutorio Barlaæ arbitror collegiſſe." —*Ibid.*

uſe of ſome of theſe fugitive Greek ſcholars, eſpecially Barlaam, for collecting rare books in that language. Peruſinus was librarian, about the year 1340, to Robert, king of Jeruſalem and Sicily, and was the moſt curious and inquiſitive man of his age for ſearching after unknown or uncommon manuſcripts, eſpecially hiſtories and poetical compoſitions, and particularly ſuch as were written in Greek. I will beg leave to cite the words of Boccaccio, who records this anecdote.[1] By the *Hiſtoriæ* and *Poetica Opera*, [mentioned below as] brought from Conſtantinople by Barlaam, undoubtedly works of entertainment, and perhaps chiefly of the romantic and fictitious ſpecies, I do not underſtand the claſſics. It is natural to ſuppoſe that Boccaccio, both from his connections and his curioſity, was no ſtranger to theſe treaſures: and that many of theſe pieces, thus imported into Italy by the diſperſion of the Conſtantinopolitan exiles, are only known at preſent through the medium of his writings. It is certain that many oriental fictions found their way into Europe by means of this communication.

Boccaccio borrowed the ſtory of Titus and Geſippus from the *Geſta Romanorum*, or from the ſecond fable of Alphonſus. There is another Latin hiſtory of theſe two friends, a tranſlation from [the eighth novel of the tenth day of the *Decameron*,] by Bandello, and printed at Milan in 1509. An exceedingly ſcarce book.[2]

I take this opportunity of pointing out another ſource of Boccaccio's *Tales*. Friar Philip's ſtory of the *Gooſe*, or of the young man who had never ſeen a woman, in the prologue to the fourth day of the *Decameron*, is taken from a ſpiritual romance, called the *Hiſtory of Barlaam and Joſaphat*. This fabulous narrative, in which Barlaam is a hermit and Joſaphat a king of India, is ſuppoſed to have been originally written in Greek by Johannes Damaſcenus. The Greek is no uncommon manuſcript.[3] It was from the old Latin tranſlation, which is mentioned by Vincent of Beauvais, that it became a favourite in the dark ages. The Latin, which is alſo a common manuſcript, was printed ſo early as the year 1470. It has often appeared in French. A modern Latin verſion was publiſhed at Paris in 1577. The legendary hiſtorians, who believed everything, and even Baronius, have placed Barlaam and Joſaphat in their catalogues of confeſſors. Saint Barlaam and Saint Joſaphat occur in the *Metrical Lives of the Saints*.[4] This hiſtory ſeems to have been compoſed by an oriental Chriſtian: and, in ſome manuſcripts, is ſaid to have been brought by a monk of Saint Saba into the holy city from Ethiopia. Among the Baroccian MSS. Cod. xxi. there was an office in Greek for theſe two ſuppoſed ſaints.

In paſſing through Chaucer's hands, this poem has received many new beauties. Not only thoſe capital fictions and deſcriptions, the

[1] "Et, ſi uſquam curioſiſſimus fuit homo in perquirendis, juſſu etiam principis, peregrinis undecunque libris, *Hiſtoriis et Poeticis* operibus, iſte fuit. Et ob id, ſingulari amicitiæ Barlaæ conjunctus, quæ a Latinis habere non poterat eo medio innumera exhauſit a Græcis."—*Geneal. Deor.* lib. xv. cap. vi.

[2] [See, for the correct title, *Brunet*, i. 636.]

[3] See MSS. Laud. C. 72.

[4] MSS. Bodl. 72, fol. 288, b, [Vernon MS., &c.]

temples of Mars, Venus, and Diana, with their allegorical paintings, [but alſo] the figures of Lycurgus and Emetrius with their retinue, are ſo much heightened by the bold and ſpirited manner of the Britiſh bard, as to ſtrike us with an air of originality. Boccaccio's ſituations and incidents reſpecting the lovers are often inartificial and unaffecting. In the Italian poet, Emilia walking in the garden and ſinging is ſeen and heard firſt by Arcite, who immediately calls Palamon. They are both equally, and at the ſame point of time, captivated with her beauty; yet without any expreſſions of jealouſy, or appearance of rivalry. But in Chaucer's management of the commencement of this amour, Palamon by ſeeing Emilia firſt acquires an advantage over Arcite, which ultimately renders the cataſtrophe more agreeable to poetical juſtice. It is an unnatural and unanimated picture which Boccaccio preſents, of the two young princes violently enamoured of the ſame object, and ſtill remaining in a ſtate of amity. In Chaucer, the quarrel between the two friends, the foundation of all the future beautiful diſtreſs of the piece, commences at this moment, and cauſes a converſation full of mutual rage and reſentment. This rapid tranſition, from a friendſhip cemented by every tie to the moſt implacable hoſtility, is on this occaſion not only highly natural, but produces a ſudden and unexpected change of circumſtances, which enlivens the detail and is always intereſting. Even afterwards, when Arcite is releaſed from the priſon by Pirithous, he embraces Palamon at parting; and in the fifth book of *La Teſeide*, when Palamon goes armed to the grove in ſearch of Arcite, whom he finds ſleeping, they meet on terms of much civility and friendſhip, and in all the mechanical formality of the manners of romance. In Chaucer, this dialogue has a very different caſt. Palamon, at ſeeing Arcite, feels a "colde ſwerde" glide throughout his heart: he ſtarts from his ambuſcade, and inſtantly ſalutes Arcite with the appellation of "falſe traitour;" and although Boccaccio has merit in diſcriminating the characters of the two princes, by giving Palamon the impetuoſity of Achilles, and Arcite the mildneſs of Hector, yet Arcite by Boccaccio is here injudiciouſly repreſented as too moderate and pacific. In Chaucer he returns the ſalute with the ſame degree of indignation, draws his ſword, and defies Palamon to ſingle combat. So languid is Boccaccio's plan of this amour, that Palamon does not begin to be jealous of Arcite till he is informed in the priſon that Arcite lived as a favourite ſervant with Theſeus in diſguiſe, yet known to Emilia. When the lovers ſee Emilia from the window of their tower, ſhe is ſuppoſed by Boccaccio to obſerve them, and not to be diſpleaſed at their ſigns of admiration. This circumſtance is juſtly omitted by Chaucer, as quite unneceſſary, and not tending either to promote the preſent buſineſs or to operate in any diſtant conſequences. On the whole, Chaucer has eminently ſhewn his good ſenſe and judgment in rejecting the ſuperfluities and improving the general arrangement of the ſtory. He frequently corrects or ſoftens Boccaccio's falſe manners; and it is with ſingular addreſs he has often abridged the Italian poet's oſtentatious and pedantic parade of ancient hiſtory and mythology.

Therefore it is to be remarked, that as Chaucer in ſome places has thrown in ſtrokes of his own, ſo in others he has contracted the unintereſting and tedious prolixity of narrative, which he found in the Italian poet; and that he might avoid a ſervile imitation, and indulge himſelf as he pleaſed in an arbitrary departure from the original, it appears that he neglected the embarraſſment of Boccaccio's ſtanza, and preferred the Engliſh heroic couplet, of which this poem affords the firſt conſpicuous example extant in our language.

The ſituation and ſtructure of the temple of Mars are thus deſcribed:

A foreſte,[1]
In which ther dwellede neyther man ne beſte,
With knotty knarry bareyn trees olde
Of ſtubbes ſcharpe and hidous to byholde;
In which ther ran a ſwymbul in a ſwough,
As it were a ſtorme ſchulde berſt every bough:
And downward on an hil under a bent,[2]
Ther ſtood the tempul of Marz armypotent,
Wrought al of burned[3] ſteel, of which thentre
Was long and ſtreyt, and gaſtly for to ſee.
And therout came a rage of ſuche a priſe,
That it maad al the gates for to riſe.
The northen light in at the dore ſchon,
For wyndow on the walle *ne* was ther noon,
Thorugh the which men might no light diſcerne.
The dores wer alle ademaunte eterne,
I-clenched overthward and endelong
With iren tough; and, for to make it ſtrong,
Every piler the tempul to ſuſteene
Was tonne greet of iren bright and ſchene.

The gloomy ſanctuary of this tremendous fane, was adorned with theſe characteriſtical imageries.

Ther ſaugh I furſt the derk ymaginyng[4]
Of felony, and al the compaſſyng;
The cruel ire, as reed as eny gleede;
The pikepurs, and eek the pale drede;
The ſmyler with the knyf under his cloke;
The ſchipne brennyng with the blake ſmoke;
The treſoun of the murtheryng in the bed;
The open werres, with woundes al bi-bled;
Contek with bloody knyf,[5] and ſcharp manace.
Al ful of chirkyng[6] was that ſory place.
The ſleer of himſelf yet ſaugh I there,
His herte-blood hath bathed al his here;
The nayl y-dryve in the ſchode a-nyght;

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[1] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 61, ver. 1117.]
[2] [declivity]. [3] burniſhed. [4] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 62, ver. 1137.]
[5] This image is likewiſe entirely miſrepreſented by Dryden, and turned to a ſatire on the Church:

"Conteſt with ſharpen'd knives in *cloyſters* drawn,
And all with blood beſpread the *holy lawn*."

[6] Any diſagreeable noiſe, or hollow murmur. Properly, the jarring of a door upon the hinges. See alſo Chaucer's *Boeth.* p. [25, edit. Morris:] "Whan the felde *chirkynge* agriſethe of colde by the fellneſſe of the wynde that hyȝt aquilon." The original is, "Vento Campus inhorruit."

The colde deth, with mouth gapyng upright.[1]
Amyddes of the tempul ſet meſchaunce,
With ſory comfort and evel contynaunce.
Yet I ſaugh *woodnes* laughyng in *his* rage;
The hunte ſtrangled with wilde bores corage.
The caraigne in the buſche, with throte i-korve:
A thouſand ſlayne, and not of qualme i-ſtorve;[2]
The tiraunt, with the pray bi force i-rafte;
The toune deſtroied, there was no thing lafte.
Yet ſaugh I brent the ſchippis hoppeſteres;[3]
The hunte[4] *ſtrangled with the wilde beeres.*
The ſowe freten the child right in the cradel;
The cook i-ſkalded, for al his longe ladel.
Nought beth forgeten the infortune of Mart;
The carter over-ryden with his cart,
Under the whel ful lowe he lay adoun.
Ther wer alſo of Martz diviſioun,
The barbour, and the bowcher, and the ſmyth,
That forgeth ſcharpe ſwerdes on his ſtith.
And al above depeynted in a tour
Saw I conqueſt ſittyng in gret honour,
With the ſcharpe ſwerd over his heed
Hangynge by a ſotil twyne threed.

This group is the effort of a ſtrong imagination, unacquainted with ſelection and arrangement of images. It is rudely thrown on the canvas without order or art. In the Italian poets, who deſcribe every thing, and who cannot, even in the moſt ſerious repreſentations, eaſily ſuppreſs their natural predilection for burleſque and familiar imagery, nothing is more common than this mixture of ſublime and comic ideas.[5] The form of Mars follows, touched with the impetuous daſhes of a ſavage and ſpirited pencil:

The ſtatue[6] of Mars upon a carte ſtood,
Armed, and lokede grym as he were wood;
* * * * *

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[1] This couplet refers to the ſuicide in the preceding one, who is ſuppoſed to kill himſelf by driving a nail into his head [in the night], and to be found dead and cold in his bed, with his "mouth gapyng upryght." This is properly the meaning of his "hair being bathed in blood." *Shode*, in the text, is literally *a buſh of hair*. Dryden has finely paraphraſed this paſſage.

[2] "ſlain—not deſtroyed by ſickneſs or dying a natural death."

[3] A writer in *Notes and Queries* (1ſt S. ii. 31,) conjectures, that Chaucer may have miſread the *bellatrici* of Statius *ballatrici*. Another writer in the ſame miſcellany (2nd S. iv. 407) thinks that it ſhould be *hoppoſteres* quaſi upholſteries= dock-yards. Now, a *hopyr* is the old word for the *trough*, in which the grain is placed to be ground, and there may have been a term, now loſt, but known to Chaucer, founded upon *hopyr*, and having the ſenſe of ſhip's ſtocks. This appears to be on the whole the moſt probable ſolution:

"By God! right by the *hoper* wol I ſtande,
Quod Johan, 'And ſe how that the corn gus inne.'"
Reeves Tale, l. 4034, ed. Wright.]

[4] [The huntſman; from the Saxon *hunta*.—Tyrwhitt.]

[5] There are many other inſtances of this mixture. v. 319. "We ſtrive as did the houndis for the bone." v. 403. "We fare he that dronk is as a mouſe, &c." "Farewel phyſick! Go bere the corſe to church;" "Some ſaid he lokid grim and he wolde fight," &c. *infra*.

[6] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 63, ver. 1183.] Statuary is not implied here. Thus he mentions the *ſtatue* of Mars on a banner, *ſupr.* v. 117. I cannot forbear adding in

A wolf ther ſtood byforn him at his feet
With eyen reed, and of a man he eet;
With ſotyl pencel depeynted was this ſtorie,
In redoutyng[1] of Mars and of his glorie.

But the groundwork of this whole deſcription is in the *Thebais* of Statius. I will make no apology for tranſcribing the paſſage at large, that the reader may judge of the reſemblance. Mercury viſits the temple of Mars ſituated in the frozen and tempeſtuous regions of Thrace:—[2]

Hic ſteriles delubra notat Mavortia ſilvas,
Horreſcitque tuens: ubi mille furoribus illi
Cingitur adverſo domus immanſueta ſub Hæmo.
Ferrea compago laterum, ferro arcta teruntur
Limina, ferratis incumbunt tecta columnis.
Læditur adverſum Phœbi jubar, ipſaque ſedem
Lux timet, et dirus contriſtat ſidera fulgor.
Digna loco ſtatio? primis ſalit Impetus amens
E foribus, cæcumque Nefas, Iræque rubentes,
Exſangueſque Metus; occultiſque enſibus adſtant
Inſidiæ, geminumque tenens Diſcordia ferrum.
Innumeris ſtrepit aula Minis: triſtiſſima Virtus
Stat medio, lætuſque Furor, vultuque cruento
Mors armata ſedet: bellorum ſolus in aris
Sanguis, et incenſis qui raptus ab urbibus ignis.
Terrarum exuviæ circum, et faſtigia templi
Captæ inſignibant gentes, cœlataque ferro
Fragmina portarum, bellatriceſque carinæ,
Et vacui currus, protritaque curribus ora.[3]

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this place theſe fine verſes of Mars arming himſelf in haſte, from our author's *Complaint of Mars and Venus*, v. 99:

"He throweth on him his helme of huge wyghte,
And girt him with his ſwerde; and in his honde
His myghty ſpere, as he was wont to fyghte,
He ſhaketh ſo, that almoſt it to-wonde;"

Here we ſee the force of deſcription without a profuſion of idle epithets. Theſe verſes are all ſinew: they have nothing but verbs and ſubſtantives.

[1] recording, [reverence, *T.*]

[2] Chaucer points out this very temple in the introductory lines, v. 1113:

"Like to the eſtres of the griſly place,
That hight the gret tempul of Mars in Trace,
In that colde and froſty regioun,
Ther as Mars hath his ſovereyn mancioun."

[3] Stat. *Theb.* vii. 40 [Edit. Paris, 1827, iii. 9-10]. And below we have Chaucer's *Doors of adamant eterne*, viz. v. 68.

"Clauſæque adamante perenni
Diſſiluere fores."

Statius alſo calls Mars, *Armipotens*, v. 78. A ſacrifice is copied from Statius, where, ſays Chaucer (v. 1435):

"And did hir thinges, as men may biholde
In Stace of Thebes."

I think Statius is copied in a ſimile, v. 1640. The introduction of this poem is alſo taken from the *Thebaid*, xii. 545, 481, 797. Compare Chaucer's lines, v. 870, *ſeq.* v. 917, *ſeq.* v. 996, *ſeq.* The funeral pyre of Arcite is alſo tranſlated from *Theb.* vi. 195, *ſeq.* See Ch. v. 2940, *ſeq.* I likewiſe take this opportunity of

Statius was a favourite writer with the poets of the middle ages. His bloated magnificence of deſcription, gigantic images, and pompous diction, ſuited their taſte, and were ſomewhat of a piece with the romances they ſo much admired. They neglected the gentler and genuine graces of Virgil, which they could not reliſh. His pictures were too correctly and chaſtely drawn to take their fancies: and truth of deſign, elegance of expreſſion, and the arts of compoſition were not their objects.[1] In the meantime we muſt obſerve, that in Chaucer's *Temple of Mars* many perſonages are added: and that thoſe which exiſted before in Statius have been retouched, enlarged, and rendered more diſtinct and picturesque by Boccaccio

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obſerving, that Lucretius and Plato are imitated in this poem, together with many paſſages from Ovid and Virgil.

[1] In *Troilus and Creſſide* he has tranſlated the arguments of the twelve books of the *Thebais* of Statius. See B. v. p. 1479, *ſeq.*

But to be more particular as to theſe imitations, ii. 28, v. 40:—

"A companye of ladies, tweye and tweye," &c.

Thus Theſeus, at his return in triumph from conquering Scythia, is accoſted by the dames of Thebes, Stat. *Theb.* xii. 519:—

"Jamque domos patrias, Scythicæ poſt aſpera gentis
Prælia, laurigero ſubeuntem Theſea curru
Lætifici plauſus, &c. &c.
Paulum et ab inſeſſis mœſtæ Pelopeides aris
Promovere gradum, ſeriemque et dona triumphi
Mirantur, victique animo rediere mariti.
Atque ubi tardavit currus, et ab axe ſuperbo
Explorat cauſas victor, poſcitque benigna
Aure preces; orſa ante alias Capaneia conjux,
Belliger Ægide," &c.

Chaucer here copies Statius (*Theb.* v. 861-966). *Kn. T.* from [v. 70 to v. 151,] See alſo *ibid.* v. 70, *ſeq.* v. 930:

"Here in the Temple of the goddeſs Clemence," &c.

Statius mentions the temple of Clemency as the aſylum where theſe ladies were aſſembled, *Theb.* xii. 481:

"Urbe fuit media, nulli conceſſa potentum
Ara deum, mitis poſuit Clementia ſedem," &c.

Ver. 2087.

"Ne what jewels men in the fyr caſte," &c.

Literally from Statius, *Theb.* vi. 206:

"Ditantur flammæ, non unquam opulentior illa
Ante cinis; crepitant gemmæ," &c.

But the whole of Arcite's funeral is minutely copied from Statius. More than a hundred parallel lines on this ſubject might be produced from each poet. In Statius the account of the trees felled for the pyre, with the conſternation of the Nymphs, takes up more than twenty-four lines, v. 84-116. In Chaucer about thirteen, v. 2060-2072. In Boccaccio, ſix ſtanzas, B. xi. Of the three poets, Statius is moſt reprehenſible, the firſt author of this ill-placed and unneceſſary deſcription, and who did not live in a Gothic age. The ſtatues of Mars and Venus I imagined had been copied from Fulgentius, Boccaccio's favourite mythographer. But Fulgentius ſays nothing of Mars: and of Venus, that ſhe only ſtood in the ſea on a couch, attended by the Graces. It is from Statius that Theſeus became a hero of romance.

and Chaucer. Arcite's addreſs to Mars, at entering the temple, has great dignity, and is not copied from Statius:

O ſtronge god, that in the reynes colde[1]
Of Trace honoured and lord art thou y-holde,
And haſt in every regne and every land
Of armes al the bridel in thy hand,
And hem fortuneſt as the luſte devyſe,
Accept of me my pitous ſacrifiſe.

The following portrait of Lycurgus, an imaginary king of Thrace, is highly charged, and very great in the Gothic ſtyle of painting:

Ther maiſtow ſe comyng with Palomoun[2]
Ligurge himſelf, the grete kyng of Trace;
Blak was his berd, and manly was his face.
The cercles of his eyen in his heed
They gloweden bytwixe yolw and reed,
And lik a griffoun loked he aboute,
With kempe heres on his browes ſtowte;
His lymes greet, his brawnes hard and ſtronge,
His ſchuldres brood, his armes rounde and longe.
And as the gyſe was in his contré,
Ful heye upon a chare of gold ſtood he,
With foure white boles in a trays.
In ſtede of cote armour in his harnays,
With nales yolwe, and bright as eny gold,
He had a bere[3] ſkyn, cole-blak for old.
His lange heer y-kempt byhynd his bak,
As eny raven fether it ſchon for blak.
A wrethe of gold arm-gret, and huge of wighte,
Upon his heed, ſet ful of ſtoones brighte,
Of fyne rubeus and of fyn dyamauntz.
Aboute his chare wente white alauntz,[4]
Twenty and mo, as grete as eny ſtere,
To hunt at the lyoun or at the bere,
And folwed him, with moſel faſt i-bounde,
Colerd with golde, and torettz[5] fyled* rounde.

[1] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 73, ver. 1515.] [2] [*Ibid.* ii. 66, ver. 1270.] [3] A bear's.

[4] Greyhounds. A favourite ſpecies of dogs in the middle ages. In the ancient pipe-rolls, payments are frequently made in greyhounds. *Rot. Pip. an.* 4, *Reg. Johann.* [A. D. 1203.] "Rog. Conſtabul. Ceſtrie debet D. Marcas, et x. palfridos et x. *laiſſas Leporariorum* pro habenda terra Vidonis de Loverell de quibus debet reddere per ann. C. M." Ten leaſhes of greyhounds, *Rot. Pip. an.* 9 *Reg. Johann.* [A. D. 1208.] "Suthant. Johan. Teingre debet C. M. et *x. leporarios magnos, pulchros*, et *bonos*, de redemtione ſua." &c. *Rot. Pip. an.* 11, *Reg. Johan.* [A. D. 1210.] "Everveycſire. Rog. de Mallvell redd. comp. de I. palefrido velociter currente, et ii. *Laiſiis leporariorum* pro habendis literis deprecatoriis ad Matildam de M." I could give a thouſand other inſtances of the ſort. ["Speght interprets *alaunz*, greyhounds; Tyrrwhitt, maſtiffs. The latter was apparently miſled by the fact that the wolf-dog, generally known by the name of the *Iriſh greyhound*, becauſe uſed moſt recently in that country, is called by Buffon *le matin*."—*Bell.*]

In Hawes's *Paſtime of Pleaſure*, Fame is attended with two greyhounds, on whoſe golden collars Grace and Governaunce are inſcribed in diamond letters. See next note.

[5] Rings; the faſtening of dogs' collars. They are often mentioned in the inventory of furniture, in the royal palaces of Henry VIII. above cited. MSS. Harl. 1419. In the *Caſtle of Windſor*, article Collars, f. 409. "Two grey-

* Filed; highly poliſhed.

An hundred lordes had he in his route
Armed ful wel, with hertes ſtern and ſtoute.

The figure of Emetrius, king of India, who comes to the aid of Arcite, is not inferior in the ſame ſtyle, with a mixture of grace:

With Arcita, in ſtories as men fynde,[1]
The gret Emetreus, the kyng of Ynde,
Uppon a ſteede bay, trapped in ſteel,
Covered with cloth of gold dyapred wel,
Cam rydyng lyk the god of armes Mars.
His coote armour was of a cloth of Tars,[2]
Cowched of perlys whyte, round and grete.
His ſadil was of brend gold newe *i*-bete;
A mantelet upon his ſchuldre hangyng
Bret-ful of rubies reed, as fir ſparclyng.
His criſpe her lik rynges was i-ronne,
And that was yalwe, and gliteryng as the ſonne.
His noſe was heigh, his eyen *bright* cytryne,
His lippes rounde, his colour was ſangwyn,
A fewe freknes in his face y-ſpreynd,
Betwixe yolwe and ſomdel blak y-meynd,
And as a lyoun he his lokyng caſte.
Of fyve and twenty yeer his age I caſte.
His berd was wel bygonne for to ſprynge;
His voys was as a trumpe thunderynge.
Upon his heed he wered *of* laurer grene
A garlond freiſch and luſty for to ſene.
Upon his hond he bar for his delyt
An egle tame, as eny lylie whyt.
An hundred lordes had he with him ther,
Al armed ſauf here hedes in here ger,
* * * * *
Aboute the kyng ther ran on every part
Ful many a tame lyoun and lepart.

The banner of Mars diſplayed by Theſeus, is ſublimely conceived:

The reede ſtatue of Mars with ſpere and targe[3]
So ſchyneth in his white baner large,
That alle the feeldes gliteren up and doun.

This poem has many ſtrokes of pathetic deſcription, of which theſe ſpecimens may be ſelected:

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houndes collars of crimſun velvett and cloth of gold, lacking *torrettes*."—"Two other collars with the kinges armes, and at the ende portcullis and roſe."—"Item, a collar embrawdered with pomegranates and roſes with *turrets* of ſilver and gilt."—"A collar garniſhed with ſtole-worke with one ſhallop ſhelle of ſilver and gilte, with *torrettes* and pendauntes of ſilver and guilte."—"A collar of white velvette, embrawdered with perles, the ſwivels of ſilver."

[1] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 67, ver. 1297.]

[2] Not of Tarſus in Cilicia. It is rather an abbreviation for Tartarin, or Tartarium. See [the] *Flower and Leaf*, [*ibid.* iv. 94, ver. 211:]

"On every trumpe hanging a broad banere
Of fine tartarium ful richely bete."

That it was a coſtly ſtuff appears from hence. "Et ad faciendum unum Jupoun de *Tartaryn* blu pouderat. cum garteriis blu paratis cum boucles et pendants de argento deaurato."—*Comp. J. Coke Proviſoris Magn. Garderob. temp. Edw. III.* ut ſupr. It often occurs in the wardrobe-accounts for furniſhing tournaments. Du Cange ſays, that this was a fine cloth manufactured in Tartary.—*Gloſs.* v. Tartarium. But Skinner in v. derives it from Tortona in the Milaneſe. He cites Stat. 4, Hen. VIII. c. vi.

[3] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 31, ver. 117.]

Uppon that other ſyde Palomon,[1]
Whan he wiſte that Arcite was agoon,
Such ſorwe maketh, that the grete tour
Reſowneth of his yollyng and clamour.
The pure feteres of his ſchynes grete
Weren of his bitter ſalte teres wete.

Arcite is thus deſcribed, after his return to Thebes, where he deſpairs of ſeeing Emilia again:

His ſleep, his mete, his drynk is him byraft,[2]
That lene he wexe, and drye as eny ſchaft.
His eyen holwe, griſly to biholde;
His hewe falwe, and pale as aſſchen colde,
And ſolitary he was, and ever alone,
And dwellyng al the night, making his moone.
And if he herde ſong or inſtrument,
Then wolde he wepe, he mighte nought be ſtent;
So feble were his ſpirites, and ſo lowe.
And chaunged ſo, that no man couthe knowe
His ſpeche nother his vois, though men it herde.

Palamon is thus introduced in the proceſſion of his rival Arcite's funeral:

Tho cam this woful Theban Palomoun,[3]
With flotery[4] berd, and ruggy aſshy heeres,
In clothis blak, y-dropped al with teeres,
And, paſſyng other, of wepyng Emelye,
The rewfulleſt of al the companye.

To which may be added the ſurpriſe of Palamon, concealed in the foreſt, at hearing the diſguiſed Arcite, whom he ſuppoſes to be the ſquire of Theſeus, diſcover himſelf at the mention of the name of Emilia:

Thurgh his herte[5]
He felt a cold ſwerd ſodeynliche glyde:
For ire he quook, he nolde no lenger abyde.
And whan that he hath herd Arcites tale,
As he were wood, with face deed and pale,
He ſterte him up out of the buſſches thikke, &c.

A deſcription of the morning muſt not be omitted; which vies both in ſentiment and expreſſion with the moſt finiſhed modern poetical landſcape, and finely diſplays our author's talent at delineating the beauties of nature:

The buſy larke, meſſager of *day*,[6]
Saluеth in hire ſong the morwe gray;
And fyry Phebus ryſeth up ſo bright,
That al the orient[7] laugheth of the light,[8]
And with his ſtremes dryeth in the greves
The ſilver dropes, hongyng *on* the leeves.

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[1] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 40, ver. 417.] [2] [*Ibid.* ii. 42, ver. 503.]
[3] [*Ibid.* ii. 89, ver. 2024.]
[4] ſqualid. [*Flotery* ſeems literally to mean floating; as hair diſhevelled (*rabuffata*) may be ſaid to float upon the air.—*Tyrwhitt.*]
[5] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 49, ver. 716.] [6] *Ibid.* ii. 46, ver. 633.]
[7] For *Orient*, perhaps *Oriſount*, or the *horiſon*, is the true reading. So the edition of Chaucer in 1561. So alſo the barbarous Greek poem on this ſtory, ὁ Ουρανος ὁλος γελα. Dryden ſeems to have read, or to have made out of this miſſpelling of Horiſon, Orient.—The ear inſtructs us to reject this emendation.
[8] See Dante, *Purgat.* c. 1. p. 234.

Nor muſt the figure of the blooming Emilia, the moſt beautiful object of this vernal picture, paſs unnoticed:

> Emelie, that fairer was to ſeene[1]
> Than is the lilie on hire ſtalkes grene.
> And freſcher than the May with floures newe—
> For with the roſe colour ſtrof hire hewe.

In other parts of his works he has painted morning ſcenes *con amore:* and his imagination ſeems to have been peculiarly ſtruck with the charms of a rural proſpect at ſun-riſing.

We are ſurpriſed to find, in a poet of ſuch antiquity, numbers ſo nervous and flowing: a circumſtance which greatly contributed to render Dryden's paraphraſe of this poem the moſt animated and harmonious piece of verſification in the Engliſh language. I cannot leave the *Knight's Tale* without remarking, that the inventor of this poem appears to have poſſeſſed conſiderable talents for the artificial conſtruction of a ſtory. It exhibits unexpected and ſtriking turns of fortune, and abounds in thoſe incidents which are calculated to ſtrike the fancy by opening reſources to ſublime deſcription, or to intereſt the heart by pathetic ſituations. On this account, even without conſidering the poetical and exterior ornaments of the piece, we are hardly diſguſted with the mixture of manners, the confuſion of times, and the like violations of propriety, which this poem, in common with all others of its age, preſents in almoſt every page. The action is ſuppoſed to have happened ſoon after the marriage of Theſeus with Hippolita, and the death of Creon in the ſiege of Thebes: but we are ſoon tranſported into more recent periods. Sunday, the celebration of matins, judicial aſtrology, heraldry, tilts and tournaments, knights of England and targets of Pruſſia,[2] occur in the city of Athens under the reign of Theſeus.

SECTION XIII.

CHAUCER'S *Romaunt of the Roſe*[3] is tranſlated from a French poem entitled *Le Roman de la Roſe.* It was begun by William of Lorris, a ſtudent in juriſprudence, who died about the year 1260. Being left unfiniſhed, it was completed by John of Meun, a native of a little town of that name, ſituated on the River Loire near Orleans, who

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[1] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 33, ver. 177.]

[2] The knights of the Teutonic order were ſettled in Pruſſia, before 1300. See alſo Ch. Prol. v. 53; where tournaments in Pruſſia are mentioned. Arcite quotes a fable from Æſop (v. 1179).

[3] [The one fifteenth century MS. of this poem that we poſſeſs (in the Hunterian Muſeum, at Glaſgow) is a very faulty one. Mr. Bradſhaw contends that it is not Chaucer's tranſlation at all, but that of a fifteenth century poet, mainly becauſe it contains ſo many falſe rhymes of the final *e*—falſe according to Chaucer's uniform

ſeems to have flouriſhed about the year 1310.[1] This poem is eſteemed by the French the moſt valuable piece of their old poetry. It is far beyond the rude efforts of all their preceding romancers: and they have nothing equal to it before the reign of Francis I., who died in the year 1547. But there is a conſiderable difference in the merit of the two authors. William of Lorris, who wrote not one quarter of the poem, is remarkable for his elegance and luxuriance of deſcription, and is a beautiful painter of allegorical perſonages. John of Meun is a writer of another caſt. He poſſeſſes but little of his predeceſſor's inventive and poetical vein; and in that reſpect was not properly qualified to finiſh a poem begun by William of Lorris. But he has ſtrong ſatire and great livelineſs.[2] He was one of the wits of the court of Charles le Bel.

The difficulties and dangers of a lover, in purſuing and obtaining the object of his deſires, are the literal argument of this poem. This deſign is couched under the allegory of a Roſe, which our lover after frequent obſtacles gathers in a delicious garden. He traverſes vaſt ditches, ſcales lofty walls, and forces the gates of adamantine and almoſt impregnable caſtles. Theſe enchanted fortreſſes are all inhabited by various divinities, ſome of which aſſiſt, and ſome oppoſe, the lover's progreſs.[3]

Chaucer has luckily tranſlated all that was written by William of Lorris:[4] he gives only part of the continuation of John of Meun.[5]

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practice in his genuine poems. For inſtance, the Romaunt rhymes the infinitives *ly-e*, *li-e*, with the adverbs *erly*, *tendirly*, l. 264, p. 2738; *maladie*, *jelouſie*, with I, l. 1850, 3910, 4146, &c. &c. See *Temporary Preface to Six-Text Chaucer*, pp. 107-11. Prof. Child of Harvard alſo holds the *Romaunt* not to be Chaucer's.—F.]

[1] Fauchet, pp. 198-200. He alſo tranſlated Boethius *De Conſolatione*, [recently edited by Dr. Morris (1868, 8°) from Addit. MS. Br. Mus. 10,340, collated with MS. Univ. Lib. Cam. I. 3, 21,] and *Abelard's Letters*, and wrote *Anſwers of the Sibyls*, &c.

[2] The poem conſiſts of 22734 verſes. William of Lorris's part ends with v. 4149, viz:

"A peu que je ne m'en deſeſpoir."

[3] In the preface of the edition printed in the year 1538, all this allegory is turned to religion. The Roſe is proved to be a ſtate of grace, or divine wiſdom, or eternal beatitude, or the Holy Virgin to which heretics cannot gain acceſs. It is the white Roſe of Jericho, *Quaſi plantatio Roſæ in Jericho*, &c. &c. The chemiſts, in the mean time, made it a ſearch for the philoſopher's ſtone: and other profeſſions, with laboured commentaries, explained it into their own reſpective ſciences.

[4] See Occleve (*Letter of Cupide*, written 1402. Urry's *Chaucer*, p. 536, v. 283), who calls John of Meun the author of the *Romaunt of the Roſe*.

[5] Chaucer's poem conſiſts of 7699 verſes: and ends with this verſe of the original, viz. ver. 13105.

"Vous aurez abſolution."

But Chaucer has made ſeveral omiſſions in John of Meun's part, before he comes to this period. He has tranſlated all William of Lorris's part, as I have obſerved; and his tranſlation of that part ends with ver. 4432, viz.

"Than ſhuldin I fallin in wanhope."

Chaucer's cotemporaries called his *Romaunt of the Roſe* a tranſlation. Lydgate ſays that Chaucer

"Notably did his buſineſſe

How far he has improved on the French original, the reader ſhall judge. I will exhibit paſſages ſelected from both poems: reſpectively placing the French beſide the Engliſh, for the convenience of compariſon. The renovation of nature in the month of May is thus deſcribed.

That it was May, thus dremede me,[1]
In tyme of love and jolité,
That al thing gynneth waxen gay,
For ther is neither buſk nor hay
In May, that it nyl ſhrouded bene,
And it with newe leves wrene.
Theſe wodes eek recoveren grene,
That drie in wynter ben to ſene;
And the erth wexith proude withalle,
For ſwote dewes that on it falle;
And the pore eſtat forgette,
In which that wynter had it ſette.
And than bycometh the ground ſo proude,
That it wole have a newe ſhroude,
And makith ſo queynt his robe and faire,
That it had hewes an hundred payre,
Of gras and flouris, ynde and pers,
And many hewes ful dyvers:

Qu'on joli moys de May ſongeoye,
Ou temps amoreux plein de joye,
Que toute choſe ſi s'eſgaye,
Si qu'il n'y a buiſſons ne haye
Qui en May parer ne ſe vueille,
Et couvrir de nouvelle fueille:
Les boys recouvrent leur verdure,
Qui ſont ſecs tant qui l'hiver dure;
La terre meſmes s'en orgouille
Pour la rouſée qui la mouille,
En oublian la povretè
Où elle a tout l'hiver eſtè;
Lors devient la terre ſi gobe,
Qu'elle veult avoir neuſve robe;
Si ſçet ſi cointe robe faire,
Que de couleurs y a cent paire,
D'herbes, de fleures Indes et Perſes:
Et de maintes couleurs diverſes,

By grete avyſe his wittes to diſpoſe,
To tranſlate the *Romans of the Roſe*."

Prol. Boch. ſt. vi. It is manifeſt that Chaucer took no pains to diſguiſe his tranſlation. He literally follows the French, in ſaying, that a river was "leſſe than Saine." *i. e.* the Seine at Paris, ver. 118. "No wight in all Paris," ver. 7157. A grove has more birds "than ben in all the relme of Fraunce," ver. 495. He calls a pine, "A tree in France men call a pine," ver. 1457. He ſays of roſes, "ſo faire werin never in Rone," ver. 1674. "That for Paris ne for Pavie," ver. 1654. He has ſometimes reference to French ideas, or words, not in the original. As "Men clepin hem Sereins in France," ver. 684. "From Jeruſalem to Burgoine," ver. 554. "Grein de Paris," ver. 1369. In mentioning minſtrells and jugglers, he ſays, that ſome of them "Songin ſonges of Loraine," ver. 776. He adds,

"For in Loraine there notis be
Full ſwetir than in this contre."

There is not a ſyllable of theſe ſongs and ſingers of Lorraine, in the French. By the way, I ſuſpect that Chaucer tranſlated this poem while he was at Paris. There are alſo many alluſions to Engliſh affairs, which I ſuſpected to be Chaucer's; but they are all in the French original. Such as, "Hornpipis of Cornevaile," v. 4250. Theſe are called in the original, "Chalemeaux de Cornouaille," ver. 3991. [Cornouaille here mentioned was a part of the province of Bretagne in France. Mr. Warton muſt have conſulted ſome French MS. reſpecting the ſingers of Lorraine, for the paſſage certainly occurs in ſome of the printed editions, and in ſeveral MSS. —*Douce.*] A knight is introduced, allied to king "Arthour of Bretaigne," ver. 1199. Who is called, "Bon roy Artus de Bretaigne," Orig. ver. 1187. Sir Gawin and Sir Kay, two of Arthur's knights, are characteriſed, ver. 2206, *ſeq.* See Orig. ver. 2124. Where the word Keulx is corrupt for Keie. But there is one paſſage, in which he mentions a Bachelere as fair as "The Lordis ſonne of Windiſore," ver. 1250. This is added by Chaucer, and intended as a compliment to ſome of his patrons. In the *Legend of Good Women*, Cupid ſays to Chaucer, ver. 329:

"For in pleyne text, withouten nede of gloſe,
Thou haſt *tranſlated* the *Romaunce of the Roſe*."

[1] [Morris's *Chaucer*, vi. 2, ver. 51.]

That is the robe I mene, iwis,
Through which the ground to preiſen is.
The briddes, that haven lefte her ſong,
While thei *han ſuffride* cold ſo ſtrong
In wedres gryl and derk to ſighte,
Ben in May for the ſonne brighte,
So glade, &c.

Eſt la robe que je deviſe
Parquoy la terre mieulx ſe priſe.
Les oiſeaulx qui tant ſe ſont teuz
Pour l'hiver qu'ils ont tous ſentuz,
Et pour le froit et divers temps,
Sont en May, et par la printemps,
Si liez, &c.

In the deſcription of a grove, within the garden of Mirth, are many natural and pictureſque circumſtances, which are not yet got into the ſtorehouſe of modern poetry :[1]

Theſe trees were ſette, that I devyſe,
One from another in aſſyſe
Five fadome or ſyxe, I trowe ſo,
But they were hye and great alſo :
And for to kepe oute well the ſonne,
The croppes were ſo thycke yronne,[2]
And every braunche in other knytte,
And full of grene leves ſytte,
That ſonne myghte there noon dyſcende,
Leſt the tender graſſes ſhende.
There myghte men does and roes yſe,
And of ſquyrels ful gret plenté,
From bowe to bowe alwaye lepynge.
Connies there were alſo playenge,[3]
That comyn out of her clapers
Of ſondry colours and maners,
And maden many a tourneynge
Upon the freſhe graſſe ſpryngynge.

Mais ſachiès que les arbres furent
Si loing a loing comme eſtre durent
L'ung fut de l'autre loing aſſis
De cinque toiſes voyre de ſix,
Mais moult furent fueilluz et haulx
Pour gardir de l'eſte le chaulx
Et ſi eſpès par deſſus furent
Que chaleurs percer ne lis peurent
Ne ne povoient bas deſcendre
Ne faire mal a l'erbe tendre.
Au vergier eut dains & chevreleux,
Et auſſi beaucoup d'eſcureux,
Qui par deſſus arbres ſailloyent ;
Connins y avoit qui yſſoient
Bien ſouvent hors de leurs tanieres,
En moult de diverſes manieres,[4]
[Aloient entr'eus tornoiant
Sor l'erbe freſche verdoiant.[5]]

Near this grove were ſhaded fountains without frogs, running into murmuring rivulets, bordered with the ſofteſt graſs enamelled with various flowers.[6]

In places ſawe I welles there,
In whych there no frogges were,
And fayre in ſhadowe was every welle ;[7]
But I ne can the nombre telle
Of ſtremys ſmale, that by devyſe
Myrthe hadde done come through condyſe,[8]
Of whych the water in rennynge
Gan make a noyſe full lykynge.
Aboute the brynkes of theſe welles,
And by the ſtremes over al elles
Sprange up the graſſe, as thycke yſet
And ſofte as any velvet,
On whych men myght hys lemman leye,
As on a fetherbed to pleye,
* * * * *

Par lieux y eut cleres fontaines,
Sans barbelotes & ſans raines,
Qui des arbres eſtoient umbrez,
Par moy ne vous ſeront nombrez,
Et petit ruiſſeaulx, que Deduit
Avoit la trouvés par conduit ;
L'eaue alloit aval faiſant
Son melodieux et plaiſant.
Aux bortz des ruiſſeaulx et des rives
Des fontaines cleres et vives
Poignoit l'erbe dru et plaiſant
Grant ſoulas et plaiſir faiſant.
Amy povoit avec ſa mye
Soy deporter ne'en doubtez mye.—
* * * * *

There ſprange the vyolet al newe,
And freſshe pervynke[9] ryche of hewe,

Violette y fut moult belle
Et auſſi parvenche nouvelle ;

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[1] [Morris's *Chaucer*, vi. 43, ver. 1391.]
[2] " the tops, or boughs, were ſo thickly twiſted together."
[3] Chaucer imitates this paſſage in the *Aſſemble of Foules*, v. 190, *ſeq.* Other paſſages of that poem are imitated from the *Roman de la Roſe*.
[4] ver. 1348. [5] ed. Michel, p. 46. [6] [Morris's *Chaucer*, vi. 43, ver. 1409.]
[7] A ſpecies of inſect often found in ſtagnant water. [8] conduits. [9] periwinkle.

And floures yelow*e*, white, and rede;	Fleurs y eut blanches et vermeilles,
Suche plenté grewe there never in mede.	Ou ne pourroit trouver pareilles,
Ful gaye was al the grounde, and queynt,	De toutes diverſes couleurs,
And poudred, as men had it peynt,	De haulx pris et de grans valeurs,
With many a freſhe and ſondrye floure,	Si eſtoit ſoef flairans
That caſten up ful good ſavoure.	Et reflagrans et odorans.[1]

But I haſten to diſplay the peculiar powers of William de Lorris in delineating allegorical perſonages; none of which has ſuffered in Chaucer's tranſlation. The poet ſuppoſes that the garden of Mirth, or rather Love, in which grew the Roſe, the object of the lover's wiſhes and labours, was encloſed with embattled walls, richly painted with various figures, ſuch as Hatred, Avarice, Envy, Sorrow, Old Age, and Hypocriſy. Sorrow is thus repreſented:

Sorowe was peynted next Envie[2]	De les Envie etoit Triſteſſe
Upon that walle of maſonrye.	Painte auſſi et garnye d'angoiſſe.
But wel was ſeyn in hir colour	Et bien paroit à ſa couleur
That ſhe hadde lyved in langour;	Qu'elle avoit a cueur grant douleur:
Hir ſemede to have the jaunyce.	Et ſembloit avoir la jaunice,
Nought half ſo pale was Avarice,	La n'y faiſoit riens Avarice,
Nor no thyng lyk of leneſſe;	Ne de paleur ne de maigreſſe;
For ſorowe, thought, and gret diſtreſſe.	Car le travaile et la deſtreſſe, &c.
* * * * *	* * * * *
A ſorowful thyng wel ſemed*e* ſhe.	Moult ſembloit bien que fuſt dolente;
Nor ſhe hadde no thyng ſlowe be	Car el n'avoit pas eſte lente
For to forcracchen al hir face,	D'eſgratignier toute ſa chiere;
And for to rent in many place	Sa robe ne luy eſtoit chiere
Hir clothis, and for-to tere hir ſwire,	En mains lieux l'avoit deſſirée,
As ſhe that was fulfilled of ire;	Comme celle qui moult fut yrée.
And al to-torn lay eek hir here	Ses cheveulx dérompus eſtoient,
Aboute hir ſhuldris, here and there,	Qu'autour de ſon col pendoient,
As ſhe that hadde it al to-rent	Preſque les avoit tous deſroux
For angre and for maltalent.	De maltalent et de corroux.[3]

Nor are the images of Hatred and Avarice inferior:

Amyd ſaugh I a Hate ſtonde,[4]	Au milieu de mur je vy Hayne.
* * * *	* * * *
And ſhe was no thyng wel arraied,	Si n'eſtoit pas bien atournée,
But lyk a wode womman afraied,	Ains ſembloit eſtre forcenée,
Frounced foule was hir viſage,	Rechignée eſtoit et froncé,
And grennyng for diſpitous rage,	
Hir noſe ſnorted up for tene.	Le vis et le nez rebourſé.
Ful hidous was ſhe for to ſene,	Moult hydeuſe eſtoit et ſouilleè,
Ful foule and ruſty was ſhe this.	
Hir heed *y*writhen was, y-wis,	Et fut ſa teſte entortilleè
Ful grymly with a greet towayle.	Tres ordement d'un touaille.[5]

The deſign of this work will not permit me to give the portrait of Idleneſs, the portreſs of the garden of Mirth, and of others, which form the group of dancers in the garden: but I cannot reſiſt the pleaſure of tranſcribing thoſe of Beauty, Franchiſe, and Richeſſe, three capital figures in this genial aſſembly:

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[1] v. 1348. [Warton quotes a very late and poor French text, much modernized. —F.]

[2] [Morris's *Chaucer*, vi. 10, ver. 301.]

[3] ver. 300.

[4] [*Ibid.* vi. 5, ver. 147.]

[5] ver. 143.

The God of Love, jolyf and lyght,[1]
Ladde on his honde a lady bright,
Of high prys, and of grete degré.
This lady called was Beauté,
And an arowe, of which I tolde.
Ful wel thewed[2] was ſhe holde,
Ne ſhe was derk ne broun, but bright,
And clere as the mone-lyght.
* * * * *
Hir fleſh was tendre as dewe of flour,
Hir chere was ſymple as byrde in bour;
As whyte as lylye or roſe in rys,[3]
Hir face gentyl and tretys.
Fetys[4] ſhe was, and ſmale to ſe,
No wyntred[5] browis hadde ſhe,
Ne popped hir, for it nedede nought
To wyndre hir, or to peynte hir ought.
Hir treſſes yelowe, and longe ſtraughten,
Unto hir helys doun they raughten.

Le Dieu d'amours ſi s'eſtoit pris
A une dame de hault pris,
Pres ſe tenoit de ſon coſté,
Celle dame eut nom Beaulte.
Ainſi comme une des cinque fleſches
En elle aut toutes bonnes taiches:
Point ne fut obſcur, ne brun,
Mais fut clere comme la lune.—
* * * * *
Tendre eut la chair comme rouſée,
Simple fut comme une eſpouſée.
Et blanche comme fleur de lis,
Viſage eut bel doulx et alis,
Elle eſtoit greſle et alignée
N'eſtoit fardié ne pignée,
Car elle n'avoit pas meſtier
De ſoy farder et affaictier.
Les cheveulx eut blons et ſi longs
Qu'ils batoient aux talons.[6]

Nothing can be more ſumptuous and ſuperb than the robe and other ornaments of Richeſſe, or Wealth. They are imagined with great ſtrength of fancy. But it ſhould be remembered, that this was the age of magnificence and ſhow; when a profuſion of the moſt ſplendid and coſtly materials was laviſhed on dreſs, generally with little taſte and propriety, but often with much art and invention:

Richeſſe a robe of purpur on hadde,[7]
Ne trowe not that I lye or madde;
For in this world is noon hir lyche,
Ne by a thouſand deelle ſo riche,
Ne noon ſo faire; for it ful welle
With orfrays leyd was everydeelle,
And portraied in the ribanynges
Of dukes ſtoryes, and of kynges.
And with a bend of gold taſſeled,
And knoppis fyne of gold enameled.[8]

De pourpre fut le veſtement
A Richeſſe, ſi noblement,
Qu'en tout le monde n'euſt plus bel,
Mieulx fait, ne auſſi plus nouvel:
Pourtraictes y furent d'orfroys,
Hyſtoryes d'empereurs et roys.
Et encores y avoit-il
Un ouvrage noble et ſobtil;
A noyaulx d'or au col fermoit,
Et a bendes d'azur tenoit;

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[1] [Morris's *Chaucer*, vi. 31, ver. 1003.]
[2] Having good qualities. See *ſupr.* ver. 939, *ſeq.*
[3] [On the branch. Sax. hpıs, virgulta.] [4] [well-made, neat.—*T.*]
[5] contracted. [6] ver. 1004. [7] [Morris's *Chaucer*, vi. 33, ver. 1071.]
[8] Enameling, and perhaps pictures in enamel, were common in the Middle Ages. From the Teſtament of Joh. de Foxle, knight, Dat. apud Bramſhill co. Southampt. Nov. 5, 1378. "Item lego domino abbati de Waltham unum annulum auri groſſi, cum uno ſaphiro infixa, et nominibus trium regum [of Cologne] ſculptis in eodem annulo. Item lego Margarite ſorori mee unam tabulam argenti deaurati et amelitam, minorem de duabus quas habeo, cum diverſis ymaginibus ſculptis in eadem.—Item lego Margerite uxori Johannis de Wilton unum monile auri, cum S. litera ſculpta et amelita in eodem." *Regiſtr. Wykeham Epiſc. Winton.* p. ii. fol. 24. See alſo Dugd. *Bar.* i. 234, a.

Enameled is from the French *email*, or enamel. This art flouriſhed moſt at Limoges in France. So early as the year 1197, we have "Duas tabulas æneas ſuperauratas de labore Limogiæ." Chart. ann. 1197, apud Ughelin.—*Ital. Sacr.* vii. 1274. It is called *Opus Lemnoviticum*, in Dugdale's *Mon.* iii. 310, 313, 331. In Wilkins's *Concil.* i. 666, two cabinets for the hoſt are ordered, one of ſilver or of ivory, and the other *de opere Lemovicino*. *Synod. Wigorn.* A.D. 1240. And in many other places. I find it called *Limaiſe* in a metrical romance the name of which I have forgotten, where a tomb is deſcribed,

Aboute hir nekke of gentyl entayle
Was ſhete the riche chevesaile,
In which ther was fulle gret plenté
Of ſtones clere and bright to ſee.
Rycheſſe a girdelle hadde upon,
The bokele of it was of a ſtoon,
Of vertu gret, and mochel of myght
For who ſo bare the ſtoon ſo bright,
Of venym durſt hym no thing doute,
While he the ſtoon hadde hym aboute.
* * * * *
The mourdaunt, wrought in noble wiſe,
Was of a ſtoon fulle precious,
That was ſo fyne and vertuous,
That hole a man it koude make
Of palaſie, and tothe ake.
And yit the ſtoon hadde ſuch a grace,
That he was ſiker in every place
Alle thilke day not blynde to bene,
That faſtyng myghte that ſtoon ſeene.
The barres [1] were of gold ful fyne,
Upon a tyſſu of ſatyne,
Fulle hevy, gret, and no thyng lyght,
In everiche was a beſaunt wight.
Upon the treſſes of Richeſſe
Was ſette a cercle for nobleſſe
Of brend gold, that fulle lyghte ſhoon;
So faire trowe I was never noon.
But ſhe were kunnyng for the nonys,
That koude devyſe alle the ſtonys
That in that cercle ſhewen clere;
It is a wondir thing to here.
For no man koude preyſe or geſſe
Of hem that valewe or richeſſe.

Noblement eut le chief parè,
De riches pierres decorè,
Qui gettoient moult grant clartè;
Tout y eſtoit bien aſſortè.
Puis eut une riche ſainture,
Sainte par deſſus ſa veſture:
Le boucle d'une pierre fu,
Groſſe, et de moult grant vertu:
Celluy qui ſur ſoy la portoit,
De tous venins garde eſtoit.—
* * * * *
D'une pierre fut le mordans
Qui gueriſſoit du mal des dens.
Ceſt pierre portoit bon eur,
Qui l'avoit pouvoit eſtre aſſeur
De ſa ſantè et de ſa vei,
Quant à jeun il l'avoit vei:
Les cloux furent d'or epurè,
Par deſſus le tiſſu doré,
Qui eſtoient grans et peſans;
En chaſcun avoit deux beſans.
Si eut avecques a Richeſſe
Uns cadre d'or mis ſur la treſſe,
Si riche, ſi plaiſant, et ſi bel,
Qu'onques on ne veit le pareil:
De pierres eſtoit fort garny,
Precieuſes et aplany,
Qui bien en vouldroit deviſer,
On ne les pouvroit pas priſer:

"And yt was, the Romans ſayes,
All with golde and limaiſe."

[Du Cange v. Limogia], obſerves, that it was anciently a common ornament of ſumptuous tombs. He cites a Teſtament of the year 1327, "Je lais huit cent livres pour faire deux tombes hautes et levées de l'Euvre de Limoges." The original tomb of Walter de Merton, Biſhop of Rocheſter, erected in his cathedral about the year 1276 [?], was made at Limoges. This appears from the accompts of his executors, viz. "Et computant xl l. v s. vi d. liberat. Magiſtro Johanni Linnomcenſi, pro tumba dicti Epiſcopi Roffenſis, ſcil. pro Conſtructione et carriagio de Lymoges ad Roffam. Et xl s. viii d. cuidam Executori apud Lymoges ad ordinandam et providendam Conſtructionem dictæ Tumbæ. Et x s. viii d. cuidam garcioni eunti apud Lymoges quærenti dictam tumbam conſtructam, et ducenti eam cum dicto Mag. Johanne uſque Roffam. Et xxii l. in maceoneria circa dictam tumbam defuncti. Et vii marcas, in ferramento ejuſdem, et carriagio a Londin. uſque ad Roff. et aliis parandis ad dictam tumbam. Et xi s. cuidam vitriario pro vitris feneſtrarum emptarum juxta tumbam dicti Epiſcopi apud Roffam." Ant. Wood's *MS. Merton Papers*, Bibl. Bodl. Cod. Ballard, 46.

[1] I cannot give the preciſe meaning of *Barris*, nor of *Cloux* in the French. It ſeems to be part of a buckle. In the wardrobe-roll, quoted above, are mentioned, "One hundred garters *cum boucles*, barris, *et pendentibus de argento*." For which were delivered, "ccc barrs argenti." An. 21, Edw. III.—[*Clavus* in Latin, whence the Fr. *cloux* is derived, ſeems to have ſignified not only an outward border, but alſo what we call a ſtripe. Montfaucon, t. iii. P. i. ch. vi. A bar in heraldry is a narrow ſtripe or faſcia.—*Tyrwhitt*.]

Rubyes there were, ſaphires, *jagounces*,[1]
And emeraudes, more than two ounces.
But alle byfore ful ſotilly
A fyn charboncle ſette ſaugh I.
The ſtoon ſo clere was and ſo bright,
That, alſo ſoone as it was nyght,
Men myght*e* ſeen to go for nede
A myle or two, in lengthe and brede.
Sich lyght *tho* ſprang oute of the ſtone,
That Richeſſe wondir bright*e* ſhone
Bothe hir heed, and alle hir face,
And eke aboute hir al the place.

Rubis y eut, ſaphirs, jagonces,
Eſmeraudes plus de cent onces:
Mais devant eut, par grant maiſtriſe,
Un eſcarboucle bien aſſiſe,
Et le pierre ſi clere eſtoit,
Que cil qui devant la mettoit,
Si en povoit veoir au beſoing
A ſoy conduire une lieue loing.
Telle clartè ſi en yſſoit
Que Richeſſe en reſplendiſſoit
Par tout le corps et par ſa face,
Auſſi d'autour d'elle la place.[2]

The attributes of the portrait of Mirth are very expreſſive:

Of berde unnethe hadde he no thyng,[3]
For it was in the firſt*e* ſpryng.
Ful yonge he was, and mery of thought,
And in ſamette,[4] with briddis wrought,

Et ſi n'avoit barbe a menton,
Si non petit poil follaton;
Il etoit jeune damoyſaulx;
Son bauldrier fut portrait d'oiſeaulx

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[1] The gem called a jacinth. The knowledge of precious ſtones was a grand article in the natural philoſophy of this age; and the medical virtue of gems, alluded to above, was a doctrine much inculcated by the Arabian naturaliſts. Chaucer refers to a treatiſe on gems, called the *Lapidary*, famous in that time. *Houſe of Fame*, L. iii. ver. 260 [edit. Morris]:

"And they were ſet as thik of nouchis
Fyne, of the fyneſt ſtones faire
That men reden in the Lapidaire."

Montfaucon, in the royal library at Paris, recites, "Le Lapidaire, de la vertu des pierres."—*Catal. MSS.* p. 794. This I take to be the book here referred to by Chaucer. Henry of Huntingdon [has, among his minor productions (of which there is a copy in Royal MS. 13, C. 11), ſome verſes on precious ſtones. See Wright's *Biog. Brit. Literaria*, Anglo-Norman period, p. 169. This writer was living in 1154]. See Du Cange, *Gloſſ. Gr. Barb.* ii. *Ind. Auctor.* p. 37, col. 1. In the Cotton library is a Saxon Treatiſe on precious ſtones. *Tiber.* A. 3, liii. fol. 98. The writing is [very] ancient. [The treatiſe referred to contains a meagre explanation of the twelve precious ſtones mentioned in the Apocalypſe.] Pelloutier mentions a Latin poem of the eleventh century on precious ſtones, written by Marbode, biſhop of Rennes [who died in the year 1123], and ſoon afterwards tranſlated into French verſe. *Mem. Lang. Celt.* part i. vol. i. ch. xiii. p. 26. The tranſlation begins:

"Evax fut un mult riche reis
Lu reigne tint d'Arabeis."

It was printed in [the folio edit. (1708) of the works of St. Hildebert,] col. 1638. This may be reckoned one of the oldeſt pieces of French verſification. A MS. *De Speciebus Lapidum*, occurs twice in the Bodleian library, falſely attributed to one Adam Nidzarde, Cod. Digb. 28, f. 169. and Cod. Laud. C. 3, *Princ.* "Evax rex Arabum legitur ſcripſiſſe." But it is, I think, Marbode's book above mentioned. Evax is a fabulous Arabian king, ſaid to have written on this ſubject. Of this Marbode or Marbodæus, ſee Ol. Borrich. Diſſ. Acad. de Poet. p. 87, ſect. 78, edit. Francof. 1683, 4to. His poem was publiſhed, with notes, by Lampridius Alardus. The eaſtern writers pretend that King Solomon, among a variety of phyſiological pieces, wrote a book on gems: one chapter of which treated of thoſe precious ſtones which reſiſt or repel evil Genii. They ſuppoſe that Ariſtotle ſtole all his philoſophy from Solomon's books. See Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* xiii. 387, *ſeq.* and i. p. 71. Compare Herbelot, *Bibl. Oriental*, p. 962, b. Artic. *Ketab alahgiar ſeq.*

[2] ver. 1066. [3] [Morris's *Chaucer*, vi. 26, ver. 833.] [4] *ſamite;* ſattin.

And with gold beten ful fetyſly,
His body was clad ful richely.
Wrought was his robe in ſtraunge giſe,
And al to-ſlytered for queyntiſe
In many a place, lowe and hie.
And ſhode he was with grete maiſtrie,
With ſhoon decoped,[1] and with laas,
By druery,[2] and by ſolas.
His leef a roſyn chapelet
Hadde made, and on his heed it ſet.

Qui tout etoit è or batu,
Tres richement eſtoit veſtu
D'un' robe moult deſgyſée,
Qui fut en maint lieu inciſée,
Et decouppeè par quointiſe.
Et fut chauſſé par mignotiſe
D'un ſouliers decouppés à las,
Par joyeuſete et ſoulas,
Et ſa neye luy fiſt chapeau
De roſes gracieux et beau.[3]

Franchiſe is a no leſs attractive portrait, and ſketched with equal grace and delicacy:

And next hym dauncede dame Fraunchiſe,[4]
Arayed in fulle noble gyſe.
She was not broune ne dunne of hewe,
But white as ſnowe falle newe.
Hir noſe was wrought at poynt devys,
For it was gentyl and tretys;
With eyen gladde, and browes bente;
Hir here doun to hir helis wente.[5]
And ſhe was ſymple as dowve of tree,
Ful debonaire of herte was ſhe.

Apres tous ceulx eſtoit Franchiſe,
Qui ne fut ne brune ne biſe;
Ains fut comme la neige blanche
Courtoiſe eſtoit, joyeuſe et franche,
Le nez avoit long et tretis
Yeulx vers rins, ſoureils ſaitis,
Les cheveulx eut tres-blons et longs,
Simple feut comme les coulons.
Le cueur eut doulx et debonnaire.[6]

The perſonage of Danger is of a bolder caſt, and may ſerve as a contraſt to ſome of the preceding. He is ſuppoſed ſuddenly to ſtart from an ambuſcade, and to prevent Bialcoil, or *Kind Reception*, from permitting the lover to gather the roſe of beauty:

With that ſterte oute anoon Daungere,[7]
Out of the place where he was hidde.
His malice in his chere was kidde;[8]
Fulle grete he was and blak of hewe,
Sturdy, and hidous, who-ſo hym knewe,
Like ſharp urchouns[9] his here was growe,
His eyes rede ſparkling as the fire glowe,
His noſe frounced fulle kirked ſtoode,
He come criande as he were woode.

A tant ſaillit villain Dangere,
De là ou il eſtoit mucè;

Grant fut, noir, et tout hericè,

S'ot les yeulx rouges comme feux,
Le vis froncè, le nez hydeux
Et s'eſcrie tout forcenez.[10]

Chaucer has enriched this figure. The circumſtance of Danger's hair ſtanding erect like the prickles on the urchin or hedge-hog is his own, and finely imagined.

Hitherto ſpecimens have been given from that part of this poem

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[1] cut or marked with figures. From *decouper*, Fr. to *cut*. I ſuppoſe *Poulis windows* was a cant phraſe for a fine device or ornament. [Compare *infrâ*, p. 358, and Note 12.]

[2] [courtſhip, gallantry, T.]

[3] v. 832.

[4] [Morris's *Chaucer*, vi. 37, ver. 1211.]

[5] All the females of this poem have grey eyes and yellow hair. One of them is ſaid to have "Hir yen grey as is a faucoun," v. 546. Where the original word, tranſlated *grey*, is *vers*. v. 546. We have this colour again, Orig. v. 822. "Les yeulx eut *vers*." This too Chaucer tranſlates, "Hir yen greye," v. 862. The ſame word occurs in the French text before us, v. 1195. This compariſon was natural and beautiful, as drawn from a very familiar and favourite-object in the age of the poet. Perhaps Chaucer means "grey as a falcon's *eyes*."

[6] v. 1190.

[7] [Morris's *Chaucer*, vi. 96, 3130.]

[8] "was diſcovered by his behaviour, or countenance."

[9] *urchins*, hedge-hogs.

[10] v. 2959.

which was written by William de Lorris, its firſt inventor. Here Chaucer was in his own walk. One of the moſt ſtriking pictures in the ſtyle of allegorical perſonification, which occurs in Chaucer's tranſlation of the additional part, is much heightened by Chaucer, and indeed owes all its merit to the tranſlator; whoſe genius was much better adapted to this ſpecies of painting than that of John of Meun, the continuator of the poem:

With hir Labour and Travaile[1]	Travaile et Douleur la herbergent,
Logged ben with Sorwe and Woo,	Mais il la lient et la chargent,
That never out of hir court goo.	
Peyne and Diſtreſſe, Sykneſſe, and Ire,	
And Malencoly, that angry fire,	
Ben of hir paleys[2] ſenatours.	
Gronyng and Grucchyng, hir herbe-jours,[3]	
The day and nyght, hir to turmente,	Et tant la batent et tormentent,
With cruelle Deth they hir preſente.	Que mort prochaine luy preſentent,
And tellen hir, erliche[4] and late,	Et talent de ſe repentir;
That Deth ſtondith armed at hir gate.	Tant luy ſont de fleaux ſentir.
Thanne brynge they to her remembraunce	Adonc luy vient en remembraunce,
The foly dedis of hir infaunce,	En ceſt tardifve peſance,
Whiche cauſen hir to mourne in woo	Quant el ſe voit foible et chenue,[5]
That Youthe hath hir bigiled ſo.	Que malement l'a décéue
	Joueſce . . .

The fiction that Sickneſs, Melancholy, and other beings of the like ſort were counſellors in the palace of Old Age, and employed in telling her day and night, that "Death ſtood armed at her gate," was far beyond the ſentimental and ſatirical vein of John of Meun, and is conceived with great vigour of imagination.

Chaucer appears to have been early ſtruck with this French poem.[6] [So were many other Engliſh poets. The author of the *Yle of Ladyes*, called generally *Chaucer's Dreme*,[7] ſuppoſes that the chamber in which he ſlept was richly painted with the ſtory of the *Romaunt of the Roſe*.[8] It is natural to imagine that ſuch a poem muſt have been a favourite with Chaucer. No poet, before William of Lorris, either Italian or French, had delineated allegorical perſonages in ſo diſtinct and enlarged a ſtyle, and with ſuch a fulneſs of characteriſtical attributes: nor had deſcriptive poetry ſelected ſuch a variety of circumſtances, and diſcloſed ſuch an exuberance of embelliſhment, in forming agreeable repreſentations of nature. On this account, we are ſurpriſed that Boileau ſhould mention Villon as the firſt poet of France who drew form and order from the chaos of the old French romancers:

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[1] [Morris's *Chaucer*, vi. 152, 4997.] [2] palace.
[3] [providers of lodgings, harbingers.—T.] [4] early. [5] v. 4733.
[6] [See M. Sandras's *Etude ſur Chaucer conſidéré comme Imitateur des Trouvères*, Paris, 1859, arguing that Chaucer owed nearly everything to Jean de Meun's and other French influence on him. See on the other ſide as to the greater influence of Italian on him.—Ebert's review of Sandras in the Chaucer Society's Eſſays, p. 5, and Prof. Ten Brink's *Studien*.—F.]
[7] [Mr. Bradſhaw and Prof. Ten Brink contend that the poem called Chaucer's *Dreme* is decidedly not his.—F.]
[8] v. 322. Chaucer alludes to this poem in *The Marchaunt's Tale*, v. 1548.

Villon ſçeut le Premier, dans ces ſiecles groſſiers,
Debroüiller l'art confus de nos vieux romanciers.[1]

But the poetry of William of Lorris was not the poetry of Boileau.

That this poem ſhould not pleaſe Boileau, I can eaſily conceive. It is more ſurpriſing that it ſhould have been cenſured as a contemptible performance by Petrarch, who lived in the age of fancy. Petrarch having deſired his friend Guido di Gonzaga to ſend him ſome new piece, he ſent him the *Roman de la Roſe.* With the poem, inſtead of an encomium, he returned a ſevere criticiſm; in which he treats it as a cold, inartificial, and extravagant compoſition: as a proof how much France, who valued this poem as her chief work, was ſurpaſſed by Italy in eloquence and the arts of writing.[2] In this opinion we muſt attribute ſomething to jealouſy. But the truth is, Petrarch's genius was too cultivated to reliſh theſe wild excurſions of imagination: his favourite claſſics, whom he revived, and ſtudied with ſo much attention, ran in his head. Eſpecially Ovid's *Art of Love,* a poem of another ſpecies, and evidently formed on another plan; but which Petrarch had been taught to venerate, as the model and criterion of a didactic poem on the paſſion of love reduced to a ſyſtem. We may add that, although the poem before us was founded on the viſionary doctrines and refinements concerning love invented by the Provençal poets, and conſequently leſs unlikely to be favourably received by Petrarch, yet his ideas on that delicate ſubject were much more Platonic and metaphyſical.

SECTION XIV.

CHAUCER'S poem of *Troilus and Creſſeide* is ſaid to be formed on an old hiſtory, written by Lollius, a native of Urbino in Italy.[3] Lydgate ſays that Chaucer in this poem

made a tranſlacion
Of a boke which called is Trophe
In Lumbarde tongue, &c.[4]

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[1] *Art. Poet.* ch. i. He died about the year 1456.

[2] See Petrarch, *Carm.* l. i. ep. 30.

[3] Petrus Lambeccius enumerates Lollius Urbicus among the *Hiſtorici Latini profani* of the third century. Prodrom. p. 246. Hamb. 1659. See alſo Voſs. *Hiſtoric. Latin.* ii. 2, p. 163, edit. Lugd. Bat. But this could not be Chaucer's Lollius. Chaucer places Lollius among the hiſtorians of Troy, in his *Houſe of Fame,* iii. 380. It is extraordinary, that Du [Cange] in the *Index Auctorum,* uſed by him for his Latin gloſſary, ſhould mention this Lollius Urbicus of the third century. Tom. vii. p. 407, edit. [1850.] As I apprehend, none of his works remain. A proof that Chaucer tranſlated from ſome Italian original is, that in a manuſcript which I have ſeen of this poem, I find, *Moneſteo* for *Meneſtes, Rupheo* for *Ruphes, Phebuſeo* for *Phebuſes,* lib. iv. 50, *ſeq.* Where, by the way, Xantippe, a Trojan chief, was perhaps corruptly written for Xantippo, *i.e.* Xantippus. As Joſeph. Iſcan. iv. 10. In Lydgate's *Troy, Zantiphus,* iii. 26. All corrupted from Antiphus, (Dict. Cret. p. 105). In the printed copies we have *Aſcalapho* for Aſcalaphus, lib. v. 319.

[4] Prol. *Boch.* ſt. iii.

It is certain that Chaucer frequently refers to "*Myne auctor Lollius.*"[1] But he hints, at the ſame time, that Lollius wrote in Latin.[2] I have never ſeen this hiſtory either in the Italian or Latin language. I have before obſerved, that it is mentioned in Boccaccio's *Decameron*, and that a tranſlation of it was made into Greek verſe by ſome of the Greek fugitives in the fourteenth century. Du Freſnoy mentions it in Italian.[3] In the Royal Library at Paris it occurs often as an ancient French romance.[4] Much fabulous hiſtory concerning Troilus is related in Guido de Columna's *Deſtruction of Troy*.[5] Whatever were Chaucer's materials, he has on this ſubject conſtructed a poem of conſiderable merit, in which the viciſſitudes of love are depicted in a ſtrain of true poetry, with much pathos and ſimplicity of ſentiment.[6] He calls it, "a litill tragedie."* Troilus is ſuppoſed to have ſeen Creſſide in a temple,

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[1] See lib. i. v. 395. [2] Lib. ii. v. 10.

[3] [*L'Amore di Troilo e Griſeida*, di Angelo Leonico, Ven. 1553, 8vo. Du Freſnoy, *Bibl. des Romans*, i. 217.—*Douce.*]

[4] "Cod. 7546. *Roman de Troilus.*"—"Cod. 7564. *Roman de Troilus et de Briſeida ou Criſeida.*"—Again, as an original work of Boccaccio. "Cod. 7757. *Philoſtrato dell' amoroſe fatiche de Troilo per Giovanni Boccaccio.*" † "Les ſuivans (adds Montfaucon ‡) contiennent les autres œuvres de Boccace."

[5] [See M. Joly's *Benoit de Ste.-More et le Roman de Troie*, 1870, and the very valuable Introduction by MM. Moland and D'Hericault, in *Nouvelles Françoiſes en proſe du xiv^e ſiecle*, 1858, where they have printed the proſe French verſion of the *Filoſtrato*, entitled *Le Roman de Troilus.*]

[6] Chaucer however claims no merit of invention in this poem. He invokes Clio to favour him with rhymes only; and adds:

"To every lover I me excuſe,
That of no ſentement I this endyte,
But out of Latyn in my tonge it write."

L. ii. ver. 12. *ſeq.* But Sir Francis Kinaſton who tranſlated *Troilus and Creſſeide* into

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* L. ult. v. 1785.

† Boccaccio *Filoſtrato* was printed [at Venice before 1483 (ſee Brunet, i. 1013), and was reprinted at Bologna in 1498, and at Milan in 1499.] It is in the octave ſtanza. The editor of the *Canterbury Tales* [Tyrwhitt] informs me, that Boccaccio himſelf, in his *Decameron*, has made the ſame honourable mention of this poem as of the *Teſeide:* although without acknowledging either for his own. In the Introduction to the Sixth Day, he ſays that "Dioneo inſieme con Lauretta de *Troile et di Criſeida* cominciarono cantare." Juſt as, afterwards, in the concluſion of the Seventh Day, he ſays that the ſame "Dioneo et Fiametta gran pezzi cantarono inſieme d'Arcita et di Palamone." See *Canterb. T.* vol. iv. p. 85; iii. p. 311 [edit. Tyrwhitt.] Chaucer appears to have been as much indebted to Boccaccio in his *Troilus and Creſſeide*, as in his *Knightes Tale*. At the ſame time we muſt obſerve, that there are ſeveral long paſſages, and even epiſodes, in *Troilus*, of which no traces appear in the *Filoſtrato*. Chaucer ſpeaks of himſelf as a tranſlator *out of Latin*, B. ii. 14. And he calls his author *Lollius*, B. i. 394-421, and B. v. 1652. The latter of theſe two paſſages is in the *Filoſtrato:* but the former, containing Petrarch's ſonnet, is not. And when Chaucer ſays, he *tranſlates from Latin*, we muſt remember that the *Italian* language was called *Latino volgare*. Shall we ſuppoſe, that Chaucer followed a more complete copy of the *Filoſtrato* than that we have at preſent, or one enlarged by ſome officious interpolater? The Pariſian manuſcript might perhaps clear theſe difficulties. In Bennet Library at Cambridge, there is a MS. of Chaucer's *Troilus*, elegantly written, with a frontiſpiece beautifully illuminated, LXI.

‡ Bibl. p. 793, col. 2. Compare Lengl. *Bibl. Rom.* ii. p. 253.

and, retiring to his chamber, is thus naturally deſcribed in the critical ſituation of a lover examining his own mind after the firſt impreſſion of love.

> And when that he in chaumber was allon,[1]
> He down upon his beddes feet him ſette,
> And firſt he gan to ſyke, and eft to grone,
> And thoughte ay on hire ſo, withouten lette,
> That as he ſatt and woke, his ſpirit mette
> That he hire ſaugh, and temple, and al the wyſe
> Right of hire loke, and gan it new aviſe.

There is not ſo much nature in the ſonnet to Love, which follows. It is tranſlated from Petrarch; and had Chaucer followed his own genius, he would not have diſguſted us with the affected gallantry and exaggerated compliments which it extends through five tedious ſtanzas. The doubts and delicacies of a young girl diſcloſing her heart to her lover are exquiſitely touched in this compariſon:

> And as the new abayſed nyghtyngale,[2]
> That ſtynteth firſt, when *ſhe* bygynneth ſynge,
> When that ſhe hereth any *herdes* tale,
> Or in the hegges any wight ſterynge;
> And, after, ſyker doth hire vois oute rynge;
> Right ſo Criſeyde, when hire drede ſtente,
> Opned hire herte, and told hym hire entente.

The following pathetic ſcene may be ſelected from many others. Troilus, ſeeing Creſſide in a ſwoon, imagines her to be dead. He unſheaths his ſword with an intent to kill himſelf, and utters theſe exclamations:

> "And thow cité, in *which* I lyve in wo![3]
> And thow Priam, and bretheren alle ifere!
> And thow *my* moder, farwel, for I go!
> And, Attropes, mak redy thow my beere!
> And thow Criſeyde, O ſwete herte deere,
> Receyve now my ſpirit!" wolde he ſeye,
> With ſwerd at herte, al redy for to dye.
>
> But, as God wold, of ſwough ſhe therwith brayde,
> And gan to ſike, and "Troilus," ſhe cryede;
> And he anſwerde, "Lady myn Criſeyde,
> Lyve ye yit?" and lete his ſwerde down glide:
> "Ye, herte myn, that thanked be Cupide!"
> Quod ſhe, and therwithal *ſhe ſore* ſighte,
> And he bigan to glad hire as he myghte.

Latin rhymes, ſays that Chaucer in this poem "has taken the liberty of his own inventions." [The two firſt books of Kinaſton's tranſlation were printed in 1635; but a MS. of the whole work is in the poſſeſſion of Mr. James Croſſley, of Manchester.] In the mean time, Chaucer, by his own references, ſeems to have been ſtudious of ſeldom departing from Lollius. In one place, he pays him a compliment, as an author whoſe excellences he could not reach. L. iii. v. 1330.

> "But ſothe is, though I can not tellen all,
> As can mine author *of his excellence*."

See alſo l. iii. 576, 1823.

[1] [Morris's *Chaucer*, iv. 122, lib. i. ver. 358.]
[2] [*Ibid.* iv. 275, lib. iii. ver. 1184.]
[3] [*Ibid.* iv. 349, lib. iv. ver. 1177.]

Took hire in armes two, and kyſte hire ofte,
And hire to glade, he dide al his entente,
For which hire gooſte, that fliked ay o lofte,
Into hire woful herte ayein it wente:
But, at the laſte, as that hire eye glente
Aſyde, anon ſhe gan his ſwerde aſpye,
As it lay bare, and gan for feere crie,

And aſked hym whi he it hadde out drawe;
And Troilus anon the cauſe hire tolde,
And how hymſelf therwith he wolde han ſlawe;
For which Criſeyde upon hym gan byholde,
And gan hym in *hire* armes faſte folde,
And ſeyde, "O mercy God, lo, which a dede!
Allas! how neigh we weren bothe dede!"

Pathetic deſcription is one of Chaucer's peculiar excellences.

In this poem are various imitations from Ovid, which are of too particular and minute a nature to be pointed out here, and belong to the province of a profeſſed and formal commentator on the piece. The Platonic notion in the third book about univerſal love, and the doctrine that this principle acts with equal and uniform influence both in the natural and moral world, are a tranſlation from Boethius.[1] In the *Knight's Tale* he mentions from the ſame favourite ſyſtem of philoſophy, the *Fair Chain of Love*. It is worth obſerving, that the reader is referred to Dares Phrygius, inſtead of Homer, for a diſplay of the achievements of Troilus:

His worthy dedes, who-*ſo* leſt hem here,[2]
Rede Dares; he kan telle hem alle ifeere.

Our author, from his [ſomewhat unguarded imitation of Boccaccio] has been guilty of a very diverting and what may be called a double anachroniſm. He repreſents Creſſide, with two of her female companions, ſitting in a "pavid parlour," and reading the *Thebais* of Statius, which is called *The Geſt of the Siege of Thebes*, and *The Romance of Thebes*.[3] In another place, Caſſandra tranſlates the Arguments of the twelve books of the *Thebais*.[4] In the fourth book of this poem, Pandarus endeavours to comfort Troilus with arguments concerning the doctrine of predeſtination, taken from [Boethius

[1] *Conſolat. Philoſoph.* l. ii. Met. *ult.* iii. Met. 2. Spenſer is full of the ſame doctrine. See *Fairy Queen*, i. ix. 1, iv. x. 34, 35, &c. &c. I could point out many other imitations from Boethius in this poem.

[2] [Morris's *Chaucer*, v. 73, ver. 1784.]

[3] L. ii. v. 100. *Biſhop Amphiorax* is mentioned, ib. v. 104. Pandarus ſays, v. 106:

"All this I know my ſelve,
And all the aſſiege of Thebes, and all the care;
For herof ben ther makid *bokis twelve*."

In his *Boke of the Ducheſſe* (Works, v. 156, l. 47-51), Chaucer, to paſs the night away, rather than play at cheſs, calls for a *Romaunce*; in which "were writtin fables of quenis livis and of kings, and many othir thingis ſmale." This proves to be Ovid, v. 52, *ſeq.* See *Man of L. T.* v. 54.

[4] L. v. v. 1490. I will add here, that Creſſide propoſes the trial of the Ordeal to Troilus, l. iii. v. 1048. Troilus, during the times of truce, amuſes himſelf with hawking, l. iii. v. 1785.

De Conſolatione Philoſophiæ—a book which Chaucer himſelf tranſlated.[1]]

This poem, although almoſt as long as the Eneid, was intended to be ſung to the harp, as well as read.

> And red wher ſo thow be, or elles ſonge.[2]

It is dedicated to the "morall" Gower, and to the "philoſophical" Strode. Gower will occur as a poet hereafter. Strode was eminent for his ſcholaſtic knowledge, and tutor to Chaucer's ſon Lewis at Merton college in Oxford.

Whether the *Houſe of Fame* is Chaucer's invention, or ſuggeſted by any French or Italian poet, I cannot determine. But I am apt to think it was originally a Provençal compoſition,—among other proofs, from this paſſage:

> And theroute come ſo grete a noyſe,[3]
> That had hyt ſtonde upon Oyſe,
> Men myght hyt han herd eſely
> To Rome, Y trowe ſikerly.

The Oyſe is a river in Picardy, which falls into the River Seine, not many leagues from Paris. An Engliſhman would not have expreſſed diſtance by ſuch an unfamiliar illuſtration. Unleſs we reconcile the matter by ſuppoſing that Chaucer wrote this poem during his travels. There is another paſſage where the ideas are thoſe of a foreign romance. To the trumpeters of renown the poet adds,

> And alle that uſede clarioun,[4]
> In Cataloigne and Aragoun.

Caſteloigne is Catalonia in Spain.[5] The martial muſicians of Engliſh tournaments, ſo celebrated in ſtory, were a more natural and obvious alluſion for an Engliſh poet.[6]

This poem contains great ſtrokes of Gothic imagination, yet bordering often on the moſt ideal and capricious extravagance. The poet, in a viſion, ſees a temple of glaſs:

> In whiche ther were moo ymages[7]
> Of golde, ſtondynge in ſondry ſtages,
> And moo ryche tabernacles,

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[1] [Book v. Proſe 2-3, edit. Morris. See the extracts, *ibid.* vi-x.] Bradwardine, a learned archbiſhop and theologiſt, and nearly Chaucer's contemporary, [treated this ſubject] in his book, *De Cauſa Dei*, edit. 1617. [Chaucer] touches on this controverſy (*Nonnes Preeſts Tale*, v. 1349. See alſo *Troilus and Creſſeide*, lib. iv-v, 961 *et ſeq.*)

[2] [Morris's *Chaucer*, v. 75, ver. 1811.]

[3] [*Ibid.* v. 267, ver. 837. See *ſupra*, p. 298, note 1.] [4] [*Ibid.* v. 247, ver. 157.]

[5] See *Marchaunt's Tale*, ver. 1231. He mentions a rock higher than any in Spain, B. iii. ver. 27. But this I believe was an Engliſh proverb.

[6] He mentions a plate of gold, "As fine as *duckett* in *Veniſe*," B. iii. ver. 258. But he ſays that the Galaxy is called *Watlyng-ſtrete*, B. ii. ver. 431. He ſwears by Thomas Becket, B. iii. ver. 41. In one place he is addreſſed by the name of Geoffrey, B. ii. ver. 221; but in two others by that of Peter, B. ii. ver. 526, B. iii. ver. 909. Among the muſicians he mentions "Pipirs of all the Duche tong," B. iii. ver. 144.

[7] [Morris's *Chaucer*, v. 212, ver. 121.]

And with perré[1] moo pynacles,
And moo curiouſe portreytures,
And queynt maner of figures
Of golde werke, then I ſawgh ever.

On the walls of this temple were engraved ſtories from Virgil's *Eneid*[2] and Ovid's *Epiſtles*.[3] Leaving this temple, he ſees an eagle with golden wings ſoaring near the ſun:

That faſte be the ſonne, as hye[4]
As kenne myght I with myn ye,
Me thought I ſawgh an egle ſore,
But that hit ſemede moche more[5]
Then I had any egle ſeyne.[6]
* * * * *
Hyt was of golde, and ſhone ſo bryght,
That never ſawgh men ſuch a ſyght.

The eagle deſcends, ſeizes the poet in his talons, and mounting again, conveys him to the Houſe of Fame, which is ſituated, like that of Ovid, between earth and ſea. In their paſſage thither they fly above the ſtars, which our author leaves, with clouds, tempeſts, hail, and ſnow, far beneath him. This aerial journey is partly copied from Ovid's Phaeton in the chariot of the ſun. But the poet apologiſes for this extravagant fiction, and explains his meaning by alleging the authority of Boethius, who ſays that Contemplation may ſoar on the wings of Philoſophy above every element. He likewiſe recollects, in the midſt of his courſe, the deſcription of the heavens given by Marcianus Capella in his book *De Nuptiis Philologiæ et Mercurii*,[7] and Alanus in his *Anticlaudian*.[8] At his arrival in the confines of the Houſe of Fame, he is alarmed by confuſed murmurs iſſuing thence, like diſtant thunders or billows. This circumſtance is alſo borrowed from Ovid's temple.[9] He is left by the eagle near the

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[1] jewels.

[2] Where he mentions Virgil's hell, he likewiſe refers to Claudian *De Raptu Proſerpinæ* and Dante's *Inferno*, ver. 450. There is a tranſlation of a few lines from Dante, whom he calls "the wiſe poet of Florence," in the *Wife of Bath's Tale*, ver. 1125. The ſtory of Count Ugolino, a ſubject which Sir Joſhua Reynolds has lately painted in a capital ſtyle, is tranſlated from Dante, "the grete poete of Italie that hight Dante," in the *Monkes Tale*, ver. 877. A ſentence from Dante is cited in the *Legend of Good Women*, ver. 360. In the *Freeres Tale*, Dante is compared with Virgil, ver. 256.

[3] It was not only in the fairy palaces of the poets and romance-writers of the middle-ages that Ovid's ſtories adorned the walls. In one of the courts of the palace of Noneſuch, all Ovid's *Metamorphoſes* were cut in ſtone under the windows. Hearne, Coll. MSS. 55, p. 64. But the *Epiſtles* ſeem to have been the favourite work, the ſubject of which coincided with the gallantry of the times.

[4] [Morris's *Chaucer*, v. 224, ver. 497.] [5] greater.

[6] The eagle ſays to the poet, that this houſe ſtands

"Right ſo as *thine owne boke* tellith."

B. ii. ver. 204. That is, Ovid's *Metamorphoſes*. See *Met.* l. xii. ver. 40, &c.

[7] See the *Marchaunt's Tale*, v. 1248, and Lidg. *Stor. Theb.* fol. 357.

[8] A famous book in the middle ages. There is an old French tranſlation of it. Bibl. Reg. Paris, MSS. Cod. 7632.

[9] See *Met.* xii. 39, and Virg. *Æn.* iv. 173; Val. Flacc. ii. 117; Lucan. i. 469.

houſe, which is built of materials bright as poliſhed glaſs, and ſtands on a rock of ice of exceſſive height, and almoſt inacceſſible. All the ſouthern ſide of this rock was covered with engravings of the names of famous men, which were perpetually melting away by the heat of the ſun. The northern ſide of the rock was alike covered with names, but being here ſhaded from the warmth of the ſun, the characters remained unmelted and uneffaced. The ſtructure of the houſe is thus imagined.

me thoughte, by feynte Gyle,[1]
Alle was of ſtone of beryle,
Bothe caſtel and the toure,
And eke the halle, and every boure,
Wythouten peces or joynynges.
But many ſubtile compaſſinges,
As rabewyures and pynacles,
Ymageries and tabernacles,
I ſay; and ful eke of wyndowes,
As flakes falle in grete ſnowes.

In theſe lines, and in ſome others which occur hereafter, the poet perhaps alludes to the many new decorations in architecture which began to prevail about his time, and gave riſe to the florid Gothic ſtyle. There are inſtances of this in other poems [aſcribed to him.] In [the poem called *Chaucer's Dreme*,

And of a ſute were all the toures,[2]
Subtily corven after floures,
* * * *
With many a ſmall turret hie.

And in the deſcription of the palace of Pleaſant Regard, in the Aſſembly of Ladies:

Fairir is none, though it were for a king,[3]
Deviſid wel and that in every thing;
The towris hie, ful pleſante ſhal ye finde,
With fannis freſh, turning with everie winde.
The chambris, and the parlirs of a ſorte,
With bay windows, goodlie as may be thought:
As for daunſing or othir wiſe diſporte,
The galeries be al right wel ywrought.

In Chaucer's Life by William Thomas,[4] it is not mentioned that he was appointed clerk of the king's works in the palace of Weſtminſter, in the royal manors of Shene, Kennington, Byfleet, and Clapton, and in the Mews at Charing.[5] Again in 1380, of the works of St. George's Chapel at Windſor, then ruinous.[6] But to return.

Within the niches formed in the pinnacles ſtood all round the caſtle,

[1] [Morris's *Chaucer*, v. 245, lib. iii. ver. 93.] [2] [*Ibid.* v. 88, ver. 81.]
[3] Chaucer's Works, ed. Urry, p. 434, col. 2, lines 158-165.
[4] Chaucer's Life in Urry's edition. William Thomas digeſted this Life from collections by Dart. His brother, Dr. Timothy Thomas, wrote or compiled the Gloſſary and Preface to that edition. See Dart's *Weſtminſt. Abbey*, i. 80. Timothy Thomas was of Chriſt Church, Oxford, and died in 1757.
[5] Claus. 8, Ric. II.
[6] Pat. 14, Ric. II. *apud* Tanner, *Bibl.* p. 166, note e.

al maner of mynſtralles,[1]
And geſtiours, that tellen tales
Bothe of wepinge and of game.

That is, thoſe who ſang or recited adventures either tragic or comic, which excited either compaſſion or laughter. They were accompanied by the moſt renowned harpers, among which were Orpheus, Arion, Chiron, and the Briton Glaſkerion.[2] Behind theſe were placed, "by many a thouſand time twelve," players on various inſtruments of muſic. Among the trumpeters are named Joab, Virgil's Miſenus, and Theodamas.[3] About theſe pinnacles were alſo marſhalled the moſt famous magicians, jugglers, witches, propheteſſes, ſorcereſſes, and profeſſors of natural magic,[4] which ever exiſted in ancient or modern times: ſuch as Medea, Circe, Calliope, Hermes,[5] Limotheus, and Simon Magus.[6] At entering the hall he ſees an infinite multitude of heralds, on the ſurcoats of whom were richly embroidered the armorial enſigns of the moſt redoubted champions that ever tourneyed in Africa, Europe, or

[1] [Morris's *Chaucer*, v. 245, ver. 107.]

[2] Concerning this harper, ſee Percy's Ballads.

[3] See alſo the *Marchaunt's Tale*, v. 1236, *ſeq.*

[4] See the *Frankelein's Tale*, where ſeveral feats are deſcribed, as exhibited at a feaſt, done by natural magic, a favourite ſcience of the Arabians. Chaucer there calls it "An art which ſotill tragetoris plaie," v. 2696. Of this more will be ſaid hereafter.

[5] None of the works of the firſt Hermes Triſmegiſtus now remain[s]. See Cornel. Agrip. *De Van. Scient.* cap. xlviii. The aſtrological and other philoſophical pieces under that name are ſuppoſititious. See Fabr. *Biblioth. Gr.* xii. 708. And *Chan. Yem. Tale*, v. 1455. Some of theſe pieces were publiſhed under the fictitious names of Abel, Enoch, Abraham, Solomon, Saint Paul, and of many of the patriarchs and fathers. Cornel. Agripp. *De Van. Scient.* cap. xlv. who adds, that theſe *triſtes* were followed by Alphonſus, king of Caſtile, Robert Groſſeteſte, Bacon, and Apponus. He mentions Zabulus and Barnabas of Cyprus as famous writers in magic. See alſo Gower's *Confeſs. Amant.* p. 134, b; 149, b; edit. 1554. In ſpeaking of ancient authors who were known or celebrated in the middle ages, it may be remarked, that Macrobius was one. He is mentioned by Guill. de Lorris in the *Roman de la Roſe*, v. 9. "Ung aucteur qui ot nom *Macrobe*." A line literally tranſlated by Chaucer, "An author that hight *Macrobes*," v. 7. Chaucer quotes him in his *Dreme*, v. 284. In the *Nonnes Prieſt's Tale*, v. 1238. In the *Aſſemblie of Foules*, v. 111, ſee alſo *ibid.* v. 31. He wrote a comment on Tully's *Somnium Scipionis*, and in theſe paſſages he is referred to on account of that piece. Petrarch, in a letter to Nicolas Sigeros, a learned Greek of Conſtantinople, quotes Macrobius, as a Latin author of all others the moſt familiar to Nicolas. It is to prove that Homer is the fountain of all invention. This is in 1354. *Famil. Let.* ix. 2. There is a manuſcript of the firſt and part of the ſecond book of Macrobius, elegantly written, as it ſeems, in France, about the year 800. *MSS. Cotton. Vitell.* C. iii. fol. 138. M. Planudes, a Conſtantinopolitan monk of the fourteenth century, is ſaid to have tranſlated Macrobius into Greek. But ſee Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* x. 534. It is remarkable that in the above letter, Petrarch apologiſes for calling Plato the Prince of Philoſophers, after Cicero, Seneca, Apuleius, Plotinus, Saint Ambroſe, and Saint Auſtin.

[6] Among theſe he mentions *Jugglers*, that is, in the preſent ſenſe of the word, thoſe who practiſed legerdemain: a popular ſcience in Chaucer's time. Thus in *Squ. T.* v. 239:

"As jogelours pleyen at this feſtes grete."

It was an appendage of the occult ſciences ſtudied and introduced into Europe by the Arabians.

Aſia. The floor and roof of the hall were covered with thick plates of gold ſtudded with the coſtlieſt gems. At the upper end, on a lofty ſhrine made of carbuncle, ſat Fame. Her figure is like thoſe in Virgil and Ovid. Above her, as if ſuſtained on her ſhoulders, ſat Alexander and Hercules. From the throne to the gates of the hall, ran a range of pillars with reſpective inſcriptions. On the firſt pillar made of lead and iron,[1] ſtood Joſephus, the Jewiſh hiſtorian, "That of the Jewis geſtis told," with ſeven other writers on the ſame ſubject. On the ſecond pillar, made of iron, and painted all over with the blood of tigers, ſtood Statius. On another higher than the reſt ſtood Homer, Dares Phrygius, Livy,[2] Lollius, Guido di Columna, and Geoffrey of Monmouth, writers of the Trojan ſtory. On a pillar of "tinnid iron clere," ſtood Virgil: and next him on a pillar of copper, appeared Ovid. The figure of Lucan was placed on a pillar of iron "wroght full ſternly," accompanied by many Roman hiſtorians.[3] On a pillar of ſulphur ſtood Claudian, ſo ſymboliſed, becauſe he wrote of Pluto and Proſerpine:

> That bare up *than* the fame of helle;[4]
> Of Pluto, and of Proſerpyne,
> That quene ys of the derke pyne.

The hall was filled with the writers of ancient tales and romances, whoſe ſubjects and names were too numerous to be recounted. In the mean time crowds from every nation and of every condition filled the hall, and each preſented his claim to the queen. A meſſenger is diſpatched to ſummon Eolus from his cave in Thrace; who is ordered to bring his two clarions called *Slander* and *Praiſe*, and his trumpeter Triton. The praiſes of each petitioner are then reſounded, according to the partial or capricious appointment of Fame; and equal merits obtain very different ſucceſs. There is much ſatire and humour in theſe requeſts and rewards, and in the diſgraces and honours which are indiſcriminately diſtributed by the queen, without diſcernment and by chance. The poet then enters the houſe or labyrinth of Rumour. It was built of ſallow twigs, like a cage, and therefore admitted every ſound. Its doors were alſo more numerous than leaves on the trees, and always ſtood open. Theſe are romantic exaggerations of Ovid's inventions on the ſame ſubject. It was moreover ſixty miles in length, and perpetually turning round. From this houſe, ſays the poet, iſſued tidings of

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[1] In the compoſition of theſe pillars, Chaucer diſplays his chemical knowledge.

[2] Dares Phrygius and Livy are both cited in Chaucer's *Dreme*, v. 1070, 1084. Chaucer is fond of quoting Livy. He was alſo much admired by Petrarch, who, while at Paris, aſſiſted in tranſlating him into French. This circumſtance might make Livy a favourite with Chaucer. See *Vie de Petrarque*, iii. p. 547.

[3] Was not this intended to characteriſe Lucan? Quintillian ſays of Lucan, "*Oratoribus* magis quam *poetis* annumerandus." *Inſtit. Orat.* L. x. c. 1.

[4] [Morris's *Chaucer*, v. 255, ver. 420.] Chaucer alludes to this poem of Claudian in the *Marchaunt's Tale*, where he calls Pluto, the king of "fayrie," ver. 1744.

every kind, like fountains and rivers from the ſea. Its inhabitants, who were eternally employed in hearing or telling news, together with the riſe of reports, and the formation of lies, are then humorouſly deſcribed: the company is chiefly compoſed of ſailors, pilgrims, and pardoners. At length our author is awakened at ſeeing a venerable perſonage of great authority: and thus the Viſion abruptly concludes.

Pope has imitated this piece with his uſual elegance of diction and harmony of verſification. But in the mean time, he has not only miſrepreſented the ſtory, but marred the character of the poem. He has endeavoured to correct its extravagances by new refinements and additions of another caſt: but he did not conſider, that extravagances are eſſential to a poem of ſuch a ſtructure, and even conſtitute its beauties. An attempt to unite order and exactneſs of imagery with a ſubject formed on principles ſo profeſſedly romantic and anomalous, is like giving Corinthian pillars to a Gothic palace. When I read Pope's elegant imitation of this piece, I think I am walking among the modern monuments unſuitably placed in Weſtminſter Abbey.

SECTION XV.

NOTHING can be more ingeniouſly contrived than the occaſion on which Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* are ſuppoſed to be recited. A company of pilgrims, on their journey to viſit the ſhrine of Thomas Becket at Canterbury, lodge at the Tabard Inn in Southwark. Although ſtrangers to each other, they are aſſembled in one room at ſupper, as was then the cuſtom; and agree, not only to travel together the next morning, but to relieve the fatigue of the journey by telling each a ſtory.[1] Chaucer undoubtedly intended to imitate Boccaccio, whoſe *Decameron* was then the moſt popular of books, in writing a ſet of tales. But the circumſtance invented by Boccaccio, as the cauſe which gave riſe to his *Decameron*, or the relation of his hundred ſtories,[2] is by no means ſo happily conceived as that of Chaucer for a ſimilar purpoſe. Boccaccio ſuppoſes, that when the plague began to abate at Florence, ten young perſons of both ſexes retired to a country houſe, two miles from the city, with a deſign of

[1] There is an inn at Burford in Oxfordſhire, which accommodated pilgrims on their road to Saint Edward's ſhrine in the abbey of Glouceſter. A long room, with a ſeries of Gothic windows, ſtill remains, which was their refectory. Leland mentions ſuch another, *Itin.* ii. 70.

[2] It is remarkable that Boccaccio choſe a Greek title, that is, Δεκαμερον, for his *Tales*. He has alſo given Greek names to the ladies and gentlemen who recite the tales. His *Eclogues* are full of Greek words. This was natural at the revival of the Greek language.

enjoying freſh air, and paſſing ten days agreeably. Their principal and eſtabliſhed amuſement, inſtead of playing at cheſs after dinner, was for each to tell a tale. One ſuperiority which, among others, Chaucer's plan afforded above that of Boccaccio, was the opportunity of diſplaying a variety of ſtriking and dramatic characters, which would not have eaſily met but on ſuch an expedition;—a circumſtance which alſo contributed to give a variety to the ſtories. And for a number of perſons in their ſituation, ſo natural, ſo practicable, ſo pleaſant, I add ſo rational, a mode of entertainment could not have been imagined.

The *Canterbury Tales* are unequal, and of various merit. Few perhaps, if any, of the ſtories are the invention of Chaucer. I have already ſpoken at large of the *Knight's Tale*, one of our author's nobleſt compoſitions.[1] That of the *Canterbury Tales*, which deſerves the next place, as written in the higher ſtrain of poetry, and the poem by which Milton deſcribes and characteriſes Chaucer, is the *Squire's Tale*.[2] The imagination of this ſtory conſiſts in Arabian fiction engrafted on Gothic chivalry. Nor is this Arabian fiction purely the ſport of arbitrary fancy: it is in great meaſure founded on Arabian learning. Cambuſcan, a king of Tartary, celebrates his birth-day feſtival in the hall of his palace at Sarra with the moſt royal magnificence. In the midſt of the ſolemnity, the gueſts are alarmed by a miraculous and unexpected ſpectacle: the minſtrels ceaſe on a ſudden, and all the aſſembly is huſhed in ſilence, ſurpriſe, and ſuſpenſe.

Whil that the kyng ſit thus in his nobleye,[3]
Herkyng his mynſtrales her thinges pleye
Byforn him atte boord deliciouſly,
In atte halle dore al ſodeynly
Ther com a knight upon a ſteed of bras,
And in his hond a brod myrour of glas;
Upon his thomb he had of gold a ryng,
And by his ſide a naked ſwerd hangyng:
And up he rideth to the heyghe bord.
In al the halle ne was ther ſpoke a word,
For mervayl of this knight; him to byholde
Ful beſily they wayten yong and olde.

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[1] The reader will excuſe my irregularity in not conſidering it under the *Canterbury Tales*. I have here given the reaſon, which is my apology, in the text.

[2] [Le Chevalier de Chatelain finds the original of this tale in the old French romance of *Cléomadès*, in 19,000 lines, printed in 1866 by the Belgian Academy, written from Spaniſh and Mooriſh ſources by Adam or Adénès Le Roy, King of the Minſtrels of the Duke of Brabant, in the thirteenth century. The Chevalier printed a modern French verſe ſketch of the ſtory of Cléomadès in 1858, and reiſſued it in 1869 with a freſh preface, as a ſecond edition. The French Romance has a wooden horſe with ſprings in it, which is managed by "tournant les chevilles," (pegs, pins), and Chaucer's braſs one is managed thus too: "Ye moote trille a pyn, ſtant in his ere." But here, and in the fact that the common people are, in both tales, aſtoniſhed at the horſes, ends the likeneſs of *Cléomadès* and the *Squire's Tale*.—F.]

[3] [Morris's Chaucer, ii. 357, ver. 69.] See a fine romantic ſtory of a Comte de Macon who, while revelling in his hall with many knights, is ſuddenly alarmed by the entrance of a gigantic figure of a black man, mounted on a black ſteed. This

Theſe preſents were ſent by the king of Arabia and India to Cambuſcan in honour of his feaſt. The horſe of braſs, on the ſkilful movement and management of certain ſecret ſprings, tranſported his rider into the moſt diſtant region of the world in the ſpace of twenty-four hours; for, as the rider choſe, he could fly in the air with the ſwiftneſs of an eagle: and again, as occaſion required, he could ſtand motionleſs in oppoſition to the ſtrongeſt force, vaniſh on a ſudden at command, and return at his maſter's call. The Mirror of Glaſs was endued with the power of ſhewing any future diſaſters which might happen to Cambuſcan's kingdom, and diſcovered the moſt hidden machinations of treaſon. The Naked Sword could pierce armour deemed impenetrable,

> Were it as thikke as is a braunched ook.

And he who was wounded with it could never be healed, unleſs its poſſeſſor could be entreated to ſtroke the wound with its edge. The Ring was intended for Canace, Cambuſcan's daughter, and while ſhe bore it in her purſe, or wore it on her thumb, enabled her to underſtand the language of every ſpecies of birds, and the virtues of every plant:

> And whan this knight thus had*de* his tale told,[1]
> He rit out of the halle, and doun he light.
> His ſteede, which that ſchon as ſonne bright,
> Stant in the court as ſtille as eny ſtoon.
> This knight is to his chambre lad anoon,
> And is unarmed, and to mete i-ſett.
> This preſentz ben ful richely i-ſett,
> This is to ſayn, the ſwerd and the myrrour,
> And born anon unto the highe tour,
> With certein officers ordeynd therfore;
> And unto Canace the ryng is bore
> Solempnely, ther ſche ſyt atte table.

I have mentioned, in another place, the favourite philoſophical ſtudies of the Arabians.[2] In this poem the nature of thoſe ſtudies is diſplayed, and their operations exemplified: and this conſideration, added to the circumſtances of Tartary being the ſcene of action, and Arabia the country from which theſe extraordinary preſents are brought, induces me to believe this ſtory to be [identical with one which was current at a very ancient date among] the Arabians. At leaſt it is formed on their principles. Their ſciences were tinctured with the warmth of their imaginations, and conſiſted in wonderful diſcoveries and myſterious inventions.

This idea of a horſe of braſs took its riſe from their chemical knowledge and experiments in metals. The treatiſe of Jeber, a famous Arab chemiſt of the middle ages, called *Lapis Philoſophorum*, contains many curious and uſeful proceſſes concerning the nature of

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terrible ſtranger, without receiving any obſtruction from guards or gates, rides directly forward to the high table; and, with an imperious tone, orders the count to follow him, &c. Nic. Gillos, *Chron.* ann. 1120. See alſo *Obs. Fair Qu.* § v. p. 146.

[1] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 360, ver. 160.]

[2] Diſs. i. ii.

metals, their fuſion, purification, and malleability, which ſtill maintain a place in modern ſyſtems of that ſcience.[1] The poets of romance, who deal in Arabian ideas, deſcribe the Trojan horſe as made of braſs.[2] Theſe ſages pretended the power of giving life or ſpeech to ſome of their compoſitions in metal. Biſhop Groſſeteſte's ſpeaking brazen head, ſometimes attributed to [Roger] Bacon, has its foundation in Arabian philoſophy.[3] In the romance of *Valentine and Orſon*, a brazen head fabricated by a necromancer in a magnificent chamber of the caſtle of Clerimond, declares to thoſe two princes their royal parentage.[4] We are told by William of Malmeſbury that Pope Sylveſter II. a profound mathematician who lived in the eleventh century, made a brazen head, which would ſpeak when ſpoken to, and oracularly reſolved many difficult queſtions.[5] Albertus Magnus, who was alſo a profound adept in thoſe ſciences which were taught by the Arabian ſchools, is ſaid to have framed a man of braſs, which not only anſwered queſtions readily and truly, but was ſo loquacious, that Thomas Aquinas while a pupil of Albertus Magnus, and afterwards an Angelic doctor, knocked it in pieces as the diſturber of his abſtruſe ſpeculations. This was about the year 1240.[6] Much in the ſame manner, the notion of our knight's horſe being moved by means of a concealed engine correſponds with their pretences of producing preternatural effects, and their love of ſurpriſing by geometrical powers. Exactly in this notion, Rocail, a giant in ſome of the Arabian romances, is ſaid to have built a palace, together with his own ſepulchre, of moſt magnificent architecture and with ſingular artifice: in both of theſe he placed a great number of gigantic ſtatues or images, figured of different metals by taliſmanic ſkill, which, in conſequence of ſome occult machinery, performed actions of real life, and looked like living men.[7] We muſt add that aſtronomy, which the Arabian philoſophers ſtudied with a ſingular enthuſiaſm, had no ſmall ſhare in the compoſition of this miraculous ſteed. For, ſays the poet,

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[1] The Arabians call chemiſtry, as treating of minerals and metals, Simia; from Sim, a word ſignifying the veins of gold and ſilver in the mines. Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.* p. 810, b. Hither, among many other things, we might refer Merlin's two dragons of gold finiſhed with moſt exquiſite workmanſhip, in Geoffrey of Monmouth, l. viii. c. 17. See alſo *ibid.* vii. c. 3, where Merlin propheſies that a brazen man on a brazen horſe ſhall guard the gates of London.

[2] See Lydgate's *Troye Boke*, B. iv. c. 35. And Gower's *Conf. Amant.* B. i. f. 13, b. edit. 1554. "A horſe of braſſe thei lette do forge."

[3] Gower, *Confeſs. Amant.* [ed. 1857, ii. 9.] L. iv. fol. lxiiii. a, edit. 1554.

> "For of the grete clerk Groſteſt
> I rede how buſy that he was
> Upon the clergie an heved of bras
> To forge and make it for to telle
> Of ſuche thinges as befelle—"

[4] Ch. xxviii. *ſeq.*

[5] *De Geſt. Reg. Angl.* lib. ii. cap. 10. Compare *Maj. Symbolor. Aureæ Menſæ*, lib. x. p. 453.

[6] Delrio, *Diſquis. Magic.* lib. i. cap. 4.

[7] Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.* v. *Rocail*, p. 717, a.

He that it wrought cowthe *ful* many a gyn;[1]
He wayted*e* many a conſtellacioun,
Er he had*de* do this operacioun.

Thus the buckler of the Arabian giant Ben Gian, as famous among the Orientals as that of Achilles among the Greeks, was fabricated by the powers of aſtronomy;[2] and Pope Sylveſter's brazen head, juſt mentioned, was prepared under the influence of certain conſtellations.

Natural magic, improperly ſo called, was likewiſe a favourite purſuit of the Arabians, by which they impoſed falſe appearances on the ſpectator. This was blended with their aſtrology. Our author's *Frankelein's Tale* is entirely founded on the miracles of this art.

For I am ſiker that ther ben ſciences,[3]
By whiche men maken dyverſe apparences,
Which as the ſubtile tregetoures[4] pleyen.
For ofte at feſtes h*ave* I herd ſeyen,
That tregettoures, withinne an halle large,
Han made in come water and a barge,
And in the halle rowen up and doun.
Som tyme hath ſemed *come* a grym leoun;
Some tyme a caſtel al of lym and ſton.

Afterwards a magician in the ſame poem ſhews various ſpecimens of his art in raiſing ſuch illuſions: and by way of diverting King Aurelius before ſupper, preſents before him parks and foreſts filled with deer of vaſt proportion, ſome of which are killed with hounds and others with arrows. He then ſhews the king a beautiful lady in a dance. At the clapping of the magician's hands all theſe deceptions diſappear.[5] Theſe feats are ſaid to be performed by conſultation of

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[1] [Morris's Chaucer, ii. 358, ver. 120.] I do not preciſely underſtand the line immediately following.

"And knew ful many a ſeal and many a bond."

Seal may mean a taliſmanic ſigil uſed in aſtrology. Or the Hermetic ſeal uſed in chemiſtry. Or, connected with *Bond*, may ſignify contracts made with ſpirits in chemical operations. But all theſe belong to the Arabian philoſophy, and are alike to our purpoſe. In the Arabian books now extant, are the alphabets out of which they formed Taliſmans to draw down ſpirits or angels. The Arabian word *Kimia* not only ſignifies chemiſtry, but a magical and ſuperſtitious ſcience, by which they bound ſpirits to their will and drew from them the information required. See Herbelot, *Dict. Orient.* p. 810, 1005. The curious and more inquiſitive reader may conſult Cornelius Agrippa, *De Vanit. Scient.* c. xliv.-vi.

[2] Many myſteries were concealed in the compoſition of this ſhield. It deſtroyed all the charms and enchantments which either demons or giants could make by *goetic* or magic art. Herbelot, *ubi ſupr.* v. *Gian.* p. 396, a.

[3] [Morris's *Chaucer*, iii. 14, ver. 411.] [4] jugglers.

[5] But his moſt capital performance is to remove an immenſe chain of rocks from the ſea-ſhore: this is done in ſuch a manner, that for the ſpace of one week "it ſemed*e* that the rockes were aweye." *Ibid.* ver. 560. By the way, this tale appears to be a tranſlation. He ſays, "As theſe bokes me remembre." v. 507. And "From Gerounay to the mouth of Sayne." v. 486. The Garoune and Seine are rivers in France.

the ſtars.[1] We frequently read in romances of illuſive appearances framed by magicians,[2] which by the ſame powers are made ſuddenly to vaniſh. To trace the matter home to its true ſource, theſe fictions have their origin in a ſcience which profeſſedly made a conſiderable part of the Arabian learning.[3] In the twelfth century the number of magical and aſtrological Arabic books tranſlated into Latin was prodigious.[4] Chaucer, in the fiction before us, ſuppoſes that ſome of the gueſts in Cambuſcan's hall believed the Trojan horſe to be a temporary illuſion, effected by the power of magic.[5]

> An apparence maad by ſom magik,[6]
> As jogelours pleyen at this feſtes grete.

In ſpeaking of the metallurgy of the Arabians, I muſt not omit the ſublime imagination of Spenſer, or rather ſome Britiſh bard, who feigns that the magician Merlin intended to build a wall of braſs about Cairmardin (Carmarthen); but that being haſtily called away by the Lady of the Lake, and ſlain by her perfidy, he has left his fiends ſtill at work on this mighty ſtructure round their brazen cauldrons, under a rock among the neighbouring woody cliffs of Dynevor, who dare not deſiſt till their maſter returns. At this day, ſays the poet, if you liſten at a chink or cleft of the rock:

> Such ghaſtly noyſe of yron chaines[7]
> And braſen Caudrons thou ſhalt rombling heare,
> Which thouſand ſprights with long enduring paines
> Doe toſſe, that it will ſtonn thy feeble braines;

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[1] See *Frankel. Tale.* The Chriſtians called this one of the diabolical arts of the Saracens or Arabians. And many of their own philoſophers, who afterwards wrote on the ſubject or performed experiments on its principles, were ſaid to deal with the devil. Witneſs our Bacon, &c. From Sir John Mandeville's *Travels* it appears, that theſe ſciences were in high requeſt in the court of the Cham of Tartary about the year 1340. He ſays, that, at a great feſtival, on one ſide of the Emperor's table, he ſaw placed many philoſophers ſkilled in various ſciences, ſuch as aſtronomy, necromancy, geometry, and pyromancy: that ſome of theſe had before them aſtrolabes of gold and precious ſtones, others had horologes richly furniſhed with many other mathematical inſtruments, &c. chap. lxxi. Sir John Mandeville began his travels into the Eaſt, in 1322, and finiſhed his book in 1364, chap. cix. See Johannes Sariſb. *Polycrat.* l. i. cap. xi. fol. 10, b.

[2] See what is ſaid of Spenſer's *Falſe Florimel*, *Obs. Spens.* § xi. p. 123.

[3] Herbelot mentions many oriental pieces, "Qui traittent de cette art pernicieux et defendu." *Dict. Orient.* v. Schr. Compare Agrippa, *ubi ſupr.* cap. xlii. *ſeq.*

[4] "Irrepſit hac ætate etiam turba aſtrologorum et magorum, ejus farinæ libris una cum aliis de Arabico in Latinum converſis." Conring. *Script Comment.* Sæc. xiii. cap. 3, p. 125. See alſo Herbelot. *Bibl. Orient.* v. *Ketab*, paſſim.

[5] John of Saliſbury ſays, that magicians are thoſe who, among other deceptions, "Rebus adimunt ſpecies ſuas." *Polycrat.* i. 10, fol. 10, b. Agrippa mentions one Paſetes a juggler, who "was wont to ſhewe to ſtrangers a very ſumptuouſe banket, and when it pleaſed him, to cauſe it vaniſhe awaye, al they which ſate at the table being diſapointed both of meate and drinke," &c. *Van. Scient.* cap. xlviii. p. 62, b. Engl. Tranſl. *ut. infr.* Du Halde mentions a Chineſe enchanter, who, when the Emperor was inconſolable for the loſs of his deceaſed queen, cauſed her image to appear before him. *Hiſt. Chin.* iii. § iv. See the deceptions of Hakem an Arabian juggler in Herbelot, in v. p. 412. See *ſupr.* p. 229, 230.

[6] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 361, ver. 210.]

[7] *Fairy Queen*, [lib. iii. c. 3, ſt. 9-11, edit. Morris, p. 169.]

And oftentimes great grones, and grievous ſtownds,
When too huge toile and labour them conſtraines,
And oftentimes loud ſtrokes and ringing ſowndes
From under that deepe Rock moſt horribly rebowndes.

The cauſe, ſome ſay, is this: A litle whyle
Before that Merlin dyde, he did intend
A BRASEN WALL in compas to compyle
About Cairmardin, and did it commend
Unto theſe Sprights to bring to perfect end:
During which worke the Lady of the Lake,
Whom long he lov'd, for him in haſte did ſend;
Who, thereby forſt his workemen to forſake,
Them bownd till his retourne their labour not to ſlake.

In the meane time, through that falſe Ladies traine,
He was ſurpriſd, and buried under beare,
Ne ever to his worke returnd againe;
Nath'leſſe thoſe feends may not their work forbeare,
So greatly his commandement they feare,
But there doe toyle and traveile day and night,
Untill that braſen wall they up doe reare—

This ſtory Spenſer borrowed from Giraldus Cambrenſis who, during his progreſs through Wales in the twelfth century, picked it up among other romantic traditions propagated by the Britiſh bards.[1] I have before pointed out the ſource from which the Britiſh bards received moſt of their extravagant fictions.

Optics were likewiſe a branch of ſtudy which ſuited the natural genius of the Arabian philoſophers, and which they purſued with incredible delight. This ſcience was a part of the Ariſtotelic philoſophy which, as I have before obſerved, they refined and filled with a thouſand extravagances. Hence our ſtrange knight's *Mirror of Glaſs*, prepared on the moſt profound principles of art, and endued with preternatural qualities.

And ſom of hem wondred on the mirrour,[2]
That born was up into the maiſter tour,
How men might in hit ſuche thinges ſe.
Another anſwerd, and ſayd, it mighte wel be
Naturelly by compoſiciouns
Of angels, and of heigh reflexiouns;
And ſayde that in Rome was ſuch oon.
They ſpeeke of Al*hazen* and Vitilyon,
And Ariſtotle, that writen in her lyves
Of queynte myrrours and proſpectyves.

And again,

This mirour eek, that I have in myn hond,[3]
Hath ſuch a mighte, that men may in it ſee
When ther ſchal falle eny adverſité
Unto your regne," &c.

Alcen, or Alhazen, mentioned in theſe lines, an Arabic philoſopher, wrote ſeven books of perſpective, and flouriſhed about the

[1] See Girald. Cambrens. *Itin. Cambr.* i. c. 6; Holinſh. *Hiſt.* i. 129; and Camden's *Brit.* p. 734. Drayton has this fiction, which he relates ſomewhat differently: *Polyolb.* lib. iv. p. 62, edit. 1613. Hence Bacon's wall of braſs about England.

[2] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 361, ver. 217.]

[3] [*Ibid.* p. 359, ver. 124.]

eleventh century. Vitellio, formed on the ſame ſchool, was likewiſe an eminent mathematician of the middle ages, and wrote ten books on *Perſpective*. The Roman mirror here mentioned by Chaucer, as ſimilar to this of the ſtrange knight, is thus deſcribed by Gower:

> Whan Rome ſtood in noble plite,
> Virgile, which was tho parfite,
> A mirrour made of his clergie,[1]
> And ſette it in the townes eye
> Of marbre on a piller without,
> That they by thritty mile about
> By day and eke alſo by night
> In that mirrour beholde might
> Her ennemies if any were.[2]

The Oriental writers relate that Giamſchid, one of their kings, the Solomon of the Perſians and their Alexander the Great, poſſeſſed among his ineſtimable treaſures cups, globes, and mirrors, of metal, glaſs, and cryſtal, by means of which he and his people knew all natural as well as ſupernatural things. The title of an Arabian book, tranſlated from the Perſian, is, *The Mirrour which reflects the World.* There is this paſſage in an ancient Turkiſh poet: "When I am purified by the light of heaven my ſoul will become the mirror of the world, in which I ſhall diſcern all abſtruſe ſecrets." Monſieur Herbelot is of opinion, that the Orientals took theſe notions from the patriarch Joſeph's cup of divination and Neſtor's cup in Homer, on which all nature was ſymbolically repreſented.[3] Our great countryman Roger Bacon, in his *Opus Majus*, a work entirely formed on the Ariſtotelic and Arabian philoſophy, deſcribes a variety of Specula, and explains their conſtruction and uſes.[4] This is the moſt curious and extraordinary part of Bacon's book, which was written about the year 1270. Bacon's optic tube, with which he pretended to ſee future events, was famous in his age, and long afterwards, and chiefly contributed to give him the name of a magician.[5] This art, with others of the experimental kind, the philoſophers of

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[1] learning; philoſophy. The ſame fiction is in Caxton's *Troye boke*. "Upon the pinnacle or top of the towre he made an ymage of copper and gave hym in his hande a looking-glaſſe, having ſuch vertue, that if it happened that any ſhippes came to harme the citie ſuddenly, their army and their coming ſhould appear in the ſaid looking-glaſſe." B. ii. ch. xxii.

[2] *Confeſs. Amant.* l. v. [edit. 1857, ii. 195].

[3] Herbelot, *Dict. Oriental.* v. *Giam.* p. 392, col. 2. John of Saliſbury mentions a ſpecies of diviners called Specularii, who predicted future events, and told various ſecrets, by conſulting mirrors, and the ſurfaces of other poliſhed reflecting ſubſtances. *Polycrat.* i. 12, p. 32, edit. 1595.

[4] Edit. Jebb, p. 253. Bacon, in one of his MSS. complains, that no perſon read lectures in Oxford *De Perſpectivâ* before the year 1267. He adds that in the Univerſity of Paris, this ſcience was quite unknown. *Epiſt. ad Opus Minus Clementi IV.* Et ibid. *Op. Min.* cap. ii. MSS. Bibl. Coll. Univ. Oxon. c. 20. In another he affirms that Julius Cæſar, before he invaded Britain, viewed our harbours and ſhores with a teleſcope from the Gallic coaſt. MSS. *Lib. De Perſpectivis.* He accurately deſcribes reading-glaſſes or ſpectacles, *Op. Maj.* p. 236. The Camera Obſcura, I believe, is one of his diſcoveries.

[5] Wood, *Hiſt. Antiquit. Univ. Oxon.* i. 122.

thoſe times were fond of adapting to the purpoſes of thaumaturgy; and there is much occult and chimerical ſpeculation in the diſcoveries which Bacon affects to have made from optical experiments. He aſſerts (and I am obliged to cite the paſſage in his own myſterious expreſſions): "Omnia ſciri per Perſpectivam, quoniam omnes actiones rerum fiunt ſecundum ſpecierum et virtutum multiplicationem ab agentibus hujus mundi in materias patientes," &c.[1] Spenſer feigns, that the magician Merlin made a glaſſy globe, and preſented it to King Ryence, which ſhowed the approach of enemies, and diſcovered treaſons.[2] This fiction, which exactly correſponds with Chaucer's Mirror, Spenſer borrowed from ſome romance, perhaps of King Arthur, fraught with Oriental fancy. From the ſame ſources came a like fiction of Camoens in the *Luſiad*,[3] where a globe is ſhown to Vaſco de Gama, repreſenting the univerſal fabric or ſyſtem of the world, in which he ſees future kingdoms and future events. The Spaniſh hiſtorians report an American tradition, but more probably invented by themſelves, and built on the Saracen fables, in which they were ſo converſant. They pretend that ſome years before the Spaniards entered Mexico, the inhabitants caught a monſtrous fowl, of unuſual magnitude and ſhape, on the lake of Mexico. In the crown of the head of this wonderful bird, there was a mirror or plate of glaſs, in which the Mexicans ſaw their future invaders the Spaniards, and all the diſaſters which afterwards happened to their kingdom. Theſe ſuperſtitions remained, even in the doctrines of philoſophers, long after the darker ages. Cornelius Agrippa, a learned phyſician of Cologne about the year 1520, and author of a famous book on the Vanity of the Sciences, mentions a ſpecies of mirror which exhibited the form of perſons abſent, at command.[4] In one of theſe he is ſaid to have ſhown to the poetical Earl of Surrey the image of his miſtreſs, the beautiful Geraldine, ſick and repoſing on a couch.[5] Nearly allied to this was the infatuation of ſeeing things in a beryl, which was very popular in the reign of James I., and is alluded to by Shakeſpeare. [Aubrey, in his *Miſcellanies*, deſcribes the beryl, and a drawing of one accompanies the text. This ſtill remains an article of practice and belief.]

The Arabians were alſo famous for other machineries of glaſs, in which their chemiſtry was more immediately concerned. The philoſophers of their ſchool invented a ſtory of a magical ſteel-glaſs, placed by Ptolemy on the ſummit of a lofty pillar near the city of

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[1] *Op. Min.* MSS. *ut ſupr.* [2] *Fairy Queen*, iii. ii. 21. [3] Cant. x.

[4] It is diverting in this book to obſerve the infancy of experimental philoſophy, and their want of knowing how to uſe or apply the mechanical arts which they were even actually poſſeſſed of. Agrippa calls the inventor of magnifying glaſſes, "without doubte the beginner of all diſhoneſtie." He mentions various ſorts of diminiſhing, burning, reflecting, and multiplying glaſſes, with ſome others. At length this profound thinker cloſes the chapter with this ſage reflection, "All theſe thinges are vaine and ſuperfluous, and invented to no other end but for pompe and idle pleaſure!" Chap. xxvi. p. 36. A tranſlation by James Sandford [appeared in 1569].

[5] Drayton's *Heroical Epiſt.* p. 87, b. edit. 1598.

Alexandria, for burning ſhips at a diſtance. The Arabians called this pillar *Hemadeſlaeor*, or the Pillar of the Arabians.[1] I think it is mentioned by Sandys. Roger Bacon has left a tract on the formation of burning-glaſſes:[2] and he relates that the firſt burning-glaſs which he conſtructed coſt him ſixty pounds of Pariſian money.[3] Ptolemy, who ſeems to have been confounded with Ptolemy the Egyptian aſtrologer and geographer, was famous among the Eaſtern writers and their followers for his ſkill in operations of glaſs. Spenſer mentions a miraculous tower of glaſs built by Ptolemy, which concealed his miſtreſs the Egyptian Phao, while the inviſible inhabitant viewed all the world from every part of it.

> Great Ptolmœe it for his lemans ſake[4]
> Ybuilded all of glaſſe by Magicke powre,
> And alſo it impregnable did make.

But this magical fortreſs, although impregnable, was eaſily broken in pieces at one ſtroke by the builder, when his miſtreſs ceaſed to love. One of Boiardo's extravagances is a prodigious wall of glaſs built by ſome magician in Africa, which obviouſly betrays its foundation in Arabian fable and Arabian philoſophy.[5]

The Naked Sword, another of the gifts preſented by the ſtrange knight to Cambuſcan, endued with medical virtues, and ſo hard as to pierce the moſt ſolid armour, is likewiſe an Arabian idea. It was ſuggeſted by their ſkill in medicine, by which they affected to communicate healing qualities to various ſubſtances,[6] and by their knowledge of tempering iron and hardening all kinds of metal.[7] It

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[1] The ſame fablers have adapted a ſimilar fiction to Hercules: that he erected pillars at Cape Finiſterre, on which he raiſed magical looking-glaſſes. In the *Seven Wiſe Maſters*, at the ſiege of Hur in Perſia, certain philoſophers terrified the enemy by a device of placing a habit (ſays an old Engliſh tranſlation) "of a giant-like proportion on a tower, and covering it with burning-glaſſes, looking-glaſſes of criſtall, and other glaſſes of ſeveral colours, wrought together in a marvellous order," &c. ch. xvii. p. 182, edit. 1674. The Conſtantinopolitan Greeks poſſeſſed theſe arts in common with the Arabians. See Moriſotus, ii. 3, who ſays that, in the year 751, they ſet fire to the Saracen fleet before Conſtantinople by means of burning-glaſſes.

[2] MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Digb. 183, and Arch. A. 149. But I think it was printed at Frankfort, 1614, 4to.

[3] Twenty pounds ſterling. *Compend. Stud. Theol.* c. i. p. 5, MS.

[4] *Fairy Queen*, iii. [c. 2, ſt. 20, edit. Morris].

[5] Hither we might alſo refer Chaucer's *Houſe of Fame*, which is built of glaſs, and Lydgate's *Temple of Glaſs*. It is ſaid in ſome romances written about the time of the Cruſades, that the city of Damaſcus was walled with glaſs. See Hall's *Satires*, &c. b. iv. s. 6, written [before] 1597:

> "Or of Damaſcus magicke wall of glaſſe,
> Or Solomon his ſweating piles of braſſe," &c.

[6] The notion, mentioned before, that every ſtone of Stone-henge was waſhed with juices of herbs in Africa, and tinctured with healing powers, is a piece of the ſame philoſophy.

[7] Montfaucon cites a Greek chemiſt of the dark ages, "Chriſtiani Labyrinthus Salomonis, de temperando ferro, conficiendo cryſtallo, et de aliis naturæ arcanis." *Palæogr. Gr.* p. 375.

is the claſſical ſpear of Peleus, perhaps originally fabricated in the ſame regions of fancy:

> And other folk have wondred on the ſwerd,[1]
> That wolde paſſe thorughout every thing;
> And fel in ſpeche of Thelophus the kyng,
> And of Achilles for his queynte ſpere,
> For he couthe with hit bothe hele and dere,[2]
> Right in ſuch wyſe as men maye with the ſwerd,
> Of which right now ye have your-ſelven herd.
> They ſpeken of ſondry hardyng of metal,
> And ſpeken of medicines therwithal,
> And how and whan it ſchulde harded be, &c.

The ſword which Berni, in the *Orlando Innamorato*, gives to the hero Ruggiero is tempered by much the ſame ſort of magic:

> Quel brando con tal tempra fabbricato,
> Che taglia incanto, ed ogni fatatura.[3]

So alſo his continuator Arioſto:

> Non vale incanto, ov'elle mette il taglio.[4]

And the notion that this weapon could reſiſt all incantations is like the fiction above mentioned of the buckler of the Arabian giant Ben Gian, which baffled the force of charms and enchantments made by giants or demons.[5] Spenſer has a ſword endued with the ſame efficacy, the metal of which the magician Merlin mixed with the juice of meadow-wort, that it might be proof againſt enchantment; and afterwards, having forged the blade in the flames of Etna, he gave it hidden virtue by dipping it ſeven times in the bitter waters of Styx.[6] From the ſame origin is alſo the golden lance of Berni, which Galafron, King of Cathaia, father of the beautiful Angelica and the invincible champion Argalia, procured for his ſon by the help of a magician. This lance was of ſuch irreſiſtible power, that it unhorſed a knight the inſtant he was touched with its point.

> e una lancia d'oro
> Fatto con arte, e con ſottil lavoro.
> E quella lancia di natura tale,
> Che reſiſter non puoſſi alla ſua ſpinta;
> Forza, o deſtrezza contra lei non vale,
> Convien che l'una, e l'altra reſti vinta:
> Incanto, a cui non è nel Mondo eguale,
> L'ha di tanta poſſanza intorno cinta,
> Che nè il Conte di Brava, nè Rinaldo,
> Nè il Mondo al colpo ſuo ſtarebbe ſaldo.[7]

Britomart in Spenſer is armed with the ſame enchanted ſpear, which was made by Bladud, an ancient Britiſh king ſkilled in magic.[8]

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[1] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 362, ver. 228.]
[2] hurt; wound. [3] *Orl. Innam.* ii. 17, ſt. 13. [4] *Orl. Fur.* xii. 83.
[5] [In 1694 was printed the *Hiſtory of Amadis of Greece, ſon of Liſwart of Greece, and the fair Onoloria of Trebiſond.* This worthy is called the Knight of the Burning Sword.] See *Don Quixote*, B. iii. ch. iv.
[6] *Fairy Queen*, ii. viii. 20. See alſo Arioſt. xix. 84.
[7] [Berni's] *Orl. Innam.* i. i. [43-4]. See alſo i. ii. ſt. 20, &c. And Arioſto, viii. 17, xviii. 118, xxiii. 15.
[8] *Fairy Queen*, iii. 3, 60, iv. 6, 6, iii. 1, 4.

The ring, a gift to the king's daughter Canace, which taught the language of birds, is alſo quite in the ſtyle of ſome others of the occult ſciences of theſe inventive philoſophers;[1] and it is the faſhion of the Oriental fabuliſts to give language to brutes in general. But to underſtand the language of birds was peculiarly one of the boaſted ſciences of the Arabians, who pretend that many of their countrymen have been ſkilled in the knowledge of the language of birds ever ſince the time of King Solomon. Their writers relate that Balkis, the Queen of Sheba or Saba, had a bird called *Hudhud*, that is, a lapwing, which ſhe diſpatched to King Solomon on various occaſions, and that this truſty bird was the meſſenger of their amours. We are told that Solomon having been ſecretly informed by this winged confidant that Balkis intended to honour him with a grand embaſſy, encloſed a ſpacious ſquare with a wall of gold and ſilver bricks, in which he ranged his numerous troops and attendants in order to receive the ambaſſadors, who were aſtoniſhed at the ſuddenneſs of theſe ſplendid and unexpected preparations.[2] Herbelot tells a curious ſtory of an Arab feeding his camels in a ſolitary wilderneſs, who was accoſted for a draught of water by Alhejaj, a famous Arabian commander, who had been ſeparated from his retinue in hunting. While they were talking together, a bird flew over their heads, making at the ſame time an unuſual ſort of noiſe, which the camel-feeder hearing, looked ſteadfaſtly on Alhejaj, and demanded who he was. Alhejaj, not chooſing to return him a direct anſwer, deſired to know the reaſon of that queſtion. "Becauſe," replied the camel-feeder, "this bird aſſured me that a company of people is coming this way, and that you are the chief of them." While he was ſpeaking, Alhejaj's attendants arrived.[3]

This wonderful ring alſo imparted to the wearer a knowledge of the qualities of plants, which formed an important part of the Arabian philoſophy.[4]

> The vertu of this ryng, if ye wol heere,[5]
> Is this, that who-ſo luſt it for to were
> Upon hir thomb, or in hir purs to bere,
> Ther is no foul that fleeth under the heven,
> That ſche ne ſchal underſtonden his ſteven,[6]
> And know his menyng openly and pleyn,
> And anſwer him in his langage ayeyn;
> And every gras that groweth upon roote

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[1] Rings are a frequent implement in romantic enchantment. Among a thouſand inſtances, ſee *Orland. Innam.* i. 14, where the palace and gardens of Dragontina vaniſh at Angelica's ring of virtue.

[2] *Dict. Oriental.* v. Balkis, p. 182. Mahomet believed this fooliſh ſtory, at leaſt thought it fit for a popular book, and has therefore inſerted it in the Alcoran. See Grey's note in *Hudibras*, part i. cant. i. v. 547.

[3] Herbel. *ubi ſupr.* v. *Hegiage Ebn Yuſef Al Thakefi.* p. 442. This Arabian commander was of the eighth century. In the *Seven Wiſe Maſters* one of the tales is founded on the language of birds, ch. xvi.

[4] See what is ſaid of this in the *Diſſertations.*

[5] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 359, ver. 138.]

[6] [voice.]

Sche ſchal eek knowe, to whom it wol do boote,
Al be his woundes never ſo deep and wyde.

Every reader of taſte and imagination muſt regret that, inſtead of our author's tedious detail of the quaint effects of Canace's ring, in which a falcon relates her amours, and talks familiarly of Troilus, Paris, and Jaſon, the notable achievements we may ſuppoſe to have been performed by the aſſiſtance of the horſe of braſs are either loſt, or that this part of the ſtory, by far the moſt intereſting, was never written. After the ſtrange knight has explained to Cambuſcan the management of this magical courſer, he vaniſhes on a ſudden, and we hear no more of him.

And after ſouper goth this noble kyng [1]
To ſee this hors of bras, with al his route
Of lordes and of ladyes him aboute.
Swich wondryng was ther on this hors of bras,[2]
That ſethen this grete ſiege of Troye was,
Ther as men wondred on an hors alſo,
Ne was ther ſuch a wondryng as was tho.
But fynally the kyng aſkede the knight
The vertu of this courſer, and the might,
And prayd him tellen of his governaunce.
The hors anoon gan for to trippe and daunce,
Whan *that* the knight leyd hand upon his rayne,
* * * * *
Enformed when the kyng was of the knight,
And hadde conceyved in his wit aright
The maner and the forme *of* al this thing,
Ful glad and blith, this noble doughty kyng
Repeyryng to his revel, as biforn,
The bridel is unto the tour i-born,[3]
And kept among his jewels leef and deere;
The hors vanyſcht, I not in what manere.

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[1] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 364, ver. 294.]

[2] Cervantes mentions a horſe of wood which, like this of Chaucer, on turning a pin in his forehead, carried his rider through the air. [A ſimilar fiction occurs in the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, and muſt be in the recollection of every reader.] This horſe, Cervantes adds, was made by Merlin for Peter of Provence; with it that valorous knight carried off the fair Magalona. The reader ſees the correſpondence with the fiction of Chaucer's horſe, and will refer it to the ſame original. See *Don Quixote*, B. iii. ch. 8. We have the ſame thing in *Valentine and Orſon*, ch. xxxi. [The romance alluded to by Cervantes is entitled "La Hiſtoria de la linda Magalona hija del rey de Napoles y de Pierres de Provença," printed at Seville 1533, and is a tranſlation from a much more ancient and very celebrated French romance under a ſimilar title.—*Ritſon.* The French romance is confeſſedly but a tranſlation: "Ordonnée en ceſtui languaige . . . et fut mis en ceſtui languaige l'an mil cccclvii." A Provençal romance on this ſubject, doubtleſſly the original, was written by Bernard de Treviez, a canon of Maguelone, before the cloſe of the twelfth century. See Raynouard, *Poeſies des Troubadours*, vol. ii. p. 317. On the authority of Gariel, *Idee de la ville de Montpelier*, Petrarch is ſtated to have corrected and embelliſhed this romance.—*Price.* Of this extremely popular book there were numerous editions in French and Spaniſh, and there is one in German. See Brunet, laſt edit. iv. 643-8.]

[3] The bridle of the enchanted horſe is carried into the tower, which was the treaſury of Cambuſcan's caſtle, to be kept among the jewels. Thus when King Richard I. in a cruſade, took Cyprus, among the treaſures in the caſtles are recited

By ſuch inventions we are willing to be deceived. Theſe are the triumphs of deception over truth:

> Magnanima menſogna, hor quando è al vero
> Si bello, che ſi poſſa à te preporre?

The *Clerke of Oxenfordes Tale*, or the ſtory of Patient Griſelda, is the next of Chaucer's Tales in the ſerious ſtyle, which deſerves mention. The Clerk declares in his Prologue, that he learned this tale of Petrarch[1] at Padua. But it was the invention of Boccaccio, and is the laſt in his *Decameron*.[2] Petrarch, although moſt intimately connected with Boccaccio for near thirty years, never had ſeen the *Decameron*, till juſt before his death. It accidentally fell into his hands, while he reſided at Arqua, between Venice and Padua, in 1374. The tale of Griſelda ſtruck him more than any:—ſo much, that he got it by heart to relate it to his friends at Padua. Finding that it was the moſt popular of all Boccaccio's tales, for the benefit of thoſe who did not underſtand Italian, and to ſpread its circulation, he tranſlated it into Latin with ſome alterations. Petrarch relates this in a letter to Boccaccio: and adds that, on ſhowing the tranſlation to one of his Paduan friends, the latter, touched with the tenderneſs of the ſtory, burſt into ſuch frequent and violent fits of tears, that he could not read to the end. In the ſame letter he ſays that a Veroneſe, having heard of the Paduan's exquiſiteneſs of feeling on this occaſion, reſolved to try the experiment. He read the whole aloud from the beginning to the end, without the leaſt change of voice or countenance; but on returning the book to Petrarch confeſſed that it was an affecting ſtory: "I ſhould have wept," added he, "like the Paduan, had I thought the ſtory true. But the whole is a manifeſt fiction. There never was, nor ever will be, ſuch a wife as Griſelda."[3] Chaucer, as our Clerk's declaration in the Prologue ſeems to imply, received this tale from Petrarch, and not from Boccaccio: and I am inclined to think, that he did not take it from Petrarch's Latin tranſlation, but that he was one of thoſe friends to whom Petrarch uſed to relate it at Padua. This too ſeems ſufficiently pointed out in the words of the Prologue:

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precious ſtones and golden cups, together with "*Sellis aureis* frenis *et calcaribus*." Vineſauf, *Iter. Hieroſol.* cap. xli. p. 328. *Vet. Script. Angl.* tom. ii.

[1] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 279. Mr. Thomas Wright ſtates in his ed. of the *Cant. Tales*, that Chaucer tranſlates his *Clerk's Tale* "cloſely from Petrarch's Latin Romance *De Obedientiâ et fide Uxoriâ Mythologia*."—F.]

[2] Giorn. x. Nov. 10. Dryden, in the ſuperficial but lively Preface to his *Fables* ſays, "The Tale of Griſilde was the invention of Petrarch: by him ſent to Boccace, from whom it came to Chaucer."

It may be doubted whether Boccaccio invented the ſtory of Griſelda. For, as Tyrwhitt obſerves, it appears by a Letter of Petrarch to Boccaccio, pp. 540-7, edit. Baſil. 1581, *Opp. Petrarch*, ſent with his Latin tranſlation, in 1373, that Petrarch had heard the ſtory with pleaſure, many years before he ſaw the *Decameron*, vol. iv. p. 157.

[3] *Vie de Petrarque*, iii. 797.

I wil yow telle a tale, which that I[1]
Lerned at Padowe of a worthy clerk,
* * * * *
Fraunces Petrark, the laureat poete,
Highte this clerk, whos rethorique ſwete
Enlumynd al Ytail of poetrie.

Chaucer's tale is alſo much longer, and more circumſtantial, than Boccaccio's. Petrarch's Latin tranſlation from Boccaccio [has been printed more than once].[2] It is in the royal library at Paris, in that of Magdalen College at Oxford, [among Laud's MSS. in the Bodleian],[3] and in Bennet College library.[4]

The ſtory ſoon became ſo popular in France, that the comedians of Paris repreſented a myſtery in French verſe entitled *Le Myſtere de Griſelidis Marquis de Saluces*, in the year 1393.[5] [Before, or in the ſame year, the French proſe verſion in *Le Ménagier de Paris* was compoſed, and there is an entirely different verſion in the Imperial Library.[6]] Lydgate, almoſt Chaucer's cotemporary, in his poem entitled the *Temple of Glaſs*,[7] among the celebrated lovers painted on the walls of the temple,[8] mentions Dido, Medea and Jaſon,

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[1] [Morris's Chaucer, ii. 278, ver. 26]. Afterwards Petrarch is mentioned as dead. He died of an apoplexy, Jul. 18, 1374. See ver. 36.

[2] [See Brunet, laſt edit. iv. 569-71, for a tolerably copious account of the editions of this tract in Latin, French, and German. Alſo for the *Epiſtola in Waltherum.*] Among the royal MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum, there is, "Fr. Petrarchæ ſuper Hiſtoriam Walterii Marchionis et Griſeldis uxoris ejus." 8. B. vi. 17.

[3] MS. 177, 10, fol. 76; 275, 14, fol. 163. Again, ibid. 458, 3, with the date 1476, I ſuppoſe, from the ſcribe.

[4] MSS. Laud, G. 80.

[5] [This piece was printed at Paris about 1550; it has been reprinted in facſimile from the (ſuppoſed unique) copy in the Bibl. Imperiale. See Brunet, iii. 1968-9 (laſt edit.) The earlieſt French] theatre is that of Saint Maur, and its commencement is placed in the year 1398. Afterwards Apoſtolo Zeno wrote a theatrical piece on this ſubject in Italy. I need not mention that it is to this day repreſented in England, on a ſtage of the loweſt ſpecies, and of the higheſt antiquity: I mean at a puppet-ſhow. The French have this ſtory in their *Parement des dames.* See *Mem. Lit.* tom. ii. p. 743, 4to.

[6] [Catal. No. 7999, edit. Paulin Paris.]

[7] And in a Balade, tranſlated by Lydgate from the Latin, "Griſildes humble patience" is recorded. Urr. Ch. p. 550, ver. 108.

[8] There is a more curious mixture in [Gower's] *Balade to king Henry IV.*, where Alexander, Hector, Julius Cæſar, Judas Maccabeus, David, Joſhua, Charlemagne, Godfrey of Boulogne, and King Arthur, are [aſſociated as the Nine Worthies]. Ver. 281, *ſeq.* But it is to be obſerved, that the French had a metrical romance called *Judas Macchabée*, begun by Gualtier de Belleperche, before 1240. It was finiſhed a few years afterwards by Pierros du Reiz. Fauch. p. 197. See alſo Lydgate, [*apud*] Urr. Chauc. p. 550, ver. 89. Sainte Palaye has given us an extract of an old Provençal poem in which, among heroes of love and gallantry, are enumerated Paris, Sir Triſtram, Ivaine the inventor of gloves and other articles of elegance in dreſs, Apollonius of Tyre, and King Arthur. *Mem. Chev.* (Extr. de Poes. Prov.) ii. p. 154. In a French romance, *Le livre de cuer d'amour eſpris*, written 1457, the author introduces the blazoning of the arms of ſeveral celebrated lovers: among which are King David, Nero, Mark Antony, Theſeus, Hercules, Eneas, Sir Lancelot, Sir Triſtram, Arthur duke of Brittany, Gaſton de Foix, many French dukes, &c. *Mem. Lit.* viii. p. 592, edit. 4to. The Chevalier Bayard, who

Penelope, Alceſtis, Patient Griſelda, Bel Iſoulde and Sir Triſtram,[1] Pyramus and Thiſbe, Theſeus, Lucretia, Canace, Palamon and Emilia.[2]

The pathos of this poem, which is indeed exquiſite, chiefly conſiſts in invention of incidents and the contrivance of the ſtory, which cannot conveniently be developed in this place; and it will be impoſſible to give any idea of its eſſential excellence by exhibiting detached parts. The verſification is equal to the reſt of our author's poetry.

SECTION XVI.

THE *Tale of the Nonnes Prieſt* is perhaps a ſtory of Engliſh growth. The ſtory of the cock and the fox is evidently borrowed from a collection of Æſopean and other fables, written by Marie [de France[3]], whoſe *Lays* [have been publiſhed.] Beſide the abſolute reſemblance, it appears ſtill more probable that Chaucer copied from Marie, becauſe no ſuch fable is to be found either in the Greek *Æſop*, or in any of the Latin Æſopean compilations of the dark ages.[4] All the manuſcripts of Marie's fables in the Britiſh Muſeum prove, that ſhe tranſlated her work "*de l'Anglois en Roman.*" Probably her Engliſh original was Alfred's Anglo-Saxon verſion of Æſop moderniſed, and ſtill bearing his name. She profeſſes to follow the verſion of a king who, in the beſt of the Harleian copies, is called *Li reis Alured.*[5] She appears, from paſſages in her *Lais*, to have underſtood Engliſh.[6] I will give her Epilogue to the Fables:[7]

Al finement de ceſt eſcrit
Qu'en romanz ai treite e dit
Me numerai pour remembraunce
Marie ai nun ſui de France
Pur cel eſtre que clerc pluſur
Prendreient ſur eus mun labeur
Ne voit que nul ſur li ſa die
Eil feit que fol que ſei ublie
Pur amur le cunte Wllame

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died about the year 1524, is compared to Scipio, Hannibal, Theſeus, King David, Samſon, Judas Maccabeus, Orlando, Godfrey of Boulogne, and Monſieur de Paliſſe, marſhal of France. [*Les geſtes enſemble la vie du preulx cheualier Bayard*, &c., printed in 1525.]

[1] From *Mort d'Arthur*. They are mentioned in Chaucer's *Aſſemble of Fowles*, ver. 290. See alſo *Compl. Bl. Kn.* ver. 367.

[2] MSS. Bibl. Bodl. (Fairfax 16).

[3] [By M. Roquefort, 1820, 2 vols. 8vo. Dr. Mall is preparing a new edition of Marie's *Lais* for 1871, with a much improved text.]

[4] [See MSS. Harl. 978, f. 76.]

[5] [*Ibid.* 978, *ſupr. citat.*]

[6] See Chaucer's *Canterb. Tales*, vol. iv. p. 179 [edit. Tyrwhitt].

[7] MSS. James, viii. p. 23, Bibl. Bod.

Le plus vaillant de nul realme
M'entremis de ceſte livre feire
E des Engleis en romanz treire
Eſop apelum ceſt livre
Quil tranſlata e fiſt eſcrire
Del Gru en Latin le turna
Le Reiz Alurez que mut lama
Le tranſlata puis en Engleis
E jeo lai rimee en Franceis
Si cum jeo poi plus proprement
Ore pri a dieu omnipotent, &c.

The figment of Dan Burnell's Aſs is taken from a Latin poem entitled *Speculum Stultorum*,[1] written by Nigellus Wirecker [or Willhelmus Vigellus], monk and precentor of Canterbury cathedral and a profound theologiſt, who flouriſhed about the year 1200.[2] The narrative of the two pilgrims is borrowed from Valerius Maximus.[3] It is alſo related by Cicero, a leſs known and a leſs favourite author.[4] There is much humour in the deſcription of the prodigious confuſion which happened in the farm-yard after the fox had conveyed away the cock:

and after him thay ran*ne*,[5]
And eek with ſtaves many another man*ne*;
Ran Colle our dogge, and Talbot, and Garlond,[6]
And Malkyn, with a diſtaf in hir hond;
Ran cow and calf, and eek the verray hogges
* * * *
The dokes criden as men wold hem quelle;[7]
The gees for fere flowen over the trees;
Out of the hyves cam the ſwarm of bees.

Even Jack Straw's inſurrection, a recent tranſaction, was not attended with ſo much noiſe and diſturbance:

So hidous was the noyſe, a *benedicite!*[8]
Certes *he* Jakke Straw, and his meyné,
Ne maden ſchoutes never half ſo ſchrille, &c.

The importance and affectation of ſagacity with which Dame Partlett communicates her medical advice, and diſplays her knowledge in phyſic, is a ridicule on the ſtate of medicine and its profeſſors.

In another ſtrain, the cock is thus beautifully deſcribed, and not without ſome ſtriking and pictureſque alluſions to the manners of the times:

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[1] ver. 1427.

[2] [The name of the author is variouſly given, and in ſome of the later impreſſions the title of the work is: *Liber qui intitulatur Brunellus in ſpeculo Stultorum*, &c. See Brunet, laſt edit. v. 1215. The earlieſt edition appears to be that *ſine ullâ notâ*, folio (Cologne, between 1471 and 1478).] It is a common MS. Burnell is a nick-name for Balaam's aſs in the *Cheſter Whitſun Plays*. MSS. Harl. 2013.

[3] ver. 1100. [4] See *Val. Max.* i. 7. And *Cic. de Divinat.* i. 27.

[5] [Morris's *Chaucer*, iii. 246, ver. 561.] [6] names of dogs. [7] kill.

[8] *Ibid.* This is a proof that the *Canterbury Tales* were not written till after the year 1381.

a cok, hight Chaunteclere,[1]
In al the lond of crowyng was noon his peere.
His vois was merier than the mery orgon,[2]
On maſſe dayes that in the chirche goon;
Wel ſikerer[3] was his crowyng in his logge,[4]
Than is a clok, or an abbay orologge.
* * * *
His comb was redder than the fyne coral,
And batayld,[5] as it were a caſtel wal.
His bile was blak, and as the geet it ſchon;
Lik aſur were his legges, and his ton;[6]
His nayles whitter than the lily flour,
And lik the burniſcht gold was his colour.

In this poem the fox is compared to the three arch-traitors Judas Iſcariot, Virgil's Sinon, and Ganilion who betrayed the Chriſtian army under Charlemagne to the Saracens, and is mentioned by Archbiſhop Turpin.[7] Here alſo are cited, as writers of high note or authority, Cato, Phyſiologus or [Florinus] the elder, Boethius on muſic, the author of the legend of the life of Saint Kenelm, Joſephus, the hiſtorian of Sir Lancelot du Lak, Saint Auſtin, [Arch]biſhop Bradwardine, Geoffrey Vineſauf (who wrote a monody in Latin verſe on the death of King Richard I.), Eccleſiaſtes, Virgil and Macrobius.

Our author's *January and May*, or the *Merchant's Tale*, ſeems to be an old Lombard ſtory. But many paſſages in it are evidently taken from the *Polycraticon* of John of Saliſbury;[8] and by the way, about forty verſes belonging to this argument are tranſlated from the ſame chapter of the *Polycraticon*, in the *Wife of Bath's Prologue*.[9] In the mean time it is not improbable, that this tale might have originally been Oriental. A Perſian tale has been publiſhed which it extremely

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[1] [Morris's *Chaucer*, iii. 230, ver. 29.] [2] organ. [3] [ſurer.—*Ritſon.*]
[4] pen; yard. [5] embattelled. [6] toes.
[7] ver. 407. See alſo *Monk. T.* ver. 399.
[8] "De moleſtiis et oneribus conjugiorum ſecundum Hieronymum et alios philoſophos. Et de pernicie libidinis. Et de mulieris Epheſinæ et ſimilium fide." L. iii. c. 11, fol. 193, b. edit. 1513.
[9] Mention is made in this Prologue of St. Jerom and Theophraſt, on that ſubject, ver. 671, 674. The author of the *Polycraticon* quotes Theophraſtus from Jerom, viz. "Fertur auctore *Hieronimo* aureolus *Theophraſti* libellus de non ducenda uxore," fol. 194, a. Chaucer likewiſe, on this occaſion, cites *Valerie*, ver. 671. This is not the favorite hiſtorian of the middle ages, Valerius Maximus. It is a book written under the aſſumed name of Valerius, entitled *Valerius ad Rufinum de non ducenda uxore*. This piece is in the Bodleian library with a large gloſs. MSS. Digb. 166, ii. 147. [It is a common MS. and is one of the productions aſcribed to Walter Mapes. See Wright's edit. of Mapes, 1841. The author] perhaps adopted this name, becauſe one Valerius had written a treatiſe on the ſame ſubject, inſerted in St. Jerom's works. Some copies of this Prologue, inſtead of "Valerie and *Theophraſt*," read *Paraphraſt*. If that be the true reading, which I do not believe, Chaucer alludes to the gloſs above mentioned. *Helowis*, cited juſt afterwards, is the celebrated Eloiſa. Trottula is mentioned, ver. 677. Among the MSS. of Merton College in Oxford, is, "Trottula Mulier Salernitana de paſſionibus mulierum." There is alſo extant, "Trottula, ſeu potius Erotis medici muliebrium liber." Baſil. 1586, 4to. See alſo Montfauc. *Catal. MSS.* p. 385. And Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* xiii. p. 439.

reſembles;[1] and it has much of the allegory of an Eaſtern apologue.

The following deſcription of the wedding-feaſt of January and May is conceived and expreſſed with a diſtinguiſhed degree of poetical elegance:

Thus ben thay weddid with ſolempnité;[2]
And atte feſt ſittith he and ſche
With othir worthy folk upon the deys.[3]
Al ful of joy and blis is that paleys,
And ful of inſtrumentz, and of vitaile,
The moſte deintevous of al Ytaile.
Biforn hem ſtood ſuch inſtruments of ſoun,
That Orpheus, ne of Thebes Amphioun,
Ne maden never ſuch a melodye.
At every cours ther cam loud menſtralcye,
That never tromped[4] Joab for to heere,
Ne he Theodomas yit half ſo cleere
At Thebes, whan the cite was in doute.[5]
Bachus the wyn hem ſchenchith[6] al aboute,
And Venus laughith upon every wight,
(For January was bycome hir knight,
And wolde bothe aſſayen his corrage
In liberté and eek in mariage)
And with hir fuyrbrond in hir hond aboute
Daunceth bifore the bryde and al the route.

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[1] [Tales tranſlated from the Perſian (by Alex. Dow), 1768,] ch. xv. p. 252.

The ludicrous adventure of the Pear Tree, in *January and May*, is taken from a collection of Fables in Latin elegiacs, written by one Adolphus in the year 1315. Leyſer. *Hiſt. Poet. Med. Ævi*, p. 2008. [They are printed entire in Wright's *Latin Stories*, &c. 1842, 174-91.] The ſame fable is in Caxton's *Æſop*. [Adolphus took many of his ſtories from Alfonſus.]

[2] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 332, ver. 465.]

[3] I have explained this word, but will here add ſome new illuſtrations of it. Undoubtedly the high table in a public refectory, as appears from theſe words in Matthew Paris, "Priore prandente ad magnam menſam quam Dais vulgo appellamus." *Vit. Abbat. S. Albani*, p. 92. And again the ſame writer ſays, that a cup, with a foot or ſtand, was not permitted in the hall of the monaſtery, "Niſi tantum in majori menſa quam Dais appellamus." *Additam.* p. 148. There is an old French word, Dais, which ſignifies a throne or canopy, uſually placed over the head of the principal perſon at a magnificent feaſt. Hence it was transferred to the *table* at which he ſat. In the ancient French *Roman de Garin:*

"Au plus haut dais ſiſt roy Anſeis."

Either at the firſt table, or, which is much the ſame thing, under the higheſt canopy.

[I apprehend that [dais] originally ſignified the wooden floor: [*d'ais*] Fr. *de aſſibus*, Lat.] which was laid at the upper end of the hall, as we ſtill ſee it in college halls, &c. That part of the room therefore which was floored with planks, was called the *dais* (the reſt being either the bare ground, or at beſt paved with ſtone); and being raiſed above the level of the other parts, it was often called the *high dais*. As the principal table was always placed upon a dais, it began very ſoon, by a natural abuſe of words, to be called itſelf *a dais;* and people were ſaid to ſit at the *dais*, inſtead of at the table upon the *dais*. Menage, whoſe authority ſeems to have led later antiquaries to interpret *dais* a *canopy*, has evidently confounded *deis* with *ders*, [which] as he obſerves, meant properly the hangings at the back of the company. But as the ſame hangings were often drawn over, ſo as to form a kind of canopy over their heads, the whole was called a *ders*.—*Tyrwhitt.*]

[4] "ſuch as Joab never," &c. [5] danger. [6] fill, pour.

And certeynly I dar right wel ſay*e* this,
Imeneus, that god of weddyng is,
Seigh never his lif ſo mery a weddid man.
Holde thy pees, thow poete Marcian,
That writeſt us that ilke weddyng merye
Of hir Philologie and h*im* Mercurie,
And of the ſonges that the Muſes ſonge;
To ſmal is bothe thy penne and eek thy tonge
For to deſcrive of this mariage.
Whan tender youthe hath weddid ſtoupyng age.
* * * * *
Mayus, that ſit with ſo benigne a cheere,
Hir to bihold it ſemede fayerye;[1]
Queen Eſther loke*d*e never with ſuch an ye
On Aſſuere, ſo meke a look hath ſche;
I may not yow devyſe al hir beauté;
But thus moche of hir beauté telle I may,
That ſche was lyk the brighte morw of May,
Fulfild of alle beauté and pleſaunce.
This January is ravyſcht in a traunce,
At every tyme he lokith in hir face,
But in his hert he gan hir to manace.

Dryden and Pope have moderniſed the two laſt-mentioned poems. Dryden the tale of the *Nonnes Prieſt*, and Pope that of *January and May:* intending perhaps to give patterns of the beſt of Chaucer's Tales in the comic ſpecies. But I am of opinion that the *Miller's Tale* has more true humour than either. Not that I mean to palliate the levity of the ſtory, which was moſt probably choſen by Chaucer in compliance with the prevailing manners of an unpoliſhed age, and agreeably to ideas of feſtivity not always the moſt delicate and refined. Chaucer abounds in liberties of this kind, and this muſt be his apology. So does Boccaccio, and perhaps much more, but from a different cauſe. The licentiouſneſs of Boccaccio's tales, which he compoſed *per cacciar la malincolia delle femine*, to amuſe the ladies, is to be vindicated, at leaſt accounted for, on other principles: it was not ſo much the conſequence of popular incivility, as it was owing to a particular event of the writer's age. Juſt before Boccaccio wrote, the plague at Florence had totally changed the cuſtoms and manners of the people. Only a few of the women had ſurvived this fatal malady; and theſe, having loſt their huſbands, parents, or friends, gradually grew regardleſs of thoſe conſtraints and cuſtomary formalities which before of courſe influenced their behaviour. For want of female attendants, they were obliged often to take men only into their ſervice: and this circumſtance greatly contributed to deſtroy their habits of delicacy, and gave an opening to various freedoms and indecencies unſuitable to the ſex, and frequently productive of very ſerious conſequences. As to the monaſteries, it is not ſurpriſing that Boccaccio ſhould have made them the ſcenes of his moſt libertine ſtories. The plague had thrown open their gates. The monks and nuns wandered abroad, and partaking of the common

[1] A phantaſy, enchantment.

liberties of life and the levities of the world, forgot the rigour of their inſtitutions and the ſeverity of their eccleſiaſtical characters. At the ceaſing of the plague, when the religious were compelled to return to their cloiſters, they could not forſake their attachment to theſe ſecular indulgences; they continued to practiſe the ſame free courſe of life, and would not ſubmit to the diſagreeable and unſocial injunctions of their reſpective orders. Cotemporary hiſtorians give a ſhocking repreſentation of the unbounded debaucheries of the Florentines on this occaſion: and eccleſiaſtical writers mention this period as the grand epoch of the relaxation of monaſtic diſcipline. Boccaccio did not eſcape the cenſure of the Church for theſe compoſitions. His converſion was a point much laboured; and in expiation of his follies he was almoſt perſuaded to renounce poetry and the heathen authors, and to turn Carthuſian. But, to ſay the truth, Boccaccio's life was almoſt as looſe as his writings; till he was in great meaſure reclaimed by the powerful remonſtrances of his maſter Petrarch, who talked much more to the purpoſe than his confeſſor. This Boccaccio himſelf acknowledges in the fifth of his eclogues, entitled *Philoſotrophos*, which like thoſe of Petrarch are enigmatical and obſcure.

But to return to the *Miller's Tale*. The character of the Clerk of Oxford, who ſtudied aſtrology, a ſcience then in high repute, but, under the ſpecious appearance of decorum and the maſk of the ſerious philoſopher, carried on intrigues, is painted with theſe lively circumſtances: [1]

This clerk was cleped heende Nicholas;[2]
Of derne[3] love he cowde and of ſolas;
And therwith he was ſleigh and ful privé,
And lik *to* a mayden meke for to ſe.
A chambir had he in that hoſtillerye[4]
Alone, withouten eny compaignye,
Ful fetiſly i-dight with herbes ſoote,
And he himſelf as ſwete as is the roote
Of lokorys, or eny cetewale.[5]
His almageſt,[6] and bookes gret and ſmale,
His aſtrylabe,[7] longyng *to* his art,
His augrym ſtoones,[8] leyen faire apart

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[1] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 99, ver. 13.] [2] the gentle Nicholas. [3] ſecret.

[4] Hoſpitium, one of the old hoſtels at Oxford, which were very numerous before the foundation of the colleges. This is one of the citizens' houſes; a circumſtance which gave riſe to the ſtory.

[5] the herb Valerian.

[6] A book of aſtronomy written by Ptolemy. It was in thirteen books. He wrote alſo four books of judicial aſtrology. He was an Egyptian aſtrologiſt, and flouriſhed under Marcus Antoninus. He is mentioned in the *Sompnour's Tale*, v. 1025, and the *Wife of Bath's Prologue*, v. 324.

[7] aſtrylabe; an aſtrolabe.

[8] ſtones for computation. Augrim is Algorithm, the ſum of the principal rules of common arithmetic. Chaucer was himſelf an adept in this ſort of knowledge. The learned Selden is of opinion, that his Aſtrolabe was compiled from the Arabian aſtronomers and mathematicians. See his pref. to *Notes on Drayt. Polyolb.* p. 4, where the word Dulcarnon (*Troil. Cr.* ii. vol. iv. 933, 935,) is explained to be an

On ſchelves couched at his beddes heed,
His preſſe[1] i-covered with a faldyng reed.
And al above ther lay a gay ſawtrye,
On which he made a-nightes melodye,
So ſwetely, that al the chambur rang;
And *Angelus ad virginem* he ſang.

In the deſcription of the young wife of our philoſopher's hoſt, there is great elegance with a mixture of burleſque alluſions. Not to mention the curioſity of a female portrait, drawn with ſo much exactneſs at ſuch a diſtance of time.

Fair was the yonge wyf, and therwithal[2]
As eny weſil hir body gent and ſmal.
A ſeynt ſche were*de*, barred al of ſilk;[3]
A barm-cloth eek as whit as morne mylk
Upon hir lendes, ful of many a gore.
Whit was hir ſmok, and browdid al byfore
And eek byhynde on hir coler aboute,
Of cole-blak ſilk, withinne and eek withoute.
The tapes of hir white voluper
Weren of the ſame ſute of hire coler;
Hir filet brood of ſilk y-ſet ful heye.
And certeynly ſche hadd a licorous eyghe;
Ful ſmal y-pulled weren hir browes two,
And tho were bent, as blak as a*ny* ſlo.
Sche was wel more blisful on to ſee
Than is the newe perjonette tree;
And ſofter than the wol is of a wethir.
And by hir gurdil hyng a purs of lethir,
Taſſid[4] with ſilk, and perled[5] with latoun.[6]
In al this world to ſeken up and doun

Arabic term for a root in calculation. His *Chanon Yeman's Tale* proves his intimate acquaintance with the Hermetic philoſophy, then much in vogue. There is a ſtatute of Henry V. againſt the tranſmutation of metals in Stat. an. 4, Hen. V. cap. iv. [1416-17]. Chaucer, in the Aſtrolabe, refers to two famous mathematicians and aſtronomers of his time, John Some and Nicholas Lynne, both Carmelite friars of Oxford, and perhaps his friends, whom he calls "reverent clerkes." *Aſtrolabe*, p. 440, col. i. Urr. They both wrote calendars which, like Chaucer's *Aſtrolabe*, were conſtructed for the meridian of Oxford. Chaucer mentions Alcabucius, an aſtronomer, that is, Abdilazi Alchabitius, whoſe [*Introductorium ad ſcientiam judicialem aſtronomiæ* was printed in 1473 and afterwards.] Compare Herbelot, *Bibl. Oriental.* p. 963, b. Ketab. *Alaſthorlab.* p. 141, a. Nicholas Lynne above mentioned is ſaid to have made ſeveral voyages to the moſt northerly parts of the world, charts of which he preſented to Edward III. Perhaps to Iceland, and the coaſts of Norway, for aſtronomical obſervations. Theſe charts are loſt. Hakluyt apud Anderſon, *Hiſt. Com.* i. p. 191, *ſub. ann.* 1360. (See Hakl. *Voy.* i. 121, *ſeq.* ed. 1598.)

[1] preſs.

[2] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 100, ver. 47.]

[3] "A girdle [ſtriped] with ſilk." The *Doctor of Phiſic* is "girt with a ſeint of ſilk with barris ſmale." Prol. v. 138. See [Halliwell's *Arch. Dict.* in v.]

[4] taſſeled; fringed.

[5] [I believe ornamented with latoun in the ſhape of pearls.—*Tyrwhitt.* An expreſſion uſed by Francis Thynne in his letter to Speght will explain this term: "and Orfrayes being compounded of the French *or* and *frays*, (or fryſe Engliſh,) is that which to this daye (being now made all of one ſtuffe or ſubſtance) is called friſed or perled cloth of gold."—*Price.*]

[6] latoun, or chekelaton, is cloth of gold.

There nys no man ſo wys, that couthe thenche
So gay a popillot,[1] or ſuch a wenche.
For brighter was the *ſchyn*yng of hir hewe,
Than in the Tour the noble[2] i-forged newe.
But of hir ſong, it was as lowde and yerne[3]
As eny ſwalwe chiteryng on a berne.
Therto ſche cowde ſkippe, and make *a* game,
As eny kyde or calf folwyng his dame.
Hir mouth was ſweete as bragat[4] is or meth,
Or hoord of apples, layd in hay or heth.
Wynſyng ſche was, as is a joly colt;
Long as a maſt, and upright as a bolt.[5]
A broch[6] ſche bar upon hir loue coleer,
As brod as is the bos of a bocleer.[7]
Hir ſchos were laced on hir legges heyghe.

Nicholas, as we may ſuppoſe, was not proof againſt the charms of his blooming hoſteſs. He has frequent opportunities of converſing with her; for her huſband is the carpenter of Oſeney Abbey near Oxford, and often abſent in the woods belonging to the monaſtery.[8] His rival is Abſalom, a pariſh-clerk, the gayeſt of his calling, who being amorouſly inclined, very naturally avails himſelf of a circumſtance belonging to his profeſſion: on holidays it was his buſineſs to carry the cenſer about the church, and he takes this opportunity of caſting unlawful glances on the handſomeſt dames of the pariſh. His gallantry, agility, affectation of dreſs and perſonal elegance, ſkill in ſhaving and ſurgery, ſmattering in the law, taſte for muſic, and many other accompliſhments, are thus inimitably repreſented by Chaucer, who muſt have much reliſhed ſo ridiculous a character:

Now ther was of that chirche a pariſch clerk,[9]
The which that was i-cleped Abſolon.
Crulle was his heer, and as the gold it ſchon,
And ſtrowted as a fan right large and brood;
Ful ſtreyt and evene lay his joly ſchood.[10]
His rode[11] was reed, his eyghen gray as goos,
With Powles wyndowes corven in his ſchoos.[12]

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[1] "ſo pretty a puppet." [This may either be conſidered as a diminutive from *poupée* a puppet, or as a corruption of *papillot*, a young butterfly.—*Tyrwhitt.*]

[2] a piece of money.

[3] [briſk, eager.—*Tyrwhitt.*]

[4] bragget. A drink made of honey, ſpices, &c.

[5] "ſtraight as an arrow."

[6] a jewel. [It ſeems to have ſignified originally the tongue of a buckle or claſp, and from thence the buckle or claſp itſelf. It probably came by degrees to ſignify any kind of jewel.—*Tyrwhitt.*]

[7] buckler.

[8] [See Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 113, ver. 479.]

"I trow that he be went
For tymber, ther our abbot hath him ſent:
For he is wont for timber for to go,
And dwellen at the Graunge a day or tuo."

[9] [Morris's *Chaucer*, vol. ii. p. 102, ver. 126.]

[10] hair.

[11] complexion.

[12] *Calcei feneſtrati* occur in ancient Injunctions to the clergy. In Eton College ſtatutes, given in 1446, the fellows are forbidden to wear *ſotularia roſtrata*, as alſo *caligæ*, white, red, or green, cap. xix. In a chantry, or chapel founded at Win-

In his hoſes reed he wente fetuſly.
I-clad he was ful ſmal and propurly,
Al in a kirtel[1] of a fyn wachet,
Schapen with goores in the newe get.
And therupon he had a gay ſurplys,
As whyt as is the bloſme upon the rys.[2]
A mery child he was, ſo God me ſave;
Wel couthe he lete blood, and clippe and ſchave,
And make a chartre of lond and acquitaunce.
In twenty maners he coude ſkippe and daunce,
After the ſcole of Oxenforde tho,
And with his legges caſten to and fro;
And pleyen ſonges on a ſmal rubible;[3]
Ther-to he ſang ſom tyme a lowde quynyble.[4]

His manner of making love muſt not be omitted. He ſerenades her with his guittar:

He waketh al the night and al the day,[5]
To kembe his lokkes brode and made him gay.
He woweth hire by mene and by brocage,[6]
And ſwor he wolde ben hir owne page.
He ſyngeth crowyng[7] as a nightyngale;
And ſent hire pyment, meth, and ſpiced ale,
And wafres pypyng hoot out of the gleede;[8]
And for ſche was of toune, he profrede meede.[9]
* * * * *

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cheſter in the year 1318, within the cemetery of the Nuns of the Bleſſed Virgin, by Roger Inkpenne, the members, that is, a warden, chaplain and clerk, are ordered to go "in meris caligis, et ſotularibus non roſtratis, niſi forſitan *botis* uti voluerint." And it is added, "Veſtes deferant non *fibulatas*, ſed deſuper clauſas, vel *brevitate* non notandas." *Regiſtr. Priorat. S. Swithini Winton.* MS. *ſupr. citat.* quatern. 6. Compare Wilkins's *Concil.* iii. 670, ii. 4.

[1] jacket. [2] [branch.]

[3] A ſpecies of guitar. Lydgate, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Fairf. 16. In a poem called *Reaſon and Senſuallite, compyled by Jhon Lydgate:*

"Lutys, rubibis (l. ribibles), and geternes,
More for eſtatys than tavernes."

[4] treble. [5] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 104, ver. 187.]

[6] by offering money: or a ſettlement. [7] quavering. [8] the [fire].

[9] See *Rime of Sir Thopas*, ver. 3357. Mr. Walpole has mentioned ſome curious particulars concerning the liquors which anciently prevailed in England. *Anecd. Paint.* i. p. 11. I will add, that cider was very early a common liquor among our anceſtors. In the year 129[4-]5, an. 23 Edw. I. the king orders the ſheriff of Southampton [Hampſhire] to provide with all ſpeed four hundred quarters of wheat, to be collected in parts of his bailiwick neareſt the ſea, and to convey the ſame, being well winnowed, in good ſhips from Portſmouth to Winchelſea. Alſo to put on board the ſaid ſhips, at the ſame time, two hundred tons of cider. The coſt to be paid immediately from the king's wardrobe. This precept is in old French. *Regiſtr. Joh. Pontiſſar. Epiſc. Winton.* fol. 172. It is remarkable that Wickliffe tranſlates, Luc. i. 21, "He ſchal not dryncke wyn & *cyſer*" [edit. 1848]. This tranſlation was made about A.D. 1380. At a viſitation of St. Swithin's priory at Wincheſter, by the ſaid biſhop, it appears that the monks claimed to have, among other articles of luxury, on many feſtivals, "Vinum, tam album quam rubeum, claretum medonem, burgaraſtrum," &c. This was ſo early as the year 1285. *Regiſtr. Priorat. S. Swith. Winton.* MS. *ſupr. citat.* quatern. 5. It appears alſo, that the *Hordarius* and *Camerarius* claimed every year of the prior ten *dolia vini*, or twenty pounds in money, A.D. 1337. *Ibid.* quatern. 5. A benefactor grants to the ſaid convent on the day of his anniverſary, "unam pipam vini pret. xx. *s.*" for

Som tyme, to ſchewe his lightnes and maiſtrye,
He pleyeth Herodz on a ſcaffold hye.

Again:

Whan that the firſte cok hath crowe, anoon [1]
Up ryſt this jolyf lover Abſolon,
And him arrayeth gay, at poynt devys.
But firſt he cheweth greyn [2] and lycoris,
To ſmellen ſwete, or he hadde kempt his heere.
Under his tunge a trewe love he beere,
For therby wende he to be gracious.
He rometh to the carpenteres hous.[3]

In the mean time the ſcholar, intent on accompliſhing his intrigue, locks himſelf up in his chamber for the ſpace of two days. The carpenter, alarmed at this long ſecluſion, and ſuppoſing that his gueſt might be ſick or dead, tries to gain admittance, but in vain. He peeps through a crevice of the door, and at length diſcovers the ſcholar, who is conſcious that he was ſeen, in an affected trance of abſtracted meditation. On this our carpenter, reflecting on the danger of being wiſe, and exulting in the ſecurity of his own ignorance, exclaims:

A man woot litel what him ſchal betyde.[4]
This man is falle with his aſtronomye

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their refection, A.D. 1286. *Ibid.* quatern. 10. Before the year 1200, "Vina et medones" are mentioned as not uncommon in the abbey of Eveſham in Worceſterſhire. Dugdale, *Monaſt.* [edit. Stevens,] Append. p. 138. The uſe of mead, *medo*, ſeems to have been very ancient in England. See *Mon. Angl.* i. 26. Thorne, *Chron.* ſub ann. 1114. Compare *Diſſertat.* i. It is not my intention to enter into the controverſy concerning the cultivation of vines, for making wine, in England. I ſhall only bring to light the following remarkable paſſage on that ſubject from an old Engliſh writer on gardening and farming: "We might have a reaſonable good wine growyng in many places of this realme: as undoubtedly wee had immediately after the Conqueſt; tyll partly by ſlouthfulneſſe, not liking any thing long that is painefull, partly by civill diſcord long continuyng, it was left, and ſo with tyme loſt, as appeareth by a number of places in this realme that keepe ſtill the name of Vineyardes: and uppon many cliffes and hilles, are yet to be ſeene the rootes and olde remaynes of Vines. There is beſides Nottingham, an auncient houſe called Chilwell, in which houſe remayneth yet, as an auncient monument, in a Great Wyndowe of Glaſſe, the whole Order of planting, pruyning, [pruning,] ſtamping, and preſſing of vines. Beſide, there [at that place] is yet alſo growing an old vine, that yields a grape ſufficient to make a right good wine, as was lately proved. There hath, moreover, good experience of late years been made, by two noble and honourable barons of this realme, the lorde Cobham and the lorde Wylliams of Tame, who had both growyng about their houſes, as good wines as are in many parts of Fraunce," &c. [Hereſbachius] *Foure bookes of Huſbandry*, [tranſlated by B. Googe,] 1578. *To the Reader.*

[1] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 114, ver. 501.]

[2] Greyns, or grains, of Paris or Paradiſe occurs in the *Romaunt of the Roſe*, ver. 1369. A rent of herring pies is an old payment from the city of Norwich to the king, ſeaſoned among other ſpices with half an ounce of grains of Paradiſe. Blomf. *Norf.* ii. 264.

[3] It is to be remarked, that in this tale the carpenter ſwears, with great propriety, by the patroneſs ſaint of Oxford, ſaint Frideſwide, [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 106, ver. 262]:

"This carpenter to bleſſen him bygan,
And ſeyde, Now help us, ſeynte Frideſwyde."

[4] *Ibid.* ver. 264.

In ſom woodneſſe, or in ſom agonye.
I thought ay wel how that it ſchulde be.
Men ſchulde nought knowe [1] of Goddes pryvyté.
Ye! bleſſed be alwey a lewed man,[2]
That nat but oonly his bileeve can.[3]
So ferde another clerk with aſtronomye;
He walked in the feeldes for to prye
Upon the ſterres, what ther ſchulde bifalle,
Til he was in a marle pit i-falle.
He ſaugh nat that. But yet, by ſeint Thomas!
Me reweth ſore for heende Nicholas;
He ſchal be ratyd of his ſtudyyng.

But the ſcholar has ample gratification for this ridicule. The carpenter is at length admitted; and the ſcholar continuing the farce, gravely acquaints the former that he has been all this while making a moſt important diſcovery by means of aſtrological calculations. He is ſoon perſuaded to believe the prediction: and in the ſequel, which cannot be repeated here, this humorous contrivance crowns the ſcholar's ſchemes with ſucceſs, and proves the cauſe of the carpenter's diſgrace. In this piece the reader obſerves that the humour of the characters is made ſubſervient to the plot.

I have before hinted, that Chaucer's obſcenity is in great meaſure to be imputed to his age. We are apt to form romantic and exaggerated notions about the moral innocence of our anceſtors. Ages of ignorance and ſimplicity are thought to be ages of purity. The direct contrary, I believe, is the caſe. Rude periods have that groſſneſs of manners which is not leſs friendly to virtue than luxury itſelf. In the middle ages, not only the moſt flagrant violations of modeſty were frequently practiſed and permitted, but the moſt infamous vices. Men are leſs aſhamed as they are leſs poliſhed. Great refinement multiplies criminal pleaſures, but at the ſame time prevents the actual commiſſion of many enormities: at leaſt it preſerves public decency, and ſuppreſſes public licentiouſneſs.

The *Reve's Tale*, or the *Miller of Trompington*, is much in the ſame ſtyle, but with leſs humour.[4] This ſtory was enlarged by Chaucer from Boccaccio.[5] There is an old Engliſh poem on the ſame plan, entitled: *A ryght pleaſaunt and merye Hiſtorie of the Mylner of Abyngdon*,

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[1] "pry into the ſecrets of nature." [2] unlearned.

[3] Who knows only his Creed.

[4] See alſo *The Shipman's Tale*, which was originally taken from ſome comic French trouvere. But Chaucer had it from Boccaccio. The ſtory of Zenobia, in the *Monkes Tale*, is from Boccaccio's *Cas. Vir. Illuſtr.* (ſee *Lydg. Boch.* viii. 7). That of Count Ugolins in the ſame tale, from Dante. That of Pedro of Spain, from Archbiſhop Turpin, *ibid.* Of Julius Cæſar, from Lucan, Suetonius, and Valerius Maximus, *ibid.* The idea of this tale was ſuggeſted by Boccaccio's book on the ſame ſubject.

[5] *Decamer.* Giorn. ix. Nov. 6. But both Boccaccio and Chaucer probably borrowed from an old Conte or Fabliau by an anonymous French rhymer, *De Gombert, et de deux Clers.* See [Le Grand,] *Fabliaux et Contes*, Paris, 1756, tom. ii. p. 115—124. The *Shipman's Tale*, as I have hinted, originally came from ſome ſuch French Conteur, through the medium of Boccaccio.

with his wife and his fayre daughter, and of two poore ſchollers of Cambridge.[1] It begins with theſe lines:

Fayre lordings, if you liſt to heere
A mery jeſt your minds to cheere.

This piece is ſuppoſed by Wood [without much foundation, perhaps] to have been written by Andrew Borde.[2] It was at leaſt evidently written after the time of Chaucer. It is the work of ſome taſteleſs imitator, who has ſufficiently diſguiſed his original, by retaining none of its ſpirit. I mention theſe circumſtances, leſt it ſhould be thought that this frigid abridgment was the ground-work of Chaucer's poem on the ſame ſubject. In the claſs of humorous or ſatirical tales, the *Sompnour's Tale*, which expoſes the tricks and extortions of the mendicant friars, has alſo diſtinguiſhed merit. This piece has incidentally been mentioned above with the *Plowman's Tale* and Pierce Plowman.

Genuine humour, the concomitant of true taſte, conſiſts in diſcerning improprieties in books as well as characters. We therefore muſt remark under this claſs another tale of Chaucer, which till lately has been looked upon as a grave heroic narrative. I mean the *Rime of Sir Thopas*. Chaucer, at a period which almoſt realiſed the manners of romantic chivalry, diſcerned the leading abſurdities of the old romances: and in this poem, which may be juſtly called a prelude to Don Quixote, has burleſqued them with exquiſite ridicule. That this was the poet's aim, appears from many paſſages. But, to put the matter beyond a doubt, take the words of an ingenious critic. "We are to obſerve," ſays he, "that this was Chaucer's own Tale: and that, when in the progreſs of it, the good

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[1] [Abingdon is ſituated on a mill-ſtream, ſeven miles from Cambridge. See *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, iii. 98, *et. ſeqq.* The ſcene of Chaucer's ſtory is called *The Old Mill.* See Wright's *Anecdota Literaria*, 1844, where the fabliau, above referred to, will be found printed.]

Bibl. Bodl. Selden, C. 39, 4to. This book was given to that library, with many other petty black-letter hiſtories, in proſe and verſe, of a ſimilar caſt, by Robert Burton, author of the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, who was a great collector of ſuch pieces. One of his books, now in the Bodleian, is the *Hiſtory of Tom Thumb* [1630, 8vo,] whom a learned antiquary [Tho. Hearne], while he laments that ancient hiſtory has been much diſguiſed by romantic narratives, pronounces to have been no leſs important a perſonage than King [Edgar's] dwarf.

[2] See Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* v. *Borde*, and [*Reliq. Hearn.* 1857, 822.] I am of opinion that Solere Hall, in Cambridge, mentioned in this poem, was Aula Solarii,—the hall with the upper ſtory, at that time a ſufficient circumſtance to diſtinguiſh and denominate one of the academical hoſpitia. Although Chaucer calls it, "a grete college," ver. 881. Thus in Oxford we had Chimney Hall, Aula cum Camino, an almoſt parallel proof of the ſimplicity of their ancient houſes of learning. Twyne alſo mentions Solere Hall, at Oxford. Alſo Aula Salarii, which I doubt not is properly Solarii. Compare Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* ii. 11, col. i. 13, col. i. 12, col. ii. Caius will have it to be Clare Hall.—*Hiſt. Acad.* p. 57. Thoſe who read Scholars Hall (of Edw. III.) may conſult Wacht. *v.* Soller. In the mean time, for the reaſons aſſigned, one of theſe two halls or colleges at Cambridge might at firſt have been commonly called Soler Hall. A hall near Brazenoſe College, Oxford, was called Glazen Hall, having glaſs windows, anciently not common. See Twyne, *Miſcel. Quædam*, &c. ad calc. *Apol. Antiq. Acad. Oxon.* [1608].

ſenſe of the hoſt is made to break in upon him, and interrupt him, Chaucer approves his diſguſt, and changing his note, tells the ſimple inſtructive tale of *Meliboeus—a moral tale vertuous*, as he terms it; to ſhow what ſort of fictions were moſt expreſſive of real life, and moſt proper to be put into the hands of the people. It is further to be noted, that the *Boke* of *The Giant Olyphant and Chylde Thopas*, was not a fiction of his own, but a ſtory of antique fame, and very celebrated in the days of chivalry; ſo that nothing could better ſuit the poet's deſign of diſcrediting the old romances, than the choice of this venerable legend for the vehicle of his ridicule upon them.[1]" But it is to be remembered, that Chaucer's deſign was intended to ridicule the frivolous deſcriptions and other tedious impertinences, ſo common in the volumes of chivalry with which his age was overwhelmed, not to degrade in general or expoſe a mode of fabling, whoſe ſublime extravagances conſtitute the marvellous graces of his own Cambuſcan; a compoſition which at the ſame time abundantly demonſtrates, that the manners of romance are better calculated to anſwer the purpoſes of pure poetry, to captivate the imagination, and to produce ſurpriſe, than the fictions of claſſical antiquity.

SECTION XVII.

BUT Chaucer's vein of humour, although conſpicuous in the *Canterbury Tales*, is chiefly diſplayed in the characters with which they are introduced. In theſe his knowledge of the world availed him in a peculiar degree, and enabled him to give ſuch an accurate picture of ancient manners, as no contemporary nation has tranſmitted to poſterity. It is here that we view the purſuits and employments, the cuſtoms and diverſions of our anceſtors, copied from the life, and repreſented with equal truth and ſpirit, by a judge of mankind whoſe penetration qualified him to diſcern their foibles or diſcriminating peculiarities, and by an artiſt, who underſtood that proper ſelection of circumſtances and thoſe predominant characteriſtics, which form a finiſhed portrait.[2] We are ſurpriſed to find, in ſo groſs and ignorant an age, ſuch talents for ſatire and for obſervation

[1] [Warton ſeems to have been writing at random, when he deſcribed *Sir Thopas* as "a ſtory of antique fame." It is, on the contrary, a broad burleſque of Chaucer's own invention, as the whole context appears clearly to ſhow. Tyrwhitt gravely obſerves, as Price notes: "I can only ſay, that I have not been ſo fortunate as to meet with any traces of ſuch a ſtory of an earlier date than the Canterbury Tales,"—nor has any one elſe!]

[2] [Compare with Chaucer's ſketches of 1380-90 with that of A.D. 1592, by Greene, in his *Quip for an Upſtart Courtier*, copied and enlarged from Thynne's *Pride and Lowlines*, written before 1570. See *Temporary Preface to Six-Text Chaucer*, pp. 101-2.—F.]

on life; qualities which uſually exert themſelves at more civiliſed periods, when the improved ſtate of ſociety, by ſubtiliſing our ſpeculations, and eſtabliſhing uniform modes of behaviour, diſpoſes mankind to ſtudy themſelves, and renders deviations of conduct and ſingularities of character more immediately and neceſſarily the objects of cenſure and ridicule. Theſe curious and valuable remains are ſpecimens of Chaucer's native genius, unaſſiſted and unalloyed. The figures are all Britiſh, and bear [comparatively faint marks] of Claſſical, Italian, or French imitation. The characters of Theophraſtus are not ſo lively, particular, and appropriated. A few traits from this celebrated part of our author, yet too little taſted and underſtood, may be ſufficient to prove and illuſtrate what is here advanced.

The character of the Prioreſs is chiefly diſtinguiſhed by an exceſs of delicacy and decorum, and an affectation of courtly accompliſhments. [French of Stratford-at-Bow appears, in our poet's time, to have been a ſort of bye-word]:

> Ther was alſo a Nonne, a Prioreſſe,[1]
> That of hire ſmylyng was ful ſymple and coy;
> Hire gretteſt ooth nas but by ſeynt Loy;[2]
> * * *
> And Frenſch ſche ſpak ful faire and fetyſly,
> Aftur the ſcole of Stratford atte Bowe,
> For Frenſch of Parys was to hire unknowe.
> At mete[3] wel i-taught was ſche withalle;
> Sche leet no morſel from hire lippes falle,

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[1] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 5, ver. 118.]

[2] *Saint Loy*, i.e. [Sanctus Eligius. T. This ſaint is mentioned by Lyndſay in his *Monarche*.] The ſame oath occurs in the *Frere's Tale*, v. 300.

[3] dinner. [The Prioreſs's exact behaviour at table is copied from *Rom. Roſe*, 14178—14199.

"Et bien ſe garde," &c.

To ſpeak French is mentioned above among her accompliſhments. There is a letter in old French from Queen Philippa and her daughter Iſabel to the Prior of Saint Swithin's at Wincheſter, to admit one Agnes Patſhull into an eleemoſynary ſiſterhood belonging to his convent. The Prior is requeſted to grant her, "Une Lyvere en votre Maiſon dieu de Wynceſtere et eſtre un des ſoers," for her life. Written at *Windeſor*, Apr. 25. The year muſt have been about 1350. *Regiſtr. Priorat. MS.* ſupr. citat. quatern. xix. fol. 4. I do not ſo much cite this inſtance to prove that the Prior muſt be ſuppoſed to underſtand French, as to ſhew that it was now the court language; and even on a matter of buſineſs there was at leaſt a great propriety that the queen and princeſs ſhould write in this language, although to an eccleſiaſtic of dignity. In the ſame Regiſter, there is a letter in old French from the Queen Dowager Iſabel to the Prior and Convent of Wincheſter; to ſhew, that it was at her requeſt, that King Edward III. her ſon had granted a church in Wincheſter dioceſe, to the monaſtery of Leeds in Yorkſhire, for their better ſupport, "a trouver ſis chagnoignes chantans tous les jours en la chapele du Chaſtel de Ledes, pour laime madame Alianore reyne d'Angleterre," &c. A.D. 1341, quatern. vi.

The Prioreſs's *greateſt* oath is by Saint Eloy. I will here throw together ſome of the moſt remarkable oaths in the Canterbury Tales. The Hoſt ſwears by *my father's ſoule*. Urr. p. 7, 783. Sir Thopas, by *ale and breade*, p. 146, 3377. Arcite, by *my pan*, i.e. *head*. p. 10, 1167. Theſeus, by *mightie Mars the red*, p. 14, 1749. Again, *as he was a trew knight*, p. 9, 961. The Carpenter's wife, by *ſaint Thomas of Kent*, p. 26, 183. The Smith, by *Chriſtes foote*, p. 29, 674. The

Ne wette hire fyngres in hire ſauce deepe.
Wel cowde ſche carie a morſel, and wel keepe,
That no drope *ne* fil uppon hire breſte.
In curteſie was ſett al hire leſte.[1]
Hire overlippe wypud*e* ſche ſo clene,
That in hire cuppe *ther* was no ferthing ſene
Of grees, whan ſche dronken hadde hire draught.
Ful ſemely aftur hire mete ſche raught.[2]
* * * *
And peyned hire to counterfete cheere
Of court, and ben eſtatlich of manere.

She has even the falſe pity and ſentimentality of many modern ladies:

Sche was ſo charitable and ſo pitous,[3]
Sche wolde weepe if that ſche ſawe a mous
Caught in a trappe, if it were deed or bledde.
Of ſmale houndes hadde ſche, that ſche fedde
With roſtud fleiſsh, and mylk, and waſtel breed.[4]
But ſore wepte ſche if oon of hem were deed,
Or if men ſmot it with a yerde[5] ſmerte:
And al was conſcience and tendre herte.

The *Wife of Bath* is more amiable for her plain and uſeful qualifications. She is a reſpectable dame, and her chief pride conſiſts in being a conſpicuous and ſignificant character at church on a Sunday.

Of cloth-makyng[6] ſhe hadde ſuch an haunt,[7]
Sche paſſed hem of Ypris and of Gaunt.
In al the pariſshe wyf ne was ther noon
That to the offryng byforn hire ſchulde goon,
And if ther dide, certeyn ſo wroth was ſche,
That ſche was thanne out of alle charité.
Hire keverchefs[8] weren ful fyne of grounde;
I durſte ſwere they weyghede ten pounde.

Cambridge Scholar, by *my father's kinn*, p. 31, 930. Again, by *my croune*, ib. 933. Again, for *godes benes*, or *beniſon*, p. 32, 965. Again, by *ſeint Cuthberde*. ib. 1019. Sir Johan of Boundis, by *ſeint Martyne*, p. 37, 107. Gamelyn, by *goddis boke*, p. 38, 181. Gamelyn's brother, by *ſaint Richere*, ibid. 273. Again, by *Criſtis ore*, ib. 279. A Franklen, by *ſaint Jame that in Galis is*, i.e. Saint James of Galicia, p. 40, 549, 1514. A Porter, by *Goddis berde*, ib. 581. Gamelyn, by *my hals*, or neck, p. 42, 773. The Maſter Outlaw, by the *gode rode*, p. 45, 1265. The Hoſt, by the *precious corpus Madrian*, p. 160, 4. Again, by *ſaint Paulis bell*, p. 168, 893. The Man of Law, *Depardeux*, p. 49, 39. The Marchaunt, by *ſaint Thomas of Inde*, p. 66, 745, The Sompnour, by *goddis armis two*, p. 82, 833. The Hoſt, by *cockis bonis*, p. 106, 2235. Again, by *naylis* and by *blode*, i.e. of Chriſt, p. 130, 1802. Again, by *ſaint Damian*, p. 131, 1824. Again, by *ſaint Runion*, ib. 1834. Again, by *Corpus domini*, ib. 1838. The Riotter, by *Goddis digne bones*, p. 135, 2211. The Hoſt, to the Monk, by *your father kin*, p. 160, 43. The Monk, by his *porthoſe*, or breviary, p. 139, 2639. Again, by *God and ſaint Martin*, ib. 2656. The Hoſt, by *armis blode and bonis*, p. 24, 17. [See *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, 1870, ii. 248-50.]

[1] pleaſure, deſire.
[2] [reached].
[3] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 5, ver. 143.]
[4] bread of a finer ſort.
[5] ſtick.
[6] It is to be obſerved, that ſhe lived in the neighbourhood of Bath; a country famous for clothing [at that] day.
[7] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 15, ver. 447.]
[8] head-dreſs.

That on a Sonday were upon hire heed.
Hir hoſen were of fyn ſcarlett reed,
Ful ſtreyte y-teyed, and ſchoos ful moyſte and newe
Bold was hir face, and fair, and reed of hewe.
Sche was a worthy womman al hire lyfe,
Houſbondes atte chirche dore[1] hadde ſche fyfe.

The *Franklin* is a country gentleman, whoſe eſtate conſiſted in free land, and was not ſubject to feudal ſervices or payments. He is ambitious of ſhewing his riches by the plenty of his table: but his hoſpitality, a virtue much more practicable among our anceſtors than at preſent, often degenerates into luxurious exceſs. His impatience, if his ſauces were not ſufficiently poignant, and every article of his dinner in due form and readineſs, is touched with the hand of Pope or Boileau. He had been a preſident at the ſeſſions, knight of the ſhire, a ſheriff, and a coroner:[2]

An houſehaldere, and that a gret, was he;[3]
Seynt Julian he was in his countré.[4]
His breed, his ale, was alway after oon;
A bettre envyned[5] man was nowher noon.
Withoute bake mete was never his hous,
Of fleiſſch and fiſſch, and that ſo plentyvous,
It ſnewed[6] in his hous of mete and drynke,
Of alle deyntees that men cowde thynke.
Aftur the ſondry ſeſouns of the yeer,
He chaunged hem at mete[7] and at ſoper.
Ful many a fat partrich had he in mewe,
And many a brem and many a luce[8] in ſtewe.
Woo was his cook, but if his ſauce were
Poynant and ſcharp, and redy al his gere.
His table dormant[9] in his halle alway
Stood redy covered al the longe day.

The character of the *Doctor of Phiſic* preſerves to us the ſtate of medical knowledge and the courſe of medical erudition then in faſhion. He treats his patients according to rules of aſtronomy: a ſcience which the Arabians engrafted on medicine.

For he was groundud in aſtronomye.[10]
He kepte his pacient wondurly wel
In houres by his magik naturel.

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[1] At the ſouthern entrance of Norwich cathedral, a repreſentation of the Eſpouſals, or ſacrament of marriage, is carved in ſtone; for here the hands of the couple were joined by the prieſt, and great part of the ſervice performed. Here alſo the bride was endowed with what was called *Dos ad oſtium eccleſiæ*. This ceremony is exhibited in a curious old picture engraved by Mr. Walpole, *Anecd. Paint.* i. 31, [repreſenting a *Spoſalizio*, but ſuppoſed by him to repreſent the marriage of Henry VII. Reſpecting theſe alleged hiſtorical paintings, ſee ſome valuable remarks by Mr. John Gough Nichols in *Notes and Queries*, 3d S. x. 61, 131.] Compare Martèn. *Rit. Eccl. Anecdot.* ii. p. 630. And Hearne's *Antiquit. Glaſtonb.* Append. p. 310.

[2] An office anciently executed by gentlemen of the greateſt reſpect and property.

[3] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 11, ver. 339.]

[4] See [*Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, 1870, i. 303.]

[5] [ſtored with wine.—*Tyrwhitt.*]

[6] ſnowed.

[7] dinner.

[8] pike.

[9] never removed.

[10] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 14, ver. 414.]

Petrarch leaves a legacy to his phyſician John de Dondi of Padua, who was likewiſe a great aſtronomer, in the year 1370.[1] It was a long time before the medical profeſſion was purged from theſe ſuperſtitions. Hugo de Eveſham, born in Worceſterſhire, one of the moſt famous phyſicians in Europe, about the year 1280, educated in both the univerſities of England, and at others in France and Italy, was eminently ſkilled in mathematics and aſtronomy.[2] Pierre d'Apono, a celebrated profeſſor of medicine and aſtronomy at Padua, wrote commentaries on the problems of Ariſtotle, in the year 1310. Roger Bacon ſays, "aſtronomiæ pars melior medicina."[3] In the ſtatutes of New-College at Oxford, given in 1387, medicine and aſtronomy are mentioned as one and the ſame ſcience. Charles V. of France, who was governed entirely by aſtrologers, and who commanded all the Latin treatiſes which could be found relating to the ſtars to be tranſlated into French, eſtabliſhed a college in the univerſity of Paris for the ſtudy of medicine and aſtrology.[4] There is a ſcarce and very curious book, entitled: "*Novæ medicinæ methodus curandi morbos ex mathematica ſcientia deprompta, nunc denuo reviſa*, &c. Joanne Hasfurto Virdungo, medico et aſtrologo doctiſſimo, auctore. 1518."[5] Hence magic made a part of medicine. In the *Marchaunts Second Tale*, or *Hiſtory of Beryn*, falſely aſcribed to Chaucer, a ſurgical operation of changing eyes is partly performed by the aſſiſtance of the occult ſciences:

> The whole ſcience of all ſurgery,[6]
> Was unyd, or the chaunge was made of both eye,
> With many ſotill enchantours, and eke nygrymauncers,
> That ſent wer for the nonis, maiſtris, and ſcoleris.

Leland mentions one William Glatiſaunt, an aſtrologer and phyſician, a fellow of Merton College in Oxford, who wrote a medical tract, which, ſays he, "neſcio quid Magiæ ſpirabat.[7]" I could add many other proofs.[8]

The books which our phyſician ſtudied are then enumerated:

> Wel knew he the olde Eſculapius,[9]
> And Deiſcorides, and eeke Rufus;
> Old Ypocras, Haly, and Galien;
> Serapyon, Razis, and Avycen;
> Averrois, Damaſcen, and Conſtantyn;
> Bernard, and Gatiſden, and Gilbertyn.

Rufus, a phyſician of Epheſus, wrote in Greek, about the time of Trajan. Some fragments of his works ſtill remain.[10] Haly was a famous Arabian aſtronomer, and a commentator on Galen, in the eleventh century, which produced ſo many famous Arabian phyſi-

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[1] See *Acad. Inſcript.* xx. 443. [2] Pits, p. 370. Bale, iv. 50, xiii. 86.
[3] Bacon, *Op. Maj.* edit. Jebb, p. 158. See alſo pp. 240, 247.
[4] Montfaucon, *Bibl. MSS.* tom. ii. p. 791, b. [5] In quarto.
[6] v. 2989, Urr. Ch.
[7] Lel. apud Tann. *Bibl.* p. 262, and Lel. *Script. Brit.* p. 400.
[8] See Ames's *Hiſt. Print.* p. 147. [9] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 14, ver. 429.]
[10] Conring. *Script. Com.* Sæc. i. cap. 4, pp. 66, 67. The Arabians have tranſlations of him. Herbel. *Bibl. Orient.* p. 972, b; 977, b.

cians.[1] John Serapion, of the ſame age and country, wrote on the practice of phyſic.[2] Avicen, the moſt eminent phyſician of the Arabian ſchool, flouriſhed in the ſame century.[3] Rhaſis, an Aſiatic phyſician, practiſed at Cordova in Spain, where he died in the tenth century.[4] Averroes, as the Aſiatic ſchools decayed by the indolence of the Caliphs, was one of thoſe philoſophers who adorned the Mooriſh ſchools erected in Africa and Spain. He was a profeſſor in the univerſity of Morocco. He wrote a commentary on all Ariſtotle's works, and died about the year 1160. He was ſtyled the moſt peripatetic of all the Arabian writers. He was born at Cordova of an ancient Arabic family.[5] John Damaſcene, ſecretary to one of the Caliphs, wrote in various ſciences, before the Arabians had entered Europe, and had ſeen the Grecian philoſophers.[6] Conſtantinus Afer, a monk of Caſſino in Italy, was one of the Saracen phyſicians who brought medicine into Europe, and formed the Salernitan ſchool, chiefly by tranſlating various Arabian and Grecian medical books into Latin.[7] He was born at Carthage, and learned grammar, logic, geometry, arithmetic, aſtronomy, and natural philoſophy, of the Chaldees, Arabians, Perſians, Saracens, Egyptians, and Indians, in the ſchools of Bagdat. Being thus completely accompliſhed in theſe ſciences, after thirty-nine years' ſtudy, he returned into Africa, where an attempt was formed againſt his life. Conſtantine, having fortunately diſcovered this deſign, privately took ſhip and came to Salerno in Italy, where he lurked ſome time in diſguiſe. But he was recognized by the Caliph's brother then at Salerno, who recommended him as a ſcholar univerſally ſkilled in the learning of all nations, to the notice of Robert, Duke of Normandy. Robert entertained him with the higheſt marks of reſpect; and Conſtantine, by the advice of his patron, retired to the monaſtery of Caſſino where, being kindly received by the abbot Deſiderius, he tranſlated in that learned ſociety the books above mentioned, moſt of which he firſt imported into Europe. Theſe verſions are ſaid to

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[1] *Id. ibid.* Sæc. xi. cap. 5, p. 114. Haly, called Abbas, was likewiſe an eminent phyſician of this period. He was called *Simia Galeni*. *Id. ibid.*

[2] *Id. ibid.* pp. 113, 114.

[3] *Id. ibid.* See Pard. T. v. 2407. Urr. p. 136.

[4] Conring. *ut ſupr.* Sæc. x. cap. 4, p. 110. He wrote a large and famous work, called *Continens*. Rhaſis and Almaſor (f. Albumaſar, a great Arabian aſtrologer) occur in the library of Peterborough Abbey, Matric. *Libr. Monaſt. Burgi S. Petri.* Gunton, *Peterb.* p. 187. See Hearne, *Ben. Abb. Præf.* lix.

[5] Conring. *ut ſupr.* Sæc. xii. cap. 2, p. 118.

[6] Voſs. *Hiſt. Gr.* L. ii. c. 24.

[7] Petr. Diacon. *de Vir. illuſtr. Monaſt. Caſſin.* cap. xxiii. See the *Diſſertations*. He is again mentioned by our author in the *Marchaunt's Tale*, ver. 565.

> "And many a letuary had he ful fyn,
> Such as the curſed monk daun Conſtantin
> Hath writen in his book *de Coitu*."

The title of this book is "De Coitu, quibus proſit aut obſit, quibus medicaminibus et alimentis acuatur impediatur-ve." *Opera*, 1536.

be ſtill extant. He flouriſhed about the year 1086.[1] Bernard, or Bernardus Gordonius, appears to have been Chaucer's contemporary. He was a profeſſor of medicine at Montpelier, and wrote many treatiſes in that faculty.[2] John Gatiſden was a fellow of Merton College, where Chaucer was educated, about the year 1320.[3] Pits ſays that he was profeſſor of phyſic in Oxford.[4] He was the moſt celebrated phyſician of his age in England; and his principal work is entitled *Roſa Medica*, divided into five books, and printed at Paris in 1492.[5] Gilbertine, I ſuppoſe, is Gilbertus Anglicus, who flouriſhed in the thirteenth century, and wrote a popular compendium of the medical art.[6] About the ſame time, not many years before Chaucer wrote, the works of the moſt famous Arabian authors, and among the reſt thoſe of Avicen, Averroes, Serapion,

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[1] See Leo Oſtienſis, or P. Diac. Auctar. ad Leon. *Chron. Mon. Caſſin.* lib. iii. c. 35, p. 445. *Rerum Italic. Script.* edit. Muratori, iv. In his book *de Incantationibus*, one of his inquiries is, "An invenerim in libris Græcorum hoc qualiter in Indorum libris eſt invenire," &c. *Op.* tom. i. *ut ſupr.*

[2] Petr. Lambec. *Prodrom.* Sæc. xiv. p. 274, edit. *ut ſupr.*

[3] It has been before obſerved, that at the introduction of philoſophy into Europe by the Saracens, the clergy only ſtudied and practiſed the medical art. This faſhion prevailed a long while afterwards. The Prior and Convent of S. Swithin's at Wincheſter granted to Thomas of Shafteſbury, clerk, a corrody, conſiſting of two diſhes daily from the prior's kitchen, bread, drink, robes, and a competent chamber in the monaſtery, for the term of his life. In conſideration of all which conceſſions the ſaid Thomas paid them fifty marcs; and moreover is obliged, "deſervire nobis *in Arte medicinæ*. Dat. in dom. Capitul. Feb. 15. A.D. 1319." Regiſtr. Priorat. S. Swithin. Winton. MS. *ſupra citat.* The moſt learned and accurate Fabricius has a ſeparate article on Theologi Medici. *Bibl. Gr.* xii. 739, *ſeq.* See alſo Giannon. *Iſtor. Napol.* l. x. ch. xi. § 491. In the romance of *Sir Guy*, a monk heals the knight's wounds. Signat. G. iiii.:

> "There was a *monke* beheld him well
> That could of *leach crafte* ſome dell."

In Geoffrey of Monmouth, who wrote in 1128, Eopa, intending to poiſon Ambroſius, introduces himſelf as a phyſician. But in order to ſuſtain this character with due propriety, he firſt ſhaves his head, and aſſumes the habit of a monk. Lib. viii. c. 14. John Arundel, afterwards biſhop of Chicheſter, was chaplain and firſt phyſician to Henry VI. in 1458. Wharton, *Angl. Sacr.* i. 777. Faricius, abbot of Abingdon, about 1110, was eminent for his ſkill in medicine, and a great cure performed by him is recorded in the regiſter of the abbey. Hearne's *Bened. Abb.* Præf. xlvii. King John, while ſick at Newark, made uſe of William de Wodeſtoke, abbot of the neighbouring monaſtery of Croxton, as his phyſician. Bever, *Chron.* MSS. Harl. *apud* Hearne, Præf. *ut ſupr.* p. xlix. Many other inſtances may be added. The phyſicians of the univerſity of Paris were not allowed to marry till the year 1452. *Menagian.* p. 333. In the ſame univerſity anciently, at the admiſſion to the degree of doctor in phyſic, they took an oath that they were not married. MSS. Br. Twyne, 8, p. 249. See Freind's *Hiſt. of Phyſick*, ii. 257.

[4] p. 414.

[5] Tanner, *Bibl.* p. 312. Leland ſtyles this work "opus luculentum juxta ac eruditum." *Script. Brit.* p. 355.

[6] Conring. *ut ſupr.* Sæc. xiii. cap. 4, p. 127; and Leland, *Script. Brit.* p. 291, who ſays that Gilbert's *Practica et Compendium Medicinæ* was moſt carefully ſtudied by many "ad quæſtum properantes." He adds that it was common about this time for Engliſh ſtudents abroad to aſſume the ſurname *Anglicus*, as a plauſible recommendation. [See Wright's *Biog. Brit. Liter.* 1846, A-N. Period, 461-3.]

and Rhaſis, above mentioned, were tranſlated into Latin.[1] Theſe were our phyſician's library. But having mentioned his books, Chaucer could not forbear to add a ſtroke of ſatire ſo naturally introduced:

His ſtudie was but litel on the Bible.[2]

The following anecdotes and obſervations may ſerve to throw general light on the learning of the authors who compoſe this curious library. The Ariſtotelic or Arabian philoſophy continued to be communicated from Spain and Africa to the reſt of Europe chiefly by means of the Jews: particularly to France and Italy, which were overrun with Jews about the tenth and eleventh centuries. About theſe periods, not only the courts of the Mahometan princes, but even that of the pope himſelf, were filled with Jews. Here they principally gained an eſtabliſhment by the profeſſion of phyſic; an art then but imperfectly known and practiſed in moſt parts of Europe. Being well verſed in the Arabic tongue, from their commerce with Africa and Egypt, they had ſtudied the Arabic tranſlations of Galen and Hippocrates; which had become ſtill more familiar to the great numbers of their brethren who reſided in Spain. From this ſource alſo the Jews learned philoſophy; and Hebrew verſions, made about this period from the Arabic, of Ariſtotle and the Greek phyſicians and mathematicians, are ſtill extant in ſome libraries.[3] Here was a beneficial effect of the diſperſion and vagabond condition of the Jews: I mean the diffuſion of knowledge. One of the moſt eminent of theſe learned Jews was Moſes Maimonides, a phyſician, philoſopher, aſtrologer, and theologiſt, educated at Cordova in Spain under Averroes. He died about the year 1208. Averroes, being accuſed of heretical opinions, was ſentenced to live with the Jews in the ſtreet of the Jews at Cordova. Some of theſe learned Jews began to flouriſh in the Arabian ſchools in Spain, as early as the beginning of the ninth century. Many of the treatiſes of Averroes were tranſlated by the Spaniſh Jews into Hebrew: and the Latin pieces of Averroes now extant were tranſlated into Latin from theſe Hebrew verſions. I have already mentioned the ſchool or univerſity of Cordova. Leo Africanus ſpeaks of "Platea bibliothecariorum Cordovæ." This, from what follows, appears to be a ſtreet of bookſellers. It was in the time of Averroes, and about the year 1220. One of our Jew philoſophers, having fallen in love, turned poet, and his verſes were publicly ſold in this ſtreet.[4] My author ſays that, renouncing the dignity of the Jewiſh doctor, he took to writing verſes.[5]

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[1] Conring. *ut ſupr.* Sæc. xiii. cap. 4, p. 126. About the ſame time the works of Galen and Hippocrates were firſt tranſlated from Greek into Latin, but in a moſt barbarous ſtyle. *Id. ibid.* p. 127.

[2] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 14, ver. 438.]

[3] Euſeb. Renaudot. apud Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* xii. 254.

[4] Leo African. *De Med. et Philoſoph. Hebr.* c. xxviii. xxix.

[5] *Id. ibid.* "Amore capitur, et dignitate doctorum poſthabita cœpit edere carmina." See alſo Simon. in Suppl. ad Leon. Mutinens. *De Ritib. Hebr.* p. 104.

The Sumner or Summoner, whoſe office it was to ſummon uncanonical offenders into the archdeacon's court, where they were very rigorouſly puniſhed, is humorouſly drawn as counteracting his profeſſion by his example: he is libidinous and voluptuous, and his roſy countenance belies his occupation. This is an indirect ſatire on the eccleſiaſtical proceedings of thoſe times. His affectation of Latin terms, which he had picked up from the decrees and pleadings of the court, muſt have formed a character highly ridiculous:

And whan that he wel dronken hadde the wyn,[1]
Than wolde he ſpeke no word but Latyn.
A fewe termes hadde he, tuo or thre,
That he hadde lerned out of ſom decree;
No wondur is, he herde it al the day;
And eek ye knowe wel, how that a jay
Can clepe Watte,[2] as wel as can the pope.
But who-ſo wolde in othur thing him grope,[3]
Thanne hadde he ſpent al his philoſophie,
Ay, *Queſtio quid juris*, wolde he crye.

He is with great propriety made the friend and companion of the Pardoner, or diſpenſer of indulgences, who is juſt arrived from the pope, "brimful of pardons come from Rome al hote;" and who carries in his wallet, among other holy curioſities, the Virgin Mary's veil, and part of the ſail of Saint Peter's ſhip.[4]

The Monk is repreſented as more attentive to horſes and hounds than to the rigorous and obſolete ordinances of Saint Benedict. Such are his ideas of ſecular pomp and pleaſure, that he is even qualified to be an abbot:[5]

An out-rydere, that lovede venerye;[6]
A manly man, to ben an abbot able.
Ful many a deynté hors hadde he in ſtable:
* * * * *
This ilke[7] monk leet forby hem pace,
And helde aftur the newe world the ſpace.
He yaf nat of that text a pulled hen,[8]
That ſeith, that hunters been noon holy men.

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[1] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 20, ver. 637.]
[2] So edit. 1561. See Johnſon's *Dictionary*, in Magpie.
[3] examine. [4] ver. 694, *ſeq.*
[5] There is great humour in the circumſtances which qualify our monk to be an abbot. Some time in the thirteenth century, the prior and convent of Saint Swithin's at Wincheſter appear to have recommended one of their brethren to the convent of Hyde as a proper perſon to be preferred to the abbacy of that convent, then vacant. Theſe are his merits. "Eſt enim confrater ille noſter in gloſanda ſacra pagina bene callens, in ſcriptura [tranſcribing] peritus, in capitalibus literis appingendis bonus artifex, in regula S. Benedicti inſtructiſſimus, pſallendi doctiſſimus," &c. *MS. Regiſtr.* ut ſupr. p. 277. Theſe were the oſtenſible qualities of the maſter of a capital monaſtery. But Chaucer, in the verſes before us, ſeems to have told the real truth, and to have given the real character as it actually exiſted in life. I believe that our induſtrious *confrere*, with all his knowledge of gloſſing, writing, illuminating, chanting, and Benedict's rules, would in fact have been leſs likely to ſucceed to a vacant abbey, than one of the genial complexion and popular accompliſhments here inimitably deſcribed.
[6] hunting. [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 6, ver. 166.] [7] ſame.
[8] "He did not care a ſtraw for the text," &c.

He is ambitious of appearing a conſpicuous and ſtately figure on horſeback. A circumſtance repreſented with great elegance:

And whan he rood, men might his bridel heere[1]
Gyngle in a whiſtlyng wynd ſo cleere,
And eek as lowde as doth the chapel belle.

The gallantry of his riding-dreſs and his genial aſpect are painted in lively colours:

I ſaugh his ſleves purfiled[2] atte hond[3]
With grys,[4] and that the fyneſt of a lond.
And for to feſtne his hood undur his chyn
He hadde of gold y-wrought a curious pyn:
A love-knotte in the gretter ende ther was.
His heed was ballid, and ſchon as eny glas,
And eek his face as he hadde be anoynt.
He was a lord ful fat and in good poynt;
His eyen ſteep, and rollyng in his heed,
That ſtemed as a forneys of a leed;
His bootes ſouple, his hors in gret eſtat.
Now certeinly he was a fair prelat;
He was not pale as a for-pyned gooſt.
A fat ſwan loved he beſt of eny rooſt.
His palfray was as broun as eny berye.

The Frere, or friar, is equally fond of diverſion and good living; but the poverty of his eſtabliſhment obliges him to travel about the country, and to practiſe various artifices to provide money for his convent, under the ſacred character of a confeſſor.

A frere ther was, a wantoun and a merye,[5]
A lymytour,[6] a ful ſolempne man.
In alle the ordres foure[7] is noon that can
So moche of daliaunce and fair langage.
* * * *
Ful ſweetly herde he confeſſioun,
And pleſaunt was his abſolucioun;
* * * *
His typet was ay farſud ful of knyfes
And pynnes, for to yive faire wyfes.
And certayn*li* he hadde a mery noote.
Wel couthe he ſynge and pleye on a rote.[8]

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[1] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 6, ver. 169.]
[2] fringed. [3] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 7, ver. 193.] [4] fur.
[5] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 7, ver. 208.]
[6] A friar that had a particular grant for begging or hearing confeſſions within certain limits.
[7] of Mendicants.
[8] A rote is a muſical inſtrument. Lydgate, MSS. Fairfax, Bibl. Bodl. 16.

"For ther was Rotys of Almayne,
And eke of Arragon and Spayne."

Again, in the ſame manuſcript,

"Harpys, fitheles, and eke rotys,
Wel according to ther notys."

Where *fitheles* is *fiddles*, as in the *Prol. Cl. Oxenf.* v. 298. So in the *Roman d'Alexandre*, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. *ut ſupr.* fol. i. b, col. 2.

"*Rote*, harpe, viole, et gigne, et ſiphonie."

I cannot help mentioning in this place, a pleaſant miſtake of Biſhop Morgan, in

Of yeddynges[1] he bar utturly the prys.[2]
* * * * *
Ther was no man nowher ſo vertuous.
He was the beſte begger in al his hous,[3]
* * * * *
Somwhat he lipſede, for wantouneſſe,
To make his Engliſſch ſwete upon his tunge;
And in his harpyng, whan that he hadde ſunge,
His eyghen twynkeled in his heed aright,
As don the ſterres in the froſty night.

With theſe unhallowed and untrue ſons of the church is contraſted the parſon or pariſh-prieſt: in deſcribing whoſe ſanctity, ſimplicity, ſincerity, patience, induſtry, courage, and conſcientious impartiality, Chaucer ſhews his good ſenſe and good heart. Dryden imitated this character of the Good Parſon, and is ſaid to have applied it to Biſhop Ken. [The *Perſones Tale*, as Dr. Morris has pointed out, was partly borrowed by Chaucer, with large variations, from the French treatiſe, *La Somme de Vices et de Vertus*, by Frere Lorens, of which there are verſions in Engliſh, both proſe and metrical.][4]

The character of the Squire teaches us the education and requiſite accompliſhments of young gentlemen in the gallant reign of Edward III. But it is to be remembered, that our ſquire is the ſon of a knight, who has performed feats of chivalry in every part of the world; which the poet thus enumerates with great dignity and ſimplicity:

At Aliſandre he was whan it was wonne,[5]
Ful ofte tyme he hadde the bord bygonne[6]
Aboven alle naciouns in Pruce.
In Lettowe[7] hadde reyced and in Ruce
No criſten man ſo ofte of his degré.
In Gernade atte ſiege hadde he be

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his tranſlation of the New Teſtament into Welſh, printed 1567. He tranſlates the Vials of wrath, in the Revelation, by *Crythan*, i. e. *Crouds* or Fiddles, Rev. v. 8. The Greek is φιαλαι. Now it is probable that the biſhop tranſlated only from the Engliſh, where he found vials, which he took for viols.

[1] [The *Prompt. Parv.* makes yedding to be the ſame as geſte which it explains thus: geeſt or romaunce, geſtio. So that of yeddinges may perhaps mean of ſtory-telling.—*Tyrwhitt.*]

[2] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 8, ver. 237.]

[3] convent.

[4] [*Ayenbite of Inwyt*, ed. 1866, Introd.]

[5] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 3, ver. 51.]

[6] See this phraſe explained above, p. 354, note 3. I will here add a ſimilar expreſſion from Gower, *Conf. Amant.* lib. viii. [iii. 299, edit. 1857.]

"Bad his mareſhall of his halle
To ſetten him in ſuch degre,
That he upon him myghte ſe.
The king was ſone ſette and ſerved,
And he which had his priſe deſerved,
After the kings owne worde,
Was made begin a middel borde."

That is, "he was ſeated in the middle of the table, a place of diſtinction and dignity." [See the Forewords to *The Babees Book*, E. E. T. Soc. 1868.—F.]

[7] Lithuania.

Of Algeſir,[1] and riden in Belmarie.[2]
At Lieys[3] was he, and at Satalie,[4]
Whan they were wonne; and in the Greete ſee
At many a noble arive hadde he be.
At mortal batailles hadde he ben fiftene,
And foughten for oure feith at Tramaſſene[5]
In lyſtes thries, and ay ſlayn his foo.
This ilke worthi knight hadde ben alſo
Somtyme with the lord of Palatye,[6]
Ayeyn[7] another hethene in Turkye:
And everemore he hadde a ſovereyn prys.
And though that he was worthy he was wys.

The poet in ſome of theſe lines implies, that after the Chriſtians were driven out of Paleſtine, the Engliſh knights of his days joined the knights of Livonia and Pruſſia, and attacked the pagans of Lithuania and its adjacent territories. Lithuania was not converted to Chriſtianity till towards the cloſe of the fourteenth century. Pruſſian targets are mentioned, as we have before ſeen, in the *Knight's Tale.* Thomas, Duke of Glouceſter, youngeſt ſon of King Edward III. and Henry Earl of Derby, afterwards Henry IV. travelled into Pruſſia: and in conjunction with the grand maſters and knights of Pruſſia and Livonia, fought the infidels of Lithuania. The Earl of Derby was greatly inſtrumental in taking Vilna, the capital of that

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[1] [Algeſiras; a Spaniſh town on the oppoſite ſide of the bay of Gibraltar.—*Price.*]

[2] Speght ſuppoſes it to be that country in Barbary which is called Benamarin. It is mentioned again in the *Knight's Tale*, v. 1772.

"Ne in Belmary ther is no fel lyoun,
That hunted is," &c.

By which at leaſt we may conjecture it to be ſome country in Africa. [Froiſſart reckons it among the kingdoms of Africa: Thunes, Bovgie, Maroch, Bellemarine, Tremeſſen. The battle of Benamarin is ſaid by a late author of Viage de Eſpanna, p. 73, n. 1, to have been ſo called: "por haber quedallo en ella Albohacen, Rey de Marruccos del linage de Aben Marin." Perhaps therefore the dominions of that family in Africa might be called abuſively Benamarin, and by a further corruption Belmarie.—*Tyrwhitt.*]

[3] Some ſuppoſe it to be Laviſſa, a city on the continent, near Rhodes. Others, Lybiſſa, a city of Bithynia.

[4] A city in Anatolia, called Atalia. Many of theſe places are mentioned in the hiſtory of the Cruſades. The gulf and caſtle of Satalia are mentioned by Benedictus Abbas, in the Cruſade under the year 1191, "Et cum rex Franciæ receſſiſſet ab Antiocheo, ſtatim intravit gulfum Sathallæ.—Sathallæ Caſtellum eſt optimum, unde gulfus ille nomen accepit; et ſuper gulfum illum ſunt duo Caſtella et Villæ, et utrumque dicitur Satalia. Sed unum illorum eſt deſertum, et dicitur Vetus Satalia quod piratæ deſtruxerunt, et alterum Nova Satalia dicitur, quod Manuel imperator Conſtantinopolis firmavit." *Vit. et Geſt. Henr. et Ric. ii.* p. 680. Afterwards he mentions *Mare Græcum*, p. 683. That is, the Mediterranean from Sicily to Cyprus. I am inclined, in the ſecond verſe following, to read "Greke ſea." ["Probably the part of the Mediterranean, which waſhes the ſhores of Paleſtine in oppoſition to the ſmall inland Sea or Lake of Genneſaret and the Dead Sea."—*Bell.*] Leyis is the town of Layas in Armenia.

[5] "In the holy war at Thraſimene, a city in Barbary."

[6] Palathia, a city in Anatolia. See Froiſſart, iii. 40.

[7] againſt.

country, in 1390.[1] Here is a ſeeming compliment to ſome of theſe expeditions. This invincible and accompliſhed champion afterwards tells the heroic tale of *Palamon and Arcite*. His ſon the *Squire*, a youth of twenty years, is thus delineated:

And he hadde ben ſomtyme in chivachie,[2]
In Flaundres, in Artoys, and in Picardie,
And born him wel, as in ſo litel ſpace,
In hope to ſtonden in his lady grace.
Embrowdid was he, as it were a mede
Al ful of freſshe floures, white and reede.
Syngynge he was, or flowtynge, al the day;
He was as freſsh as is the monefh of May.
Schort was his goune, with ſleeves long and wyde.
Wel cowde he ſitte on hors, and *faire* ryde.
He cowde ſonges wel make and endite,
Juſtne and eek daunce, and wel purtray and write.

To this young man the poet, with great obſervance of decorum, gives the tale of Cambuſcan, the next in knightly dignity to that of Palamon and Arcite. He is attended by a yeoman, whoſe figure revives the ideas of the foreſt laws:

And he was clad in coote and hood of grene.[3]
A ſhef of pocok arwes bright and kene[4]
Under his belte he bar ful thriftily.
Wel cowde he dreſſe his takel yomanly;
His arwes drowpud nought with fetheres lowe.
And in his hond he bar a mighty bowe.
* * * * *
Upon his arme he bar a gay bracer,[5]

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[1] See Hakluyt's *Voyages*, i. 122, *ſeq.* edit. 1598. See alſo Hakluyt's account of the conqueſt of Pruſſia by the Dutch Knights Hoſpitallers of Jeruſalem, *ibid.* [The original documents relating to this expedition, and alſo to theſe knights' expedition to the Holy Land, are now in the Record Office in London, and ought certainly to be printed by ſome learned Society.—F.]

[2] Chivalry, riding, exerciſes of horſemanſhip, *Compl. Mar. Ven.* v. 144.

"Ciclinius ryding in his chevaché
Fro Venus."

[Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 4, ver. 85.]

[3] *Ibid.* ver. 103.

[4] Comp. Gul. Waynflete, epiſc. Winton. an. 1471, (*ſupr. citat.*) Among the ſtores of the biſhop's caſtle of Farnham. "*Arcus cum chordis.* Et red. comp. de xxiv. arcubus cum xxiv. chordis de remanentia —*Sagittæ magnæ.* Et de cxliv. ſagittis magnis barbatis cum pennis pavonum." In a *Computus* of Biſhop Gerways, epiſc. Winton. an. 1266, (*ſupr. citat*) among the ſtores of the biſhop's caſtle of Taunton, one of the heads or ſtyles is, *Caudæ pavonum*, which I ſuppoſe were uſed for feathering arrows. In the articles of Arma, which are part of the epiſcopal ſtores of the ſaid caſtle, I find enumerated one thouſand four hundred and twenty-one great arrows for croſs-bows, remaining over and above three hundred and ſeventy-one delivered to the biſhop's vaſſals *tempore guerre*. Under the ſame title occur croſs-bows made of horn. Arrows with feathers of the peacock occur in Lydgate's *Siege of Troy*, B. iii. cap. 22, ſign. O iii. edit. 1555.

"Many good archers
Of Boeme, which with their arrows kene,
And with fethirs of pecocke freſhe and ſhene," &c.

[5] armour for the arms.

And by his ſide a ſwerd and a bokeler,
* * * * *
A Criſtofre[1] on his breſt of ſilver ſchene.
An horn he bar, the bawdrik was of grene.

The character of the Reeve (or Steward), an officer of much greater truſt and authority during the feudal conſtitution than at preſent, is happily pictured.[2] His attention to the care and cuſtody of the manors, the produce of which was then kept in hand for furniſhing his lord's table, perpetually employs his time, preys upon his thoughts, and makes him lean and choleric. He is the terror of bailiffs and hinds: and is remarkable for his circumſpection, vigilance, and ſubtlety. He is never in arrears, and no auditor is able to over-reach or detect him in his accounts: yet he makes more commodious purchaſes for himſelf than for his maſter, without forfeiting the goodwill or bounty of the latter. Amidſt theſe ſtrokes of ſatire, Chaucer's genius for deſcriptive painting breaks forth in this ſimple and beautiful deſcription of the Reeve's rural habitation:

His wonyng[3] was ful fair upon an heth,[4]
With grene trees i-ſchadewed was his place.

In the Clerk of Oxford[5] our author glances at the inattention paid to literature, and the unprofitableneſs of philoſophy. He is emaciated with ſtudy, clad in a thread-bare cloak, and rides a ſteed lean as a rake:

For he hadde nought geten him yit a benefice,[6]
Ne was not worthy to haven an office.
For him was lever[7] have at his beddes heed
Twenty bookes, clothed in blak and reed,
Of Ariſtotil, and of his philoſophie,
Then robus riche, or fithul,[8] or ſawtrie.
But although he were a philoſophre,
Yet hadde he but litul gold in cofre.[9]

His unwearied attention to logic had tinctured his converſation with much pedantic formality, and taught him to ſpeak on all ſubjects in a preciſe and ſententious ſtyle.[10] Yet his converſation was

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[1] A ſaint who preſided over the weather. The patron of field ſports.
[2] [See the Ballad of John de Reeve in the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*, ii. 550.]
[3] dwelling. [4] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 19, ver. 606.]
[5] [For the early Oxford Life and Studies, ſee Mr. Anſty's *Munimenta Academica*, Rolls Series, 1868.]
[6] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 10, ver. 291.] [7] rather. [8] fiddle.
[9] Or it may be explained, "Yet he could not find the philoſopher's ſtone."
[10] [This opinion is founded on the following paſſage:

"Not oo word ſpak he more than was neede;
Al that he ſpak it was of heye prudence,
And ſchort, and quyk, and ful of gret ſentence."
Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 10, 304.

Mr. Tyrwhitt has given a happier and unqueſtionably a correcter interpretation of theſe lines: "'In forme and reverence,' with propriety and modeſty. In the next line, 'ful of high ſentence' means only, I apprehend, full of high or excellent ſenſe. Mr. Warton will excuſe me for ſuggeſting theſe explanations of this paſſage in lieu of thoſe which he has given. The credit of good letters is concerned that

inſtructive: and he was no leſs willing to ſubmit than to communicate his opinion to others:

> Sownynge in moral manere was his ſpeche,[1]
> And gladly wolde he lerne, and gladly teche.

The perpetual importance of the Serjeant of Law, who by habit or by affectation has the faculty of appearing buſy when he has nothing to do, is ſketched with the ſpirit and conciſeneſs of Horace:

> Nowher ſo beſy a man as he ther nas,[2]
> And yit he ſemede beſier than he was.[3]

There is ſome humour in making our lawyer introduce the language of his pleadings into common converſation. He addreſſes the hoſt:

> Hoſt, quod he, *De par Dieux I aſſente.*[4]

The affectation of talking French was indeed general, but it is here appropriate and in character.

Among the reſt, the character of the Hoſt, or maſter of the Tabard inn where the pilgrims are aſſembled, is conſpicuous. He has much good ſenſe, and diſcovers great talent for managing and

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Chaucer ſhould not be ſuppoſed to have made a pedantic formality and a preciſe ſententious ſtyle on all ſubjects the characteriſtics of a ſcholar."—*Tyrwhitt.*]

[1] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 10, ver. 307.] [2] [*Ibid.* ii. 11, ver. 321.]

[3] [*Ibid.* ii. 171, ver. 39.] He is ſaid to have "oftin yben at the parviſe," ver. 312. It is not my deſign to enter into the diſputes concerning the meaning or etymology of parvis: from which parviſia, the name for the public ſchools in Oxford, is derived. But I will obſerve, that parvis is mentioned as a court or portico before the church of Notre Dame at Paris, in John de Meun's part of the *Roman de la Roſe*, ver. 12529:

> "A Paris n'euſt hommes ne femme
> Au parvis devant Noſtre Dame."

The paſſage is thus tranſlated by Chaucer, or the writer of the *Rom. R.* v. 7109:

> "Ther nas no wight in alle Parys
> Biforne oure lady at parvys."

The word is ſuppoſed to be contracted from Paradiſe. This perhaps ſignified an ambulatory. Many of our old religious houſes had a place called Paradiſe. In the year 1300, children were taught to read and ſing in the Parvis of St. Martin's church at Norwich. Blomf. *Norf.* ii. 748. Our Serjeant is afterwards ſaid to have received many fees and robes, v. 319. The ſerjeants and all the officers of the ſuperior courts of law, anciently received winter and ſummer robes, from the king's wardrobe. He is likewiſe ſaid to cite caſes and deciſions, "that from the time of king William were full," v. 326. For this line ſee the very learned and ingenious Mr. Barrington's *Obſervations on the antient Statutes.* [This ſubject is better diſcuſſed (ſays Mr. Douce) in Staveley's *Hiſtory of Churches*, p. 157. He thinks the term is from *parvis pueris*, i. e. the children who were taught in a certain part of the church ſo appropriated; as appears from the quotation above cited in the note from Blomefield. Herbert the preſs-hiſtorian adds, that Minſter-church in the iſle of Thanet and St. Dunſtan's in the Eaſt, London, have portions of them aſſigned for ſchools; and no doubt but there are ſeveral others which have the ſame.—I can add from my own knowledge, that the chapel at Hughington in the county of Lincoln was appropriated to the purpoſes of a ſchool, and that King Street chapel, Weſtminſter, has a portion of its ſtructure ſet apart for ſuch purpoſe: for I received the greater ſhare of my education in both thoſe places.—*Park.*]

[4] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 171, ver. 39.]

regulating a large company; and to him we are indebted for the happy propoſal of obliging every pilgrim to tell a ſtory during their journey to Canterbury. His interpoſitions between the tales are very uſeful and enlivening; and he is ſomething like the chorus on the Grecian ſtage. He is of great ſervice in encouraging each perſon to begin his part, in conducting the ſcheme with ſpirit, in making proper obſervations on the merit or tendency of the ſeveral ſtories, in ſettling diſputes which muſt naturally ariſe in the courſe of ſuch an entertainment, and in connecting all the narratives into one continued ſyſtem. His love of good cheer, experience in marſhalling gueſts, addreſs, authoritative deportment, and facetious diſpoſition, are thus expreſſively diſplayed by Chaucer:

> Greet cheere made oure oſt us everichon,[1]
> And to the ſouper ſette he us anon;
> And ſerved us with vitaille atte beſte.
> Strong was the wyn, and wel to drynke us leſte.[2]
> A ſemely man oure ooſte was withalle
> For to han been a marchal in an halle;
> A large man was he with eyghen ſtepe,
> A fairere burgeys is ther noon in Chepe[3]
> Bold of his ſpeche, and wys, and wel i-taught,
> And of manhede lakkede he right naught.
> Eke therto he was right a mery man.

Chaucer's ſcheme of the *Canterbury Tales* was evidently left unfiniſhed. It was intended by our author, that every pilgrim ſhould likewiſe tell a Tale on the return from Canterbury.[4] A poet, who lived ſoon after the *Canterbury Tales* made their appearance, ſeems to have deſigned a ſupplement to this deficiency, and with this view to have written a tale called the *Merchant's Second Tale*, or the *Hiſtory of Beryn*.[5] It was firſt printed by Urry, who ſuppoſed it to be Chaucer's.[6] In the Prologue, which is of conſiderable length, there is ſome humour and contrivance: the author, happily enough, continues to characterize the pilgrims, by imagining what each

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[1] [Morris's *Chaucer*, ii. 24, ver. 747.]

[2] we liked.

[3] Cheapſide.

[4] Or rather, two on their way thither, and two on their return. Only Chaucer himſelf tells two tales. The poet ſays that there were twenty-nine pilgrims in company: but in the Characters he deſcribes more. Among the Tales which remain, there are none of the Prioreſs's Chaplains, the Haberdaſher, Carpenter, Webſter, Dyer, Tapiſer, and Hoſt. The Canon's Yeoman has a Tale, but no Character. The *Plowman's Tale* is certainly ſuppoſititious. See *ſupr.* and *Obs. Spens.* ii. 217. It is omitted in the copy of the *Canterbury Tales*, MSS. Harl. 1758. Theſe Tales were ſuppoſed to be ſpoken, not written. But we have in the Ploughman's, "For my writing me allow." And in other places, "For my writing if I have blame."—"Of my writing have me excus'd," &c. See a note at the beginning of the *Cant. Tales*, MSS. Laud, K. 50, Bibl. Bodl. written by John Barcham. But the diſcuſſion of theſe points properly belongs to an editor of Chaucer. [See Mr. Tyrwhitt's *Introductory Diſcourſe to the Canterbury Tales.*—*Price.*]

[5] [Lydgate alſo wrote his *Sege of Thebes* as a ſupplementary Canterbury Tale. —F.]

[6] Urr. *Chauc.* p. 595.

did, and how each behaved, when they all arrived at Canterbury. After dinner was ordered at their inn, they all proceed to the cathedral. At entering the church one of the monks ſprinkles them with holy water. The Knight with the better ſort of the company goes in great order to the ſhrine of Thomas a Becket. The Miller and his companions run ſtaring about the church: they pretend to blazon the arms painted in the glaſs windows, and enter into a diſpute in heraldry: but the hoſt of the Tabard reproves them for their improper behaviour and impertinent diſcourſe, and directs them to the martyr's ſhrine. When all had finiſhed their devotions, they return to the inn. In the way thither they purchaſe toys for which that city was famous, called *Canterbury brochis*, and here much facetiouſneſs paſſes betwixt the Friar and the Sumner, in which the latter vows revenge on the former, for telling a tale ſo palpably levelled at his profeſſion, and proteſts he will retaliate on their return by a more ſevere ſtory. When dinner is ended, the hoſt of the Tabard thanks all the company in form for their ſeveral tales. The party then ſeparate till ſupper-time by agreement. The Knight goes to ſurvey the walls and bulwarks of the city, and explains to his ſon the Squire the nature and ſtrength of them. Mention is here made of great guns. The Wife of Bath is too weary to walk far; ſhe propoſes to the Prioreſs to divert themſelves in the garden, which abounds with herbs proper for making ſalves. Others wander about the ſtreets. The Pardoner has a low adventure, which ends much to his diſgrace. The next morning they proceed on their return to Southwark: and our genial maſter of the Tabard, juſt as they leave Canterbury, by way of putting the company into good humour, begins a panegyric on the morning and the month of April, ſome lines of which I ſhall quote, as a ſpecimen of our author's abilities in poetical deſcription:[1]

Lo! how the ſeſon of the yere, and Averell[2] ſhouris,
Doith[3] the buſhis burgyn[4] out bloſſomes and flouris.
Lo! the prymeroſys of the yere, how freſh they bene to ſene,
And many othir flouris among the graſſis grene.
Lo! how they ſpringe and ſprede, and of divers hue,
Beholdith and ſeith, both white, red, and blue.
That luſty bin and comfortabyll for mannis ſight,
For I ſay for myſelf it makith my hert to light.

On caſting lots, it falls to the Merchant to tell the firſt tale, which then follows. I cannot [of courſe] allow that this Prologue and Tale were written by Chaucer. Yet I believe them to be nearly coeval, [within, perhaps, fifty years of the poet's death.]

[Appendix to Section IX.

In connection with the *Canterbury Tales*,[5] it will be well to ſay ſomething of the MSS. of them, the claſſes of thoſe MSS., the groups and order of the Tales, the ſtages of the journey, Chaucer's uſe of

[1] There is a good deſcription of a magical palace, v. 1973—2076.
[2] April. [3] make. [4] ſhoot.
[5] [The following paragraphs on Chaucer are by Mr. Furnivall.]

the final *e*, and the genuineneſs of ſome of the poems attributed to him.

Of MSS. of the Tales we know at leaſt forty-eight; and of theſe forty-two have been lately examined in order, 1. to chooſe the beſt ſix unprinted for the Chaucer Society to print, 2. to find out in what fragments and groups the Tales were left by Chaucer at his death, and 3. what great differences the MSS. ſhow between themſelves. Lord Aſhburnham, who has three MSS. of the Tales, has declined to allow the examination of his MSS. for the purpoſes above ſtated, but the remaining forty-two MSS. ſhow that they may be ranged under two types, if we claſſify by *readings*, namely that of the Harleian MS. 7334 (printed by Mr. Thomas Wright and Dr. Richard Morris) and that of the Elleſmere MS. (one of the type that Tyrwhitt printed). But if we claſſify by *ſtructure*,—by the order of the fragments of the Tales, and the changes made in the text by the changes of that order,—which plan beſt exhibits the differences of the MSS., we muſt range our MSS. under three main types.

Text A. Gamelyn in (generally); Man of Law's end-link changed to ſerve as a Prologue to the Squire's Tale, which is miſplaced, to follow the Man of Law, as the Merchant's Tale is, to follow the Squire. Conſequently, the ſtanzas of the Clerk's end-link or envoy are miſplaced, ſo as to break the join between it and the Merchant's Tale made by the lines

> And let hem care and wepe, and wyng and wayle.[1]
> Wepyng and wailyng, care and other ſorwe.[2]

No Hoſt-ſtanza between the Clerk's and Merchant's Tales; Squire's end-link (or Franklin's Prologue) uſed as the Merchant's Prologue. Generally, ſpurious Prologues to Shipman and Franklin. Second Nun and Canon's Yeoman kept up high in the order of tales. Modern inſtances in the Monk's Tale in their right places, after Zenobia.[3]

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[1] End of Clerk, l. 9088, Wright. [2] Line 1 of Merchant, l. 9089, Wright.

[3] The following are MSS. of the A type, though ſome vary from it in certain points:

Lanſdowne, 851.
Lichfield Cathedral.
Harleian, 7333.
Harleian, 1758.
Sloane, 1685.
Royal, 17 D xv.
Royal, 18 C ii.
Camb. Univ. Ii 3. 26.
Sloane, 1686.
Petworth.
Camb. Univ. Mm. 2. 5.
Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3. 15.
Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3. 3.
Barlow, 20.
Laud, 739.
New Coll. Oxf.
Corpus Chr. Coll. Oxf. 198.
Hatton, 1.
Rawl. MS. Poet. 149.
Rawl. Miſc. 1133.
(All the early printed editions.)

Other MSS. varying much in the order of Tales, or being incomplete, are

Harl., 1239.
Sion Coll.
Brit. Mus. Addit. 25, 718.
Hengwrt.
Rawl. MS. Poet. 141.
Laud, 600.
Arch. Seld., B 14, (the only MS. that rightly joins the Man of Law's and Shipman's Tales.)
Holkham.
Chriſt Church, Oxf. 152.

Text B. Harleian, 7334. Gamelyn in; Man of Law's end-link left, but with nothing to join into it. Clerk and Merchant kept together (no Hoſt-ſtanza between). Second Nun and Canon's Yeoman kept up. Modern inſtances in Monk's Tale in their right places (that is, the 2 Peters, Barnabo, and Hugilin, come after Zenobia, and before Nero).

Text C, or Edited Texts.[1] Gamelyn cut out. Man of Law's end-link cut out. Hoſt-ſtanza inſerted between Clerk and Merchant. Second Nun and Canon's Yeoman placed late. Modern inſtances in Monk's Tale put at the end, thus breaking the join made by

> But for that *fortune* wil alway aſſayle, 16249.
>
> And cover hir brighte face with a *clowde*, 16252.[2]
>
> He ſpak, how *fortune* was clipped with a *clowde*, 16268.[3]

It is ſomewhat curious that not one of the MSS. yet examined exhibits the Tales in the order in which Chaucer himſelf muſt have arranged or meant to arrange them, as ſhown by the ſtate he left them in at his death. That order is the following, which falls in well with a three-and-a-half days' journey of the pilgrims to Canterbury, allowing about ſixteen miles a day,—enough for the women to ride along the bad miry roads of thoſe early times:

Groups.	Fragments.	Tales and Links.	Allusions to Places, Times, Prior Tales, &c. (Wright's 2-col. ed.)	Diſtances and Stages.
A.	I	1 GENERAL PROLOGUE	In Southwerk at the Tabbard as I lay. (l. 20).	
		2 KNIGHT		
		3 Link		
		4 MILLER		
		5 Link	Lo heer is Deptford, and it is paſſed prime; Lo Grenewich, ther many a ſchrewe is inne. (l. 3906-7).	
		6 REVE		
		7 Link		
		8 COOK		[? Dartford 15 miles.]
		* * *	[? *End of the Firſt Day's Journey.*]	
B.	II.	1 Prologue		
		2 MAN OF LAW	It was ten of the clokke, he gan conclude (l. 4434).	
		3 Link		
	III.	4 SHIPMAN		
		5 Link		
		6 PRIORESS		
		7 Link		
		8 SIR THOPAS		
		9 Link		
		10 MELIBE		
		11 Link		
		12 MONK	Lo, Rowcheſtre ſtant heer-faſte by (l. 15412).	
		13 Link		
		14 NUN'S PRIEST		
		15 Link		[? Rocheſter 30 miles.]
		* * *	[? *End of the Second Day's Journey.*]	

[1] MSS. of the C type, *Edited Texts*, are:

Elleſmere.
Camb. Univ. Gg. 4. 27.
Camb. Univ. Dd. 4. 24.
Harl. 7335.
Addit. Brit. Mus. 5140, (or Aſkew, 2.)
Duke of Devonſhire.
Helmingham.
Bodley, 686.
Haiſtwell MS. (or Aſkew, 1.)

[2] End of Monkes Tale, ed. Wright, from Harl. 7334.

[3] 6th line of Prologue of Nonne Preſtes Tale.

Groups.	Fragments.	Tales and Links.	Allusions to Places, Times, Prior Tales, &c. (Wright's 2-col. ed.)	Distances and Stages.
C.	IV.†	1 DOCTOR 2 Link and Prologue 3 PARDONER		
		* * *		
D.	V.	1 Prologue	Quod this Sompnour, "And I byschrewe me But if I telle tales two or thre Of freres, er I come to Sydingborne. l. 6427-9).	
		2 WIFE OF BATH		
		3 Link		
		4 FRIAR		
		5 Link		
		6 SOMPNOUR	My tale is don, we ben almoſt at toune. (l. 7876).	[? Sittingbourne
		* * *	[? *Halt in the Third Day's Journey for Dinner.*]	40 miles.]
E.	VI.	1 Prologue		
		2 CLERK	For which heer, for the wyves love of Bathe (l. 9046).	
		3 Link		
		4 Link		
		5 MERCHANT	The wif of Bathe, if ye han underſtonde, Of mariage, which ye han now in honde Declared hath ful wel in litel ſpace (l. 9559-61)	
		6 Link	To tellen al; wherfor my tale is do (l. 10314).	[? Oſpringe
		* * *	[? *End of the Third Day's Journey.*]	46 miles.]
F.	VII.	1 Link (l. 10315)		
		2 SQUIRE	I wol not tarien you, for it is pryme (l. 10387).	
		3 Link		
		4 FRANKLIN		
		* * *		
G.	VIII.	1 SECOND NUN	Er we fully had riden fyve myle, (l. 12483) At Boughtoun under Blee us gan atake A man, that clothed was in clothes blake . .	
		2 Link & Prologue	It ſemed he hadde priked myles thre (l. 12489)	
		3 CANON'S YEOMAN	His yeman eek was ful of curteſye, And ſeid, "Sires, now in the morwe tyde (l. 12516) Out of your oſtelry I ſaugh you ryde . . . . . . al this ground on which we ben ridynge Til that we comen to Caunterbury toun (l. 12552).	
		* * *	[*Pauſe. Go up Blean Hill, and through the Foreſt.*]	
H.	IX.	1 Prologue	Wot ye not wher ther ſtont a litel toun, Which that cleped is Bob-up-and-doun, Under the Ble, in Caunterbury way? (l. 16935) . . . Is ther no man, for prayer ne for hyre (l. 16938) .	
		2 MANCIPLE	That wol awake our ſelawe al byhynde? A theef mighte [him] ful lightly robbe and bynde . . . Awake thou cook, ſit up, God gif the ſorwe! What eyleth the, to ſlepe by the morwe? Haſt thou had fleen al night, or artow dronke? Or haſtow with ſom quen al night i-ſwonke, So that thou maiſt not holden up thyn heed? (l. 16951).	
I.	X.	1 Link & Prologue	By that the Maunciple [?] had his tale endid (l. 17295) The ſonne fro the ſouth line is deſcendid So lowe, that it nas nought to my ſight Degrees nyne and twentye as in hight	
		2 PARSON	[Four] on the clokke it was, as I geſſe . . . As we were entryng at a townes end (l. 17306) Now lakketh us no moo tales than oon (l. 17310) I wol yow telle a mery tale in proſe, (l. 17340) To knyt up al this feſt, and make an ende; But haſteth yow, the ſonne wol adoun (l. 17366). [*End of the Fourth Day's Journey. Reach Canterbury*]	[56 miles]

† This group may go on any morning. It is put here to make the Tales of the Third Day not leſs than thoſe of the Second.

For a juſtification of the concluſions here given, I muſt refer to my Temporary Preface to the Six-Text edition of *Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, Part I. 1868; and to Part I. of the Six-Text itſelf for ſpecimens of the changed Man of Law's and Squire's end-links, the ſpurious Prologues, &c., as well as tables ſhowing the order of the tales in thirty-ſix MSS. and five old printed editions.

The language of Chaucer—eſpecially his uſe of the final *e*—and by it the ſettlement of what works attributed to him are genuine and what not, is a queſtion of the higheſt importance. The uſe of *e* final

by Chaucer, in the excellent, though ſlightly provincial MS. of *Canterbury Tales*, Harl. MS. 7334, as printed by Mr. Thomas Wright, and by Gower in his *Confeſſio Amantis*, as repreſented by Dr. Pauli's edition, has been inveſtigated with the greateſt care by Prof. F. J. Child, of Harvard Univerſity, Maſſachuſetts. His reſults have been incorporated by Mr. Alexander J. Ellis in his important work on *Early Engliſh Pronunciation, with ſpecial reference to Chaucer and Shakeſpeare*, publiſhed jointly by the Philological, Early Engliſh Text, and Chaucer Societies. Dr. Richard Morris in his admirable *Selections from Chaucer*, has alſo ſtated the main reſults of Prof. Child's and his own inveſtigations into the uſe of the final *e* by Chaucer; and as both the two laſt-named works are ſo eaſily to be had, and ſhould be in the poſſeſſion of every ſtudent, a reference to them is all that is needed here.

Mr. H. Bradſhaw, Librarian of the Univerſity of Cambridge, the moſt Chaucer-learned ſtudent in England, ſtated ſome years back, that having put in one claſs the works undoubtedly Chaucer's,—thoſe named as his by himſelf, or attributed to him by his cotemporaries, or good MSS.,—and having put into a ſecond claſs the other works attributed to Chaucer on authorities other than thoſe above ſpecified, he found on teſting them by the *ye-y* rhyme teſt, that all the works of the firſt claſs ſtood the teſt and proved genuine, while all the works of the ſecond claſs failed under the teſt, and proved (in his opinion) ſpurious. Having thus (as he ſays) both external and internal evidence againſt this ſecond claſs, Mr. Bradſhaw rejects as Chaucer's works, the following poems contained in Dr. R. Morris's Aldine edition of the poet's Poetical Works, and *à fortiori*, all the ſpurious matter introduced into *Chaucer's Works* by former editors:

Court of Love, iv. 1.
Boke of Cupide, or Cuckow and Nightingale, iv. 51.
Flower and Leaf, iv. 87.
Chaucer's Dream, v. 86.
Proverbs of Chaucer, vi. 303.
World ſo wyde, *ib.*
Roundel, vi. 304.
Romaunt of the Roſe, vi. 1.
Compleynte of a Loveres Lyfe, or Black Knyght, vi. 235.
Goodly Ballade of Chaucer, vi. 275.
Praiſe of Women, vi. 278.
Leaulte vault Richeſſe, vi. 302.
Virelai, vi. 305.
Chaucer's Prophecy, vi. 307.

Mr. Bradſhaw's reſults have ſince been confirmed by a wholly independent inveſtigator, Prof. Bernhard Ten Brink of Marburg, in Caſſel, whoſe Chaucer *Studien*,[1] Part I. 1870, is at preſent the only book worthy of notice on the ſubject. But Prof. Ten Brink does not agree with Mr. Bradſhaw in rejecting the *Romaunt of the Roſe* as Chaucer's, on the ground of its *ye-y* rhymes, &c. as he thinks that in this, the poet's earlieſt work, he may have worked on leſs ſtrict rules of rhyme than he did in his later works. I ſtrengthened this ſuppoſition by ſhewing that at leaſt three of Chaucer's immediate predeceſſors, Minot, William of Shoreham, and Robert of Brunne,

[1] Chaucer: *Studien zur Geſchichte ſeiner Entwicklung, und zur Chronologie ſeiner Schriften*, A Ruſſell, Münſter.

rhymed *ye* with *y*; and Mr. Joſeph Payne has now ſhown[1] reaſons for ſuppoſing that neither in Norman-French nor Early Engliſh was the final *e* generally a ſeparate ſyllable; and that Chaucer is no exception to the rule. Mr. Payne's concluſion is, that on the ground of the *ye-y* rhyme, no work attributed to Chaucer can be declared ſpurious. *Adhuc ſub judice lis eſt.*

Herr Ten Brink divides Chaucer's life into three periods, I. Up to the time of his Italian travels, 1372, when he was under French influence,[2] and produced the *Romaunt* in 1366, the *Boke of the Ducheſſe* in 1369; II. After his Italian travels to 1384, his works being [the *Complaynt upon Pite*], the *Life of St. Cecile*, 1373, the *Parlement of Foules*, [the *Compleynt of Mars*], and *Palamon and Arcite*, *Boece*, *Troylus*, [the *Former Age*,[3] *Lines to Adam Scrivener*], with the *Houſe of Fame*, in 1384; III. Thence to the poet's death in 1400, compriſing the *Legende of Good Women*, the *Aſtrolabe*, *Anelida and Arcite*, *Canterbury Tales*, *Complaynt of Venus*, with a few minor poems. Herr Ten Brink's *Studien* have been tranſlated for, and will be publiſhed by, the Chaucer Society.

Early in Chaucer's third period I ſhould put his *Gentilneſſe* (the firſte Fadir, &c.), *A B C*, and *Moder of God*. His touching ballad of *Truth* (Flee fro the preeſe) I ſuppoſe to have been written about the time of his loſſes in 1388; and perhaps the *A B C* and *Moder of God* may go with it. The ſhort poems of Chaucer's old age are, the *Complaynt of Venus*, from the French of Sir Otes de Graunſon, a knight of Savoy, who became liegeman to Richard II., *Lenvoy to Bukton*, *Balade to King Richard*, *Lenvoy to Scogan* (written after Michaelmas in a year of "deluge of peſtilence," which Mr. Bradſhaw thinks was 1393), *Compleint ageins Fortune*, and his *Compleynte to his Purſe*, addreſſed to Henry IV. in Sept. 1399, for which Henry probably granted him forty marks yearly on Oct. 3, 1399. See further in the Trial-Forewords to my parallel-text edition of Chaucer's Minor Poems, Part I. Chaucer Soc. 1871.]

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[1] [In the laſt ſection of his valuable paper on the Norman element in the written and ſpoken Engliſh of the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries, *Phil. Soc. Trans.* 1868-9, pp. 428-448, but written in 1870.]

[2] [See M. Sandras's *Etudes ſur Chaucer*, Paris, 1859.]

[3] [A beautiful verſe tranſlation of the fifth metre of the ſecond book of Boethius, firſt found by Mr. Bradſhaw in two MSS. in the Cambridge Univ. Libr., and printed in Dr. Morris's *Chaucer*, vi. 300, and at the end of his Chaucer's *Boethius*, p. 180 (E. E. T. Soc. 1868).

END OF VOLUME II.

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